MYSORE GAZETTEER

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THE MYSORE GAZETTEER

VOLUME II

HISTORICAL

PART IV

CHAPTER XI.

MODERN PERIOD.

From 1565 A. D. to the present time.

In Part III of this volume, we brought the history down to the end of the Empire of Vijayanagar. We have seen how before that Empire finally ceased to exist, the South of India had been invaded by the Moghul and the Mahratta and how Mysore had gone so far south as Trichinopoly to assist in the resuscitation of the decaying Hindu Kingdom there. We have also seen how the nations of the West began to settle in the land and how slowly from the position of mere traders they were emerging out into the position of territorial sovereigns. In this Part, the story of the rise and expansion of the kingdom of the Mysore Rajas will be sketched and the circumstances under which Haidar Alī, the famous soldier of fortune, became prominent in the State about the middle of the 18th century brought out in some detail. The attempt of Tipū Sultān, his son and successor, to drive the British out of Southern India will be set down at some length. The restoration of the Hindu dynasty, in 1799, the story of the Regency and Dewanship of Pūrnaiya, the reign of Krishnarāja Wodeyar III, the vicissitudes he underwent in winning back the kingdom once again to his family and the subsequent history of the State up-to-date, will form the theme of the rest of this Part.

hanges after 'alikota.
'he Pālegars.

During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the Vijayanagar kings had bestowed on or confirmed to vassal chiefs, bearing various titles, sundry tracts in Mysore, on the condition of payment of tribute and rendering of military service. Those in the northern parts were directly controlled from the Capital. The southern chiefs were placed under a Viceroy whose seat of Government was at Seringapatam. Though the difficulties which followed on the battle of Talikota gave opportunities to ambitious vassals, the Empire held together and allegiance continued to be paid to the representative of the State at Penugonda and to the Viceroy at Seringapatam. After the fall of the IV dynasty of kings, such of the chiefs as had the power gradually broke loose of control and declared their independence. An account of each of these Pālegar families will be found in another volume of this work in connection with the localities which formed their respective estates. (See Volume V). It will be sufficient, therefore, here, to simply mention the more important. Among these were :—in the north, the Nāyaks of Bednur, Basavapatna and Chitaldrug ; on the west, the Nāyaks of Balam; in the centre, the Nāyaks of Hagalvādi, and the Gaudas of Yelahanka and Ballapur ; on the east, the Gauda of Sugatur ; on the south, the Wodeyars of Mysore, Kalale, Ummatur, Yelandur, and others.

Muhammadan Incursions.

In 1573, the Bijāpur and Ahmednagar rulers came to a mutual agreement to extend their conquests in such different directions as not to interfere with one another. The Bijāpur line of conquest was to the south. Adōni having been captured, and the western coast regions from Goa down to Barkalur overrun, an attempt was

made in 1577 A.D. on Penugonda. But it found a most gallant defender, as before stated, in Jagadēva Rāya. Every attack was repelled, and the Bijāpur army forced to raise the siege and retire. For this brilliant service Jagadēva was rewarded by a grant of a territory which extended across Mysore, from Bāramahal—the previous possession of his family—on the east, to the Western Ghāts on the west. He fixed his capital at Channapatna, not far away from Bangalore city. Kankanhalli and Nagamangala were two of the most important towns in his territory, which also included Periyapatna on the west and Harnhalli and Bānawar on the north, while a long arm reached even to Hole Honnur. About the same period, Timme Gauda of Sugatur rendered some important military service, for which he received the title of *Chikka Rāya*, with a grant of territory in the southern half of the Kolar district, including Hoskote westwards and Punganur eastwards.

Rise of the Mysore Rājas.

Meanwhile, in the south, the Rājas of Mysore, whose history will be given in detail further on, had been gradually subduing all the lesser chiefs, until in 1610 they gained Seringapatam, ousting the effete viceroy of Vijayanagar, and became the dominant power in that part of the country. In 1630 A.D. they took Channapatna, and Jagadēva Rāya's dominions were thus absorbed into the Mysore State.

This brief sketch of the principal changes which took place in the seventy years following the battle of Talikota will serve to show how matters stood, and the several divisions of the country, in 1636 A.D., when the Bijāpur armies successfully invaded Mysore and established the government of that State over the Karnātic Bālaghāt.

Ādil Shāhi Kings of Bijāpur.

Bijāpur is more properly called Vijayapūr, but as a Muhammadan Kingdom, and to distinguish it from

Vijayanagar, the Muhammadan form of the name has been retained. The founder of the kingdom was Yūsuf Ādil Shāh, after whom his descendants were called the Ādil Shāhi kings. He is stated to have been a son of the Ottoman Sultān Amurath or Murād, and brother of Muhammad the Great, the conqueror of Constantinople. On the accession of the latter to the Turkish throne in 1450 A.D., Yūsuf, by the contrivance of his mother, escaped being put to death with the rest of his brothers, and was by her means conveyed to Persia. Being obliged to fly from Persia at the age of sixteen on account of some suspicion of his birth, he was inveigled to the Bāhmani court and there sold as a slave. He gradually rose into favour, was entrusted with the command of a body of horse and a provincial government. He became the head of the foreign or Shiah party, between which and the Dakhani or Sunni party there was a continual contest for power. When the latter in the reign of Mahmud gained an ascendancy, Yūsuf Ādil retired to his government of Bijāpur, and in 1489 A.D. took the royal title. He opposed the usurper of the Bāhmani kingdom, put down the neighbouring chiefs, who like him were endeavouring to assert their independence, and was successful in meeting the attacks of the Vijayanagar Rāja. The Bāhmani kingdom was eventually partitioned between him and the other new kings that arose about the same time in the Deccan.

Their order of succession.

The following is the succession of the Ādil Shāhi kings:—

Yūsuf Ādil Shāh	1489
Ismail Ādil Shāh	1510
Mallu Ādil Shāh	1534
Ibrahīm Ādil Shāh	1535
Ali Ādil Shāh	1557
Ibrahīm Ādil Shāh	1579
Muhammad Ādil Shāh	1626
Ali Ādil Shāh	1660
Sikandar Ādil Shāh	1672

Their raids into Mysore.

The territory of Bijāpur extended from the Nira to the Tungabhadra. and from the Bhīma to the sea. South of the Tungabhadra, it owned Adōni and perhaps Nandyāl. The limits of its western boundary were Bankot and cape Ramas. Between this power and Vijayanagar there were constant collisions, until in 1565 A.D. the battle of Talikota abated the power of the latter. In 1577 A.D., as we have already seen, a raid was made into the conquered territory, but repelled by the defence of Jagadēva Rāya at Penugonda. In 1637, a more formidable invasion took place. The Mughals had taken Daulatābād in 1634 A.D., and Aurangazīb was appointed viceroy of the Deccan; but the contests with the Mughal power were shortly brought to a close for the time by the treaty which extinguished the State of Ahmednagar and made Bijāpur tributary to Delhi. The Bijāpur arms were now directed to the South, under Ran-dulha Khān, with whom Shāhji, father of the famous Sivāji, was sent as second in command, with the promise of a *jāgīr* in the territories to be conquered. The course of this invasion was by the open country of Bānkāpūr, Harihar, Basvapatna and Tarikere, up to the woods of Bednur, the whole of which was overrun. The pālegar of Basvapatna or Tarikere is charged with having invited the Bijāpur Sultān to invade the country, in order to revenge himself for an insult received from the pālegar of Ratnagiri or Sira, arising out of an obscene jest and a coarse and filthy practical joke which will not admit of mention. The Bednur chief was besieged in Kavale-durga but bought off the enemy. An attempt was next made on Seringapatam. A breach was effected, but the Mysoreans repulsed the general assault with great slaughter, and the enemy was not only compelled to raise the siege but harassed in his retreat by successive attacks, in which, adds Wilks, the Rāja obtained considerable booty. The invading army retired to the north of Melkote and then turned east. Kempe Gauda, representative of the Yelahanka family, who had by this time grown into a considerable chieftain, holding possession of Bangalore and Māgadi, with the impregnable hill fortress of Sāvandurga, was next attacked, and Bangalore captured from him in 1638 A.D. The possessions of the Chikka Rāya, namely, Hoskote and all the present Kolar District east of it, were then seized, in 1639 A.D., and the victorious army, passing below the Ghāts, took Vellore and Senji (Gingee). Returning to the tableland, Dodballapur, Sira and all the territory to the south of the Chitaldrug district fell to Bijāpur in 1644 A.D.

A Bijāpur Province formed—Shāhji as Governor.

By this time the conquests were complete, and a Province under the designation of Karnātic Bijāpur Bālāghāt was formed out of the districts of Bangalore, Hoskote, Kolar, Dodballapur and Sira; and bestowed as a *jāgīr* on Shāhji, who was also governor of the conquests below the Ghāts, called Karnātic Bijāpur Pāyanghāt. He resided at first at Bangalore, but subsequently, when not engaged in military expeditions, lived sometimes at Kolar and sometimes at Dodballapur.

Policy of Bijāpur kings.

The policy of the invaders, was, while taking possession of the capital town, and administering the revenue of each principality, to grant the ousted chief an estate in some less productive part of his territory. This resulted in bringing under cultivation and attracting population to the more neglected tracts of the country. Thus Basavapatna and its possessions being retained, Tarikere was given to the pālegar; Bangalore was taken but Māgadi left to Kempe Gauda; similarly Hoskōte was taken and Anekal granted; Kolar was taken and Punganūr granted; Sira was taken and Ratnagiri granted.

Some vestiges of their rule.

Some memorials of their occupation of parts of the State may be noted here. A fine Arabic and Persian inscription of 1632 A.D., of the reign of Muhammad-Ādil Shāh records the erection of a fort on the hill at the Māsur-madug tank on the northern frontier of the State in the Shikarpur taluk. (*E.C.* VII, Shikarpur 324.). Other records of the same reign are two dated in 1653, relating to the formation of a tank by the local governor. (*Ibid* Channagiri 43 and 44). In 1648, the local chief of Channarāypatna built a fort at that place, in the Hassan District, apparently in pursuance of a treaty with Bijāpur. (*E.C.* V, Channarayapatna 158, 160 and 165). At Sira, there is an inscription on the tomb of Malik Rihan, Subadhar of Sira, who died in 1651. (*E.C.* XII. Sira 66*b*). There are also a couple of records, dated in 1703 and 1712, in the governship of Gulām Alī Khan, in the earlier of which his decision in a dispute between two Hindu gurus as to their respective disciples is referred to. (*E.C.* X, Mulbagal 98 and Kolar 74.)

Mahrattas introduced into the State

Shāhji was one of the most prominent characters of his day in India. A sketch of his remarkable career is given in the history of the Bangalore District. Under him, the Mahratta element was largely introduced into the north of Mysore, as well as into the Tanjore and other districts which he conquered below the Ghāts. The Mahrattas, or Mahārattas, in whom we may recognize the descendants of a people that have already appeared more than once in our historical review, after the overthrow of the Yādava kingdom of Dēvagiri, had been subjects first of the Bāhmani and subsequently of the Ahmednagar and Bijāpur kingdoms. Their influence was much increased by a remarkable change introduced, chiefly for sectarian reasons, by Ibrahim Ādil Shāh, the fourth king of Bijāpur, who came to the throne in 1535, A.D. Previous to his reign, all the revenue and official accounts had been kept in Persian. But he recognized Marāthi as the official language of the revenue accountants, who were, to a great extent, Brāhmans. He also employed large bodies of Mahratta cavalry called *Bargeer*. They differed from Silahdars in being provided with horses by the State. The rise of the Mahratta power in the person of Sivāji, the son of Shāhji, and the struggles of that race for empire, have been often recorded. We shall meet with them frequently in the remaining portion of our history. Records of this Mahratta domination are found in inscriptions of Sivāji's son Sambhāji (or Sambhōji) dated 1663 and 1680 A.D. (*E.C.* X, Kolar 219 to Chikballapur 32), of Sambhāji's wife (Kolar 227. 224 and 254), and Sambhāji's sons (Mulbagal 154 and Chintamani 54), down to 1693 A.D. The most interesting is the one on the wall of a temple on the summit of Nandidrug (Chikballapur 32) which gives a brief but graphic description of this great stronghold.

Sivāji and Venkōji.

The possessions of Shāhji in Mysore and Tanjore were governed after his death, which occurred in 1664, by his son Venkōji or Ekōji. But Sivāji, the only surviving son by the first marriage, resolved to lay claim to a half share. For this purpose, in which he was encouraged by Raghunāth Nārāyan, who from being the minister first of Shāhji and then of Venkōji, had now come over to Sivāji, he made an expedition into the Karnatic in 1677. Before entering upon it, Sivāji paid his celebrated visit to the temple of Pārvati at Srīsaila, where he spent twelve days in penance, and when about in his enthusiasm to sacrifice himself to the deity, was saved, it is said, by the interposition of the goddess Bhavāni. He then joined the army and, leaving the heavy part to besiege Vellore, pushed on the remainder, consisting principally of cavalry, and gained possession of Senji. He induced Venkōji, who resided at Tanjore, to meet him at Tiruvādi for the purpose of discussing matters, but could not persuade him to give up half the property. Sivāji thought to make him prisoner and compel him, but refrained. He returned to Vellore, which had surrendered, took Karnatic-ghur, Arni and other forts, and overran all the *jāgīr* districts, levying contributions or plundering. Affairs at Golkonda now obliged him to hasten thither, Bellary being captured on the way. Venkōji took the opportunity to attack the troops left in the Karnātic. Sivāji, on hearing of it, wrote a remarkable letter to his brother, full of good sense and injunctions to union and peace, which won over Venkōji. He agreed to pay a large sum of money, to divide their father's jewels, and to share the revenues with his brother. On these conditions, Sivāji allowed him to retain Tanjore, and restored the *jāgīr* districts. This was in 1678. In 1680 A.D., Sivāji died.

Mughal inroads.

In 1684, the Mughal arms, under Aurangazīb, now seated on the throne with the title of Alamgīr, were once more directed to the Deccan for the purpose of crushing the Mahrattas and subjugating the Pathan states of Bijāpur and Golkonda. Bijāpur was taken in 1687 A.D., and Golkonda in 1688. Flying columns were sent out after each of these captures to secure the dependent districts south of the Tungabhadra. A new Province was thus formed in 1687 A.D., with Sira as its capital, composed of the seven *parganas* of Basvapatna, Budihal, Sira, Penugonda, Dodballapur, Hoskōte and Kolar; and having Harpanahalli, Kondarpi, Anegundi, Bednūr, Chitaldrug and Mysore as tributary states. Bangalore, which had been seized, was at the same time sold to the Rāja of Mysore for three lakhs of rupees, the sum for which he had just previously agreed to buy it of Venkōji, who, finding it too far from the seat of his government to be effectually protected, had offered it for sale. Khāsīm Khān, with the designation of *Faujdar Divan*, was the first governor of the Province of Sira. Its annals are elsewhere given.

(See Volume V). It continued a Mughal possession till 1757 A.D.

Some Mughal records.

A few records of the Mughal period may be noted here. Of these, the most interesting is one dated in the 34th year of Aurangazib's reign recording the grant of Dodballapur, which had been taken from Sambhāji by Khāsim Khān, to Sheikh Abdulla Fārukh, a native of Badāyūr near Delhi. (*E.C.* IX Dodballapur 31). In 1696, the big Mosque at Sira was erected. (*E.C.* XII Sira 66*a*). There are, besides, the records of Nawab Durga-Kūli-Khān dated in 1720, (Sira 112) and of Nawab Dilāvar-Khan in 1742 and 1745. (*E.C.* XII Sira 13 and *E.C.* IX Hoskote 19).

The Mysore Rajas.

Our attention will now be directed to the south, to the history of the royal family of Mysore. Their origin is traced to the heroes of a chivalrous exploit, Vijaya and Krishna, two young Kshatriyas of Yādava descent, who, according to tradition, had left Dvāraka, in Gujarāt, with the view of establishing themselves in the south. On arriving at Hadināḍ, or Hada-nāḍ (called Hadana by Wilks, but now known as Hadinaru), a few miles south east of the present city of Mysore, they learned that the chief of the place had wandered away in a state of mental derangement; and that the neighbouring chief of Kārugahalli, who was of inferior caste, taking advantage of the defenceless condition of the family, had demanded the only daughter of the House in marriage. To this a consent had been given under compulsion, and arrangements unwillingly made for the ceremony. The two brothers espoused the cause of the distressed maiden, and having secreted themselves with some followers, fell upon the chief and his retinue while seated at the banquet, and slew them. Marching at once on Kārugahalli, they surprised it, and returned in triumph to

Hadanād. The girl became the willing bride of Vijaya, who took the title of *Odeyar*, or *Wodeyar*, and assumed the government of Hadanād and Karugahalli, adopting at the same time the religion of the Jangamas, or Lingavantas. The term *Odeyar*, *Wodeyar*, or *Wadeyar*, is the plural and honorific form of *Odeya*, a Kannada word meaning *lord*, *master*. Wilks states that it indicated, at the period of which we are writing, the governor of a small district, generally of thirty-three villages. But we find it applied in the Tamil form *Udaiyar*, to the Chōla kings as far back as the eleventh century, and in the Kannada form *Wodeyar* or *Wadiyar*, to the Vijayanagar kings from the beginning of their rule. *Vader*, a modification of the word, is the title of respect by which Jangama priests are addressed.

Inscriptions, however, tell a different tale. (*E.C.* IV Chamarajnagar 92 etc.,) These describe the Mysore Rājas as of the Lunar race and add that certain Yādava Princes from Dwaraka, the capital of the epic hero Sri Krishna in Kathiawar, came to the Karnāta country, either led by fancy, according to some accounts, or, according to others, in order to visit their family God Nārāyana on the peak Yadugiri (Melkote) and seeing the beauty of the land and being pleased with it, took up their abode, it is said, in Mahishapura (Mysore) and became the progenitors of the present Royal family. The story connecting the founders of the Royal House with Hadanaru and making it their halting place seems thus a later invention. It has, therefore, to be dismissed as baseless.

Succession list of kings.

The following is the succession of the Mysore Rājas, according to annals compiled in the Palace, Vijaya being here called Yadurāya :—

Yadu Rāya, Vijaya	**1399-1423**
Hire Bettada Chāma-Rāja Wodeyar (1) ...	**1423-1458**
Timma-Rāja Wodeyar (1)	**1458-1478**

Hire Chāma-Rāja Wodeyar (II) Ārberal (six-fingered).	1478-1513
Bettada Chāma-Rāja Wodeyar (III)	1513-1552
Timma-Rāja Wodeyar (II), Appanna	1552-1571
Bōla Chāma-Rāja Wodeyar (IV)	1571-1576
Bettada Chāma-Rāja Wodeyar (V)	1576-1578
Rāja-Wodeyar (I)	1578-1617
Chāma-Rāja Wodeyar (VI)	1617-1637
Immadi Rāja-Wodeyar (II)	1637-1638
Ranadhīra Kanthīrava Narasa-Rāja Wodeyar	1638-1659
Dodda Dēva-Rāja Wodeyar	1659-1672
Chikka-Dēva-Rāja Wodeyar	1672-1704
Kanthīrava-Wodeyar, Mūkarasu (The Dumb king, being born deaf and dumb).	1704-1713
Dodda Krishna-Rāja Wodeyar (I)	1713-1731
Chama-Rāja Wodeyar (VII)	1731-1734
Krishnarāja Wodeyar (II)	1734-1766
Nanja-Rāja Wodeyar	1766-1770
Bettada Chāma-Rāja Wodeyar (VIII)	1770-1776
Khass Chāma-Rāja Wodeyar (IX)	1776-1796
Krishna-Rāja Wodeyar (III)	1792-1868
Chāma-Rajēndra Wodeyar (X)	1868-1894
Krishna-Rāja Wodeyar (IV)	1895

Yadu Rāya, or Vijaya, is said to have been eleventh in descent from Yaduvīra, of the Ātreya-gōtra and Āsvalāyana-sūtra. But of the early period no annals have been preserved until the time of Chāma-Rāja III. He, during his lifetime, made a partition of his dominions between his three sons. To Timma-Rāja, or Appanna, he gave Hemmanhalli, to Krishna-Rāja he gave Kembala, and to Chāma-Rāja IV, surnamed Bōla or Bald, (owing, it is said, to a stroke of lightning) he gave Mysore. No male heir surviving to either of the elder brothers, the succession was continued in the junior or Mysore branch. With Krishna-Rāja I, the direct descent ended. Chāma-Rāja VII, a member of the Hemmanhalli family, was next elected, but eventually deposed by the *dalavāyi* Deva-Rāj, and the minister Nanja-Rāj. He died a prisoner at Kabbaldurga in 1734 A.D. Chikka or Immadi Krishna-Rāja II, of Kenchengod, a younger and distant branch, was put on the throne in 1734 A.D., and died in 1766. His eldest son, Nanja-Rāja, was directed by Haidar to be installed, but finding him not sufficiently subservient, Haidar turned him out of the Palace in 1767 A.D., and took all control into his own hands. Nanja-Rāja was strangled in 1770, being nominally succeeded by his brother Chāma-Rāja VIII, who died childless in 1775 A.D. Chāma-Rāja IX, son of Dēvarāj Arasu of Arkotār, a member of the Karugahalli family, was then selected at random by Haidar. He died in 1796, and Tīpu appointed no successor. But the real rulers during this period were:—

Haidar Alī Khān	1761-1782
Tīpu Sultān	1782-1799

On the fall of Seringapatam and death of Tīpu, the British Government restored the Hindu Rāj and installed on the throne Krishna-Rāja III, the son of the last-named Chāma-Rāja. The British took over the country from him in 1831, but in 1867, a year before his death, his adoption was recognized of Chāma-Rājēndra X (third son of Krishna Arasu, of the Bettadakōte family), who succeeded him, being installed on the throne on attaining his majority in 1881. He died at the close of 1894, and his eldest son, Krishna-Rāja IV, then a minor, was installed as his successor.

The name "Mysore"

At what period Mysore (properly *Mahish-ūru*, buffalo town) acquired that name is uncertain. It is so called with reference to *Mahishāsūra*, the minotaur or buffalo-headed monster whose destruction is the most noted exploit of Chāmundi, under which name the consort of Siva, the tutelary goddess of the Mysore Rājas, is worshipped on the hill near the capital. Reasons have been given for supposing that it may have been known by that designation before the Christian era. The vulgar name of the place when Chāma-Rāja the Bald received it as his portion was Puragadi, but for the last four centuries, Mysore (*Mahishūr*) has been the common name of the fort and town originally erected or repaired by Hire Chāma-Rāja the Bald. (See Vol. of the work, Appendix).

The Early Kings.

Of the early Kings, stray inscriptions give a few particulars. Thus, Timma-Rāja is said to have gained the title of *Antembara Ganda* (probably a contraction for *Birud-ant-ambara-ganda or champion over those who say they have such and such titles*). Chāmarāja IV defeated in battle Remati-Vēnkata, the general of Rāma-Rāja. He left four sons. Mr. Rice has stated he was succeeded by his eldest son, Bettada Chāma-Rāja. (See *Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions*, 126). This statement seems hardly correct. Several inscriptions show that Rāja-Wodeyar was the elder of the two. (*M.A.R.* 1902). Literary work also uniformly support this view. (*Ibid*).

Chāmarāja the Bald.

The fatal disaster which befell the Vijayanagar empire on the field of Talikota in 1565 diminished to some extent the influence of its viceroy at Seringapatam. We accordingly find Chāma-Rāja the Bald evading the payment of the revenue or tribute due by him, and obtaining permission to erect some works, probably barriers, on the pretext that the wild hogs destroyed the crops and disabled him from paying the tribute. The works were, however, no sooner erected than the collectors of the royal dues were expelled. The Viceroy attempted shortly after to seize Chāma-Rāja while paying his devotions at the temple of Ranganātha, at Seringapatam. But he received warning of the plot and escaped, and continued to evade all the demands of the viceroy with impunity.

Bettada Chāma-Rāja Wodeyar.

Bettada Chāma-Rāja Wodeyar, who succeeded, was not long on the throne. Though brave, he had no capacity for government, and his brother Rāja-Wodeyar, was shortly raised to the throne by the elders. Many noble and interesting traits of the characters of the two brothers, and their mutual consideration, are recorded in Wilks. During Rāja-Wodeyar's reign occurred one of the most important events in the annals of the Mysore House, the acquisition of Seringapatam. For what reasons this was effected has been made known already; in 1610 the viceroy, Tirumala-Rāja (Tirumala II) retired to Talkād, where he shortly after died, and on his retirement, Rāja-Wodeyar took possession of Seringapatam and transferred thither the seat of Government. (See *ante*). At the same time, the religion of Vishnu was adopted by the court.

Rāja-Wodeyar.

Rāja-Wodeyar extended the possessions of his family over all the south of the present Mysore district, and captured several places towards the north from Jagadēva Rāya. "His rule was remarkable for the rigour and severity which he exercised towards the subordinate Wodeyars, and his indulgence towards the *raiyats.* The Wodeyars were generally dispossessed and kept in confinement, on a scanty allowance, at the seat of Government; and it was the policy of Rāja-Wodeyar to reconcile the *raiyats* to the change by exacting from them no larger sums than they had formerly paid." He is said to have thrashed, according to his vow, one of his brother-Wodeyars on the field of battle with his riding-whip. (*E.C.* III Seringapatam 14 and 64 and T.-Narasipur 63). More important than this, he overcame Tirumala-Rāja, the Vijayanagar Viceroy, and seated himself on the jewelled throne in Seringapatam. (*E.C.* IV Yedatore 17 and 18). Both these statements are confirmed by Chidānanda in his *Munivamsābhyudaya.* Whatever were the means by which this was accomplished, it is undoubted that the Viceroy retired to Talkad in 1610, where he shortly after died and that Rāja-Wodeyar took possession of Seringapatam and made it his capital in place of Mysore. This seems to have been countenanced by the Vijayanagar sovereign Vēnkatapati-Rāya, who is said to have confirmed Rāja-Wodeyar in 1612 in the possession of Ummattur and Seringapatam. (*Ibid* T.-Narasipur 62). Another record implies that he considered the Mysore Kings to have a right to the throne of Karnāta. (*Ibid* Nanjangud 198). From 1610 A.D., accordingly, dates the independence of the Mysore Rajas, though it is curious that some of their inscriptions still acknowledge the Vijayanagar supremacy down to as late a period as 1668 (*E.C.* IV, Gundlupet 65) and Narasa-Rāja of Mysore is said to be the right hand of the Vijayanagar sovereign in 1642 A.D. (*E.C.* IV, Yedatore 5). But at the same time, they make numerous grants in their own independent authority, one of the earliest that can be cited being of the date 1612 A.D. (*E.C.* IV Chamarajnagar 200; *E.C.* III Seringapatām 150, dated in 1616 A.D. and 117 dated in 1625 A.D and T.-Narsipur 13, dated in 1633 A.D.) A likeness of Rāja-Wodeyar is to be seen on a pillar in the Nārāyanaswāmi temple at Melkote. (*M.A.R.* 1917, Para 142).

Chāmarāja-Wodeyar VI.

All the sons being dead, Chāma-Rāja, a grandson, succeeded. By the capture of Channapatna, in 1630, he absorbed the territories of Jagadēva Rāya into the Mysore State, and completed what remained of conquest in the south. He pursued the same policy as his predecessor. A copper-plate grant of his dated in 1623 A.D., has been discovered (*M.A.R.* 1908, para 75). He was the author of a Kannada prose version of Vālmīki *Rāmāyana* which is called *Chamarajōkti-vilāsa.* (*Ibid*). He visited Sravana-Belgola and re-established worship there, making grants to the famous temple at the place. (See Chidanandā's *Munivamsabhyudya.*)

Immadi Rāja-Wodeyar. Kantīrava-Narasa Rāja-Wodeyar.

Immadi Rāja-Wodeyar, who came next, was a posthumous son of Rāja-Wodeyar. (*E.C.* IV, Yedatore 17). He was shortly after his accession poisoned by the *dalavāyi*, and Kantirava Narasa-Rāja succeeded him. He was the son of the gallant and generous Bettada Chāma-Rāja, who had been superseded by his younger brother. The *dalavāyi* thought to find him as forbearing and unambitious as his father. But he had already, when living in obscurity, given evidence of his emulous and chivalric spirit. Hearing of a celebrated champion athlete at Trichinopoly who had overcome all opponents, he went there in disguise, and defeated and slew him in the presence of the whole court. Declining all honours for the feat, he quietly slipped away at night and returned home. Soon after his installation at Mysore, where that ceremony continued to be performed, he learned of the means by which his predecessor had been removed, and had the minister assassinated. The two peons, or foot-soldiers, who did the deed scaled the wall of the minister's court-yard after dark, and lay in wait until he passed across, preceded by a torchbearer. The latter was first killed, and the torch went out. ' Who are you ? " said the minister. "Your enemy," replied one of the peons, and made a blow. The minister closed with him and threw him down, holding him by the throat. The other peon, in the dark, knew not which was which. "Are you top or bottom ?" he asked. "Bottom," gasped the half-strangled peon, on which his companion dealt the fatal blow.

Attack of Ran-dhulla Khān repelled.

The year after his accession, Kanthirava had to defend Seringapatam against the attack of the Bijāpur forces under Ran-dhullā Khān; and, as already related, succeeded in effectually repelling the invader. He subsequently carried his conquests over many districts to the south, taking Dannāyakankōte, Satyamangala and other places from the Nāyak of Madura. (See *ante* under *Vijayanagar*, Srī-Ranga VI). He was the "right hand" of

Srī-Ranga VI, the Vijayanagar king to whom he afforded asylum at Belur. (See *ante* under Srī-Ranga VI; also *E.C.* VI, Yedatore 5). Westwards, Arkalgud and Bettadpur were captured. Northwards, he took Hosur (now in Salem), and at Yelahanka inflicted a severe defeat on Kempe Gauda of Māgadi, levying a large contribution on him. With the booty obtained in his various expeditions, and the heavy tribute which from motives of policy he imposed on the *gaudas* or heads of villages in order to reduce their power, he improved and enlarged the fortifications of Seringapatam, and endowed the principal temples. On his behalf, Dodaiya of Kankanhalli was in charge of Chennarayapatna. He hoped for this place in 1648 A.D. and, apparently by an arrangement with the Bijāpur Sultan, the fort was included in the dominions of Kanthirava. (*E.C.* V, Channarayapatna, 158, 160 and 165). Kanthirava built the Narasimha temple at Seringapatam, where stands a magnificent figure of his. It is beautifully carved and has a life-like majestic appearance. A grant to this temple was made by him in 1650 A.D. (*M.A.R.* 1914-15, para 107). He assumed more of royal state in his court, and was the first to establish a mint, at which were coined the Kanthirāya *huns* and *fanams* called after him, which continued to be the current national money until the Muhammadan usurpation. (See *E.C.* V, Arkalgud 64). He was, according to one inscriptional record, Krishna himself born to give peace to the world when it was troubled by the Turushkas, *viz.*, Muhammadans. (*E.C.* III, Seringapatam 103). He established many *agraharās*, bestowed numerous gifts, revived the observance of the Ekādasi-Vrata or the eleventh day vow in honor of Lakshmī-Nrisimha like Ambarisha and other Kings of old. (See *E.C.* V, Arkalgud 64; also *E.C.* IV Yedatore 53 and 54; and Heggaddevankote 119 and 120). In his honour, his queen built a *matha* in 1662 at Kalale and made a grant to it. (*E.C.* III Nanjangud 81). He should have died in or about 1662 A.D.

The Jesuit Missionary Proenaza charges Kanthīrava with "barbarity" when he ordered the cutting off of the noses of the opposing forces in his Madura campaign. His description of this war ending as "a war for noses" seems, as already remarked, an exaggerated one. Cutting the nose was a kind of punishment that was reserved in olden days for those who proved treacherous to their sovereign. Tirumala had rebelled against his suzerain and Kanthīrava, who was fighting on the latter's behalf, probably inflicted it on the general of the opposing forces, which had hotly pursued the Mysore army on its retreat homewards. (See *ante* under *Vijayanagar*, Srī-Ranga VI. In regard to "cutting of noses" as a punishment, see note at the end of this Volume.)

Dodda-Dēva Rāja Wodeyar.

Kanthirava died without issue, and of the possible claimants to the throne, the most suitable were a grandson and a great-grandson of Bōla Chāmarāja, both about thirty-two years of age. The former, though of a junior branch, was selected, and is known as Dodda-Dēva-Rāja; the latter, afterwards Chikka-Dēva-Rāja, was, with his father, placed in confinement at Hangala. A number of inscriptions dated in 1663 (*E. C.* III Mandya 114, Serinpapatam 13 and T.-Narsipur 23) show that he was in full favour in that year. A grant of his dated in that year to Raghavendra-tīrtha of the Raghavendra-swāmi *matha* of Nanjangud is also known. (See *M.A.R.* 1917, Para 143). It was during Dodda-Dēva-Rāja's reign that Srī-Ranga-Rāya, (III,) the then ruler of Vijayanagar, fled for refuge to Bednur. Sivappa Nāyak, who was the *de facto* ruler of that State, entered upon a considerable range of conquests southwards under pretence of establishing the royal line, and appeared before Seringapatam with a large force. He was, however, compelled to retreat, and the Mysore armies before long overran Sakkarepatna, Hassan, and other places, with the Government of which Srī-Ranga-Rāja had been invested by Sivappa Nāyak. The Nāyak of Madura now invaded Mysore, meditating the conquest of the country; but not only was he forced to retire, but Erode and Dhārāpuram yielded to the Mysoreans, who levied heavy contributions on Trichinopoly and other important places. Dodda-Dēva-Rāja was a great friend of the Brāhmans, and was profuse in his grants and donations to them. He is said to have made all the gifts mentioned in the *Hemādri* and other sacred books and established in every important village inns (*chatras*) for the distribution of food. All those who were persecuted by the Mlēchchas (*i.e.*, Muhammadans), who had seized upon the land, flocked to him for protection. (*E.C.* IV, Yedatore 54). Details of his conquests are given in one record. (*E.C.* III, Seringapatam 14). He defeated at Erode, it is said, the army of the lord of Madura, slew Damaralaiyappendra and put to flight Anantōji, etc. (See *ante* under *Vijayanagar*). He died at Chikanāyakanhalli, which, together with Hulyurdurga and Kunigal, had been conquered not long before. The Mysore kingdom at this period extended from Sakkrepatna in the west to Salem in the east, and from Chiknāyakanhalli in the north to Dhārāpuram (Coimbatore District) in the south. The poet Chāmayya (about 1700 A.D.) has, in his work *Dēvarājēndra-Sāngatya*, given a description of his reign. (See Narasimhachar's *Karnataka-Kavi-Charite*, II, 535).

Among his titles were *mūru-manneya-ganda*, *para-rāya-bhayankara* and *Hindu-rāya-suratrāna*. We know the last of these is a title claimed by the kings of the first Vijayanagar Dynasty from the very beginning of their rule. Dodda-Dēva-Rāya claims to have obtained the Kingdom by his valour. (Mysore Palace

Plates, dated in 1663 A. D. *M. A. R.* 1908-1909, Para 99).

A grant of his of some interest is the one mentioned in *T.-Narsipur* 23, dated in 1663 A.D., in favour of one Venkatavaradāchārya, a descendant of the Tātāchārya, who was the *guru* of Srī-Rāmāraja. The recipient is described as Brihaspati in the assembly (of the learned), conversant with Logic, acquainted with the *Pada stōma* of Patanjali and the essence of the Vēdānta. He is said to have been celebrated for his generosity, in having given away in marriage a crore of virgins. He evidently was descended in the family of Tātāchārya, to which the two brothers referred to in the reign of Virūpāksha-Rāya (Vijāyanagar Dynasty I) belonged. It is noted in this inscription that the King wrote out the grant himself in the Ārya (*i.e.*, Marāthi or Nāgari) characters in consideration of the donee being his *guru*. To the same Venkatavaradāchārya, another grant (of Tubinkere in Tumkur) was made in 1662 A.D. The Halagere plates, dated in the same year, record a still another grant of this King—of a village named after himself in the Tumkur District. (*E.C.* XII Kunigal 37.) Another grant was made by him in 1664 A.D. as a thank-offering for the victory obtained by him against the Ikkēri Chief (*E.C.* XII Kunigal 46). Two spurious grants pretending to have been issued by him are also known. (See *M.A.R.* 1910-11, Para 129). There is, besides, a grant of his dated in 1665 A.D. (*M.A.R.* 1912, Para 26).

Chikka-Dēva-Rāja Wodeyar.

Chikka-Dēva-Rāja, who was passed over at the commencement of the preceding reign, now succeeded, and became one of the most distinguished of the Mysore Rājas. His early youth had been passed at Yelandur where he had formed an intimacy with a Jain named Vishalaksha Pandit. When Chikka-Dēva-Rāja and his father were confined at Hangala, this man continued his attachment and followed them into captivity; not, however, from disinterested affection, but because he had ascertained by his knowledge of the stars that Chikka-Dēva-Rāja would certainly succeed to the throne. Having obtained a promise that if such an event should come to pass he should be made prime minister, he repaired to the capital and industriously circulated in secret among influential persons the prediction of Chikka-Dēva-Rāja's destiny. When, therefore, Dodda-Dēva-Rāja died, every one was prepared to receive the successor decreed by fate. They did not acquiesce quite so readily when the pandit was made minister, but the ability of the Rāja and his adviser soon silenced all murmurs.

Establishment of post.

One of the earliest measures of the new reign was the establishment, for the first time, of a regular post throughout the country. Its functions were, however, conjoined with those usually discharged by a detective police, and information of the private transactions of each district was thus regularly collected and sent to court by the postal officials.

Extension of the Kingdom.

Several conquests were made between 1675 and 1678, the most important of which were those of Madgiri and Midagesi, with some of the intermediate districts; which brought the Mysore frontier, projecting in a long arm northwards, up to that of Karnātic Bijāpur, now disorganized by the raids of Sivāji, consequent on the dispute previously mentioned between him and his half brother Venkōji.

Financial changes.

During the next ten years were introduced a number of financial changes, having for their object, the increase of the revenue. The Rāja was, it is said, unwilling to incur the risk of increasing in a direct manner the estab-

lished proportion of one-sixth share of the crop payable to the crown as land revenue. A number of petty taxes were therefore imposed, of a vexatious character, in order that the *raiyats* might be driven to seek relief and compound for their abolition in voluntarily submitting to an increase of the land assessment. Lands held by the soldiery as part payment for their services were, on grounds of policy, exempted. These measures gave rise to great discontent, which was fanned by the Jangama priests. The opposition was manifested by a determination not to till the land. The *raiyats* deserted their villages and assembled as if to emigrate. The Rāja's resolution was prompt, but sanguinary. He invited all the Jangama priests to meet him at Nanjangud for the purpose of discussing matters. Only four hundred attended. What followed is thus described by Wilks:—

> A large pit had been previously prepared in a walled enclosure, connected by a series of squares composed of tent walls with the canopy of audience, at which they were successively received one at a time, and after making their obeisance were desired to retire to a place where, according to custom they expected to find refreshments prepared at the expense of the Rāja. Expert executioners were in waiting in the square, and every individual in succession was so skilfully beheaded and tumbled into the pit as to give no alarm to those who followed, and the business of the public audience went on without interruption or suspicion. Circular orders had been sent for the destruction, on the same day, of all the Jangam *mutts* (places of residence and worship) in his dominions; and the number reported to have been in consequence destroyed was upwards of seven hundred. This notable achievement was followed by the operations of the troops, which had also been previously combined. Wherever a mob had assembled, a detachment of troops, chiefly cavalry, was collected in the neighbourhood, and prepared to act on one and the same day. The orders were distinct and simple; to charge without parley into the midst of the mob; to cut down in the first selection every man wearing an orange-coloured robe (the peculiar garb of the

Jangama priests) ; and not to cease acting until the crowds had everywhere dispersed. It may be concluded that the effects of this system of terror left no material difficulties to the final establishment of the new system of revenue.

The chief odium of these massacres, as well as the innovations which had led to them, naturally fell upon the Yelandur Pandit who was at the head of the administration. An impression also got abroad that the Rāja was about to abandon the doctrines of the Jangama cult in which he was brought up, and to revive the ascendancy of the Jain faith. The result was that the minister fell a victim to a plot against his life, and he was assassinated one night while returning from court. The Rāja was much affected at the news and hastened to the death-bed of his faithful counsellor; who, with his dying breath, recommended a Brāhman named Tirumalaiyangār as the most able and honourable man to succeed him as minister.

In the many inscriptions that have been discovered of Chikka-Dēva-Rāya's reign, there is not even a whisper of this opposition or suppression.

Acquisition of Bangalore.

These transactions bring us to 1687—the period when the Mughals, having captured Bijāpur, were taking possession of the Karnātic provinces dependent on it and forming the Province of Sira. The agreement as to the sale at this time of Bangalore by Venkōji, to the Mysore Rāja for three lakhs of rupees, its seizure by Khāsīm Khān, the Mughal general, before the entry of the Mysore troops, and the conclusion of the bargain notwithstanding, are related in the account of that district. Bangalore had now become a possession of the Mysore Rāja who assiduously cultivated an alliance with Aurangazīb through general Khāsīm Khān, while at the same time extending his territories in directions that would not interfere with the Mughal operations. Tumkur was taken the same year; then, turning east by way of Hoskōte, the Mysore army descended the Ghāts and subdued a great part of Baramahal and Salem. Between

1690 and 1694, the territories were extended westwards, and all the districts up to the Baba Budan mountains, including Hassan, Banavar, Chikmagalur and Vastara were taken from Bednūr. And by a treaty concluded in 1694 with the chief of that State, all these conquests, except Aigur and Vastara, were retained by Mysore.

Mahratta raid on Seringapatan repulsed.

The project was next formed of invading the possessions of the Nāyak of Madura, and Trichinopoly was besieged in 1696. But while the strength of the army was engaged before that fortress, a Mahratta force,—marching to the relief of Gingee where Rāma Rāj, the second son of Sivāji, had been long besieged by the Mughals under Zulfikar Khān,—attracted by the hope of plunder, suddenly appeared before Seringapatam. An express was at once sent to the Dalavāyi Kumāraiya directing him to return for the protection of the capital. But as he had made a vow not to appear before his Rāja before he had taken Trichinopoly, he despatched his son Doddaiya in command of a force, which came up by rapid marches, and, by means of a stratagem which seems often to have been resorted to by the Mysore troops, inflicted a total defeat upon the enemy, in which the leaders were slain and the whole of the ordinance, baggage and military stores of every description captured. It was the practice of the Mysore army to perform their night marches by the light of numerous torches, and this was made the foundation of a stratagem effected in the following manner:—

In the evening, the dalavāyi sent a small detachment in the direction opposite to that on which he had planned his attack; and in the probable line by which he would move to throw his force into the capital. This detachment was supplied with the requisite number of torches and an equal number of oxen, which were arranged at proper distances, with a flambeau tied to the horns of each in a situation where country suffered the levy of contributions at the hands of Chikka-Dēva as far as Trichinopoly. This occurred, according to Wilks, in 1667 A.D. Inscriptions of a Dēvarāja-Udaiyar have been found at Satyamangalam and Vinnappalli in Gopichettipalaiyam in the Coimbatore District. These are dated in 1669 and 1671 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1910, No. 181; V. Rangachari, *Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*, I. 551 and 552) and might be referred to Dodda-Dēva-Rāja Wodeyar, whose reign ended in 1672 A.D. Conceding that these records indicate an earlier occupation of parts of the Coimbatore country by the Wodeyars of Mysore—probably in the reign of Dodda-Dēva-Rāja—the fact that the war against Chokkanatha is referred to in Chikka-Dēva's record dated in 1675 A.D. and repeated in another dated in 1679, as quoted above, shows that the campaign should have been undertaken *prior* to 1675 A.D. As Chikka-Dēva ascended the throne in 1672, the event should have occurred between 1672 and 1675 A.D. Wilks' date of 1667 A.D., seems therefore rather too early and has to be given up. (See in this connection R. Satyanātha Aiyar, *History of the Nāyaks of Madura*, 161-163, 172-174). In conformity with this view is the fact that Chikka-Deva's inscriptions dated in 1673 and 1676 A.D., have been found in the Coimbatore country. This indicates that he was extending his conquests to the South at the expense of the Nāyak ruler of Madura. (Sewell, *List of Antiquities* I, 194; Rangachari, *Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency* I, 527; *M.E.R.* 1910, 209 of 1909). What led to this extension it is not by any means clear. It has been suggested by Mr. Sathyanatha Aiyar that about the time that Chikka-Dēva-Rāja ascended the throne, the Chiefs of Madura and Tanjore combined with the Sultān of Bijāpur and a few of the local chiefs and put up a fight against him on behalf of Srī-Ranga Rāya III, the Vijayanagar Emperor. A battle was fought at Erode, but the combined allies were defeated and Srī-Ranga-Rāya III sought refuge with the chief of Ikkēri. This chief, after an unsuccessful attempt at forming an alliance with Chikka-Dēva-Rāja, took up the cause of Srī-Ranga-Rāya III and invaded Mysore. He was defeated at Hassan and Sakkarepatna, which Chikka-Dēva annexed to his own dominions. The defeats which he, Chikka-Dēva, inflicted on his enemies at Erode, Hassan and Sakkarepatna are referred to in some of his inscriptions already quoted. (*E.C.* III Seringapatam 151; Chamarajnagar 92 and Seringapatam 14). As we have seen, *Seringapatam* 151 refers to the defeat of the Pāndya King Chokka and the capture of Tripura (*i.e.* Trichinopoly) and Anantapuri and to his fighting the Keladi chief and the Muhammadans and his conquest of Saklespur and Arkalgud. *Seringapatam* 14 which is dated in 1780 A.D., five years later than *Seringapatam* 115, gives fuller particulars of the victories over Chokkanātha of Madura and the Keladi chief. It says that Chikka-Dēva "defeated the army of the Lord of Madura in the Erodu (Erode) country, slew Damaralaiyyapendra, and put to flight Anantōji. He captured the elephant named *Kulasēkhara,* and closely besieging them, took by assault Chamballi-pura (Samhalli in the Bhavāni Taluk), Omaluru (Omalur in the Salem District) and Dhārāpuram (in the Coimbatore District). Conquering the army of the Keladi Kings, he captured the elephant called *Gangādhara* and took the impregnable fortresses of Hasana (Hassan) and Sakkarepatna." These two wars of Chikka-Dēva enabled him not only to consolidate his position but also to ward off all blows both from the north and the south.

Seringapatam 14 (dated in 1686 A.D.) also states that Chikka-Dēva defeated the Mahrāttas from Panchavati (Nāsik) and killed (in battle) Dadaji, their leader and cut off the limbs and noses of Jaitaji and Jasavanta. (See Appendix at the end of this Volume). He also reduced to abject terror Sambhu (*i.e.* Sāmbhāji, son of Sivāji), Ikkēri Basava (Basavappa Nāyak, adopted son of Channammaji, widow and successor of Sōmasēkhara-Nāyak) and Ekōji (*i.e.*, Venkōji, brother of Sivāji, who had seized Tanjore). A later inscription—*Seringapatam* 64 dated in 1722—states that Chikka-Dēva conquered the Lord of Madura (*i.e.* the Nāyak King Chokkanātha) and withstood Sivāji at the time when the rulers of the countries around Agra, Delhi and Bhāgyanagara (Haidarabad) were falling down before him and presenting tribute. He thus acquired the title of *Apratima-vīra* (or unrivalled hero) which is one of the distinctive epithets of the Mysore *Mahārājas*. The same record sums up his achievements by adding that he defeated attacks from every point of the compass made by *Turukas* (Muhammadans), Morasas (Telugu Vokkaligas) of the Kolar and surrounding country to the north-east, Areyas (Mahrāttas), Tigulas (Tamils), Kodagas (Coorgs) and Malegas (hill tribes in the West), besides Kutupu-shāh (of Golkonda) and Ādil Shāh (of Bijāpur). What led to such an unprecedented combination against him as is mentioned in certain of his records is not quite clear. It is possible that he was a competitor for the vacant throne of the Vijayanagar King (Srī-Ranga-Rāya III). Sivāji appears to have been fired with that ambition (see Sathyanātha Iyer, *Nāyaks of Madura*, 176-7, *f. n.* 71) and the claim put forward for Chikka-Dēva that he refused to yield to him while all other rulers (around Agra, Delhi and Haidarabad) had done so, shows that he hotly disputed Sivāji's attempt at cherishing any such idea. As a matter of fact, the description of Chikka-Dēva (in Chamarajnagar 92 dated in 1675 A.D.) as seated on the throne of the Karnāta dominion like the great Indra and his subsequent despatch of an embassy to the Mughal emperor in 1700 A.D. and his obtaining from him a new signet bearing the title of

Jaga-Dēva-Rāya, the sovereign of the world, and permission to sit on his ivory throne indicate the success—partial, it may be—that attended his efforts in the same direction. Entirely in accordance with this political ambition of Chikka-Dēva is the ascription to him of the titles of the Vijayanagar king in Tirumalārya's *Chikkadēvarājavijaya* and *Apratima-vīra-Chārita*:—*Srīmān Mahārājādhirāja-Rājaparamēsvara Praudha-Pratāpa-Apratimaviranarapati Srī-Chikkadēvarāja-Mahārāja* of which the first part is one connected with the Vijayanagar kings from the time of Dēva-Rāya I. Such an ascription would be meaningless except on the basis that the sovereign to whom they are given was held to be the successor of the last representative of the Vijayanagar dynasty to which they belonged. That this ascription is not peculiar to Tirumalārya is clear from the fact that it occurs in a slightly varied form in the works of Chikupādhyāya, another poet of Chikka-Dēva's reign. His wording is as follows:—*Rājādhirāja-Rājaparamēsvarapratima-Praudha-Pratāpa*, etc., etc. (See Chikkupādhyāya's *Kamalāchala mahātmya*). The same terminology is adopted by Mallikārjuna in his *Srī-Rangamahātmya.*

Chikka-Dēva-Rāja as a literary patron.

Chikka-Dēva-Rāja encouraged learning and literary pursuits. (See Tirumalārya's *Apratima-vīra-charita*). There flourished at his Court the following among other poets and poetesses:—Tirumalārya (also known as Tirumalaiyangar); Singārya, his brother; Chikkupadhyāya; Timmakavi; Mallikārjuna; Vēnugōpāla-Varaprasāda; Mallarasa; Srungāramma and Honnamma. The works of these writers have added lustre to Kannada literature as a whole. Of these Tirumalārya stands pre-eminently high, his brother Sringārya coming next after him. Tirumalārya was, as we have seen, Chikka-Dēva's minister as well. It is said that Tirumalārya's father, Alaga-Singārya was the Paurānika of Chikka-Deva's father Dodda-Dēva-Rāja and that Tirumalārya and Chikka-Dēva studied together and in after life became Chikka-Dēva's minister. Born in 1645, he is said to have died in 1706, surviving his sovereign but two years. He was a pious Srī-Vaishnava and was wholly devoted to his master. All his known works bear his sovereign's name or title:—*Apratima-vīra-charita*, an original work on Kannada prosody based on Sānskrit models, wherein every descriptive example is a stanza in praise of *Chikka-Dēva*; *Chikka-Dēva-Rāja-Vijaya*, a *champu* work devoted to the history of the kings of Mysore, of great value to the historical student; *Chikka-Dēva-Rāja-Vamsāvali*, a prose work of great literary merit, also devoted to the history of Mysore kings; and *Chikka-Dēva-Rāja-Sataka*, a centum in praise of Chikka-Dēva-Rāja, even a single copy of which has not yet been discovered. Chikkupādhyāya, whose real name was Lakshmipathi, is perhaps the most voluminous writer known in Kannada. A Srī-Vaishnava by faith, belonging to Terakanāmbi, several of his known works, which number some twenty-eight, deal with topics connected with that religion. In some of these, he gives considerable space to Chikka-Dēva's pedigree and conquests. Among the latter, he mentions how, in the east, Chikka-Dēva inflicted a defeat on Chokkalinga (*i.e.*, Chokkanātha) and how he captured his several horses and added to his territories Paramati, Malali, Muttamjatti, Sendamangala, Ariyalur, Toreyur, Anantagiri, Kunturu, Anduru and other places. He also refers to the campaign against the Ikkēri chief and to his conquest of Arkalgud, Angadi, Nuggihalli, Saklesapura and Belur. In the north, he is said to have taken Honnali, Kandikere, Bhutipura, Handanakere, Jadakanagiri, Tumkur, Maddagiri-durga, Channarāya-durga, Midigēsi, Holavanahalli. In the south, he is said to have conquered the Todavanād, or Toda country, which may be taken to be the Nīlgiris. He states that he wrote several of his works at the special request of Chikka-Dēva-Rāja. One of these is named *Chikka-Dēva-Rāja-Sringara-padagalu.* Another protege of Chikka-Dēva-Rāja was Timmakavi, the author among other works, of *Yādavagiri Mahātmya.* In this work, the campaigns of Chikka-Dēva are referred to at some length. The fights against Chokkalinga-Nāyaka of Madura; Rāmachandra Nāyaka of Sendamangala, Venkatanāyaka of Velapuri (Belur); and Narasanāyaka of Jadakanadurga are also mentioned. Chikkupādhyāya not only himself composed many works but also induced a number of his contemporaries to write. Among the latter are especially Mallarasa and Mallikārjuna. Timmakavi was probably the author of *Chikka-Dēva-Rāja-Vamsavali,* which Mr. Narasimhachār sets down to a poet of the name of Vēnugōpālavaraprasāda, which evidently, as he himself suspects, is merely descriptive of the source from which the poet obtained his poetic inspiration. In this work, we have a brief outline of the pedigree of the Mysore kings who were the forbears of Chikka-Dēva-Rāja. (R. Narasimhachār, *Karnataka-Kavi-Charite, II.* 506-7). Chidānanda Kavi, the author of *Munivamsā-bhyudaya,* was another poet who lived and wrote in Chikka-Dēva's reign. He gives the king's pedigree at some length and addresses him in his work. In his account of Mysore Kings, he gives some interesting details which are confirmed by what is contained in the inscriptions of the period. According to him, Chikka-Dēva-Rāja bore the title of *Sringāra Karnāṭaka Chakri* (*i.e.*, Emperor of the beautiful Karnātaka country). Singārya, brother of Tirumalārya, wrote *Mitravindā-Gōvinda,* the only drama known to Kannada literature. It is in four acts and is based on Srī Harsha Dēva's *Ratnāvali,* though it departs from the original in certain respects. Singārya appears to have been a poet at Chikka-Dēva's court. Among the poetesses of the reign are Honnamma and Srungāramma.

Of these, the former was apparently in the service of queen Dēvajāmmanni of Yelandur. She was held in high esteem for her poetic talents by Singārya, under whose inspiration she wrote a poem called *Hadi-badeya-Dharma*. This treats of the duties of a virtuous wife, with examples taken from epic sources. Unlike this poetess, Srungāramma, the other poetess, was a Brāhman, though both were ardent Srī-Vaishnavas. Srungāramma calls herself "the little daughter" of Chikka-Dēva-Rāja, which shows that she had had his patronage. She wrote a poem *Padmini Kalyāna*, which is devoted to a description of the marriage of Srīnivāsa, the deity at Tirupati, with Padmini. But, perhaps, the greatest poet of Chikka-Dēva's reign was Lakshmīsa, the author *Jaimini-Bhārata*. He belonged to Devanur, in Kadur District, just beyond the territorial limits of Chikka-Dēva's kingdom. Despite this fact, it has been admitted that he belonged to the Karnātaka country and that his work has been accorded the highest place in Kannada literature, ancient or modern. Its popularity is unique among all classes of Kannada readers and its fame has spread far and wide throughout the Kannada speaking land. As has been remarked, there is hardly a Kannada knowing man who has not read it or heard it read. Not only did Chikka-Dēva-Rāja prove himself a great patron of literary talent, but was also himself an author of merit in Sānskrit and Kannada. Among his works are:—*Chikka-Dēva-Rāja-Binnappa*; *Gīta-Gōpāla*; *Bhāgavata*; *Sēshadharma*; and *Bhārata*. Of these, the first mentioned is a prose work conceived in the classical (Hala-Kannada) style. As its name indicates, it consists of thirty 'petitions' addressed by the royal author to God Nārāyanaswāmi of the Melkōte temple whom he styles his 'family deity' (*Kula-Daiva*). Chikka-Dēva was an ardent Srī-Vaishnava and in these thirty appeals he sets out the essence of that religious faith. Parts of this work are of a self-revelatory character and as such are of great interest. The eternal problems of life and death are discussed in it in a moving manner. (See for example the Ninth Binnappa). It is an intensely human document, with an appeal which will never fail. In its preliminary portion, the royal poet gives an interesting account of his conquests, which, in the main, is in accord with what the inscriptional records, above quoted, furnish us with. The work entitled *Bhāgavata* is also known as *Chikka-Dēva-Rājā-Sakti-Vilāsa.* It is a Kannada prose commentary on the well-known Sānskrit work. Similarly, the *Bhārata* is a Kannada prose commentary on the great epic, though it only treats of that work from the *Sāntiparva* onwards. *Sēshadharma* is also a Kannada prose commentary on the Sānskrit work of the same name. The *Gīta-Gōpāla* is modelled on Jaya-Dēva's famous work *Gīta-Gōvinda* and is replete with devotional hymns. The author claims to suggest an easy way to win salvation. He says that through songs he points the way to salvation much like the physician who gives medicine in milk to the sickman who dislikes milk. In this work we have a more elaborate description of Chikka-Dēva's conquests. As a great many of the verses appearing in this part of the work also figure in two of Tirumalārya's works (*Apratima-vīra-Charita* and *Chikka-Dēva-Rāya-Charita*), it has created the doubt that this might have been written by Tirumalārya and published in the name of his sovereign. There is, however, this to be said against this view, that royal authors have sometimes borrowed verses from the works of contemporary poets to describe their own conquests. Krishna-Dēva-Rāya of the III Vijayanagar dynasty in writing his *Āmuktamālyada* has, for example, borrowed freely from the introductory part of Allasani Peddana's work. Though the same doubt as to the authorship of the *Āmuktamālyada* has been expressed, the balance of opinion has been in favour of the view that the work is that of *Krishna-Dēva-Rāya* and not Peddanārya. There is also the further fact that the *Gīta-Gōpāla* contains matter which is far too personal to the king to have been written by another hand, unless we can concede that the minister was too well acquainted with his sovereign's inner religious feelings to pour himself forth as he would himself have done. *Sachchhūdrāchāra-nirnaya* is another work of Chikka-Dēva which has come down to us. (*M.A.R.* 1908-1909, Para 101; also R. Narasimhachār, *Karnātaka-Kavi-Charite* II. 455 *et seq*).

His religious faith.

As might be inferred, Chikka-Dēva-Rāja was an ardent Srī-Vaishnava. His works breathe the spirit of a true devotee, who put his faith in the feet of Sri-Nārāyana-svāmi of Melkōte. He gave prominence to the Vajra-makuta (or Vaira-mudi) festival at this place and inaugurated the Gajēndra festival there. (*M.A.R.* 1912, Para 127). Though he was a Vaishnava, he followed the Vīrasaiva (sometimes called Jangama) tenets as well, as his forefathers did and as his successors have always done. He was a tolerant prince though a pious Vaishnava; he built a pond at Sravana-Belgōla, apparently for the use of Jain pilgrims frequenting the place. According to an inscription in the *mantapa* of the pond, it appears to have been built by him in 1680 A.D. Chidānanda says in his *Munivamsābhyudaya* that Chikka-Dēva-Rāja induced his brother Dēva-Rāja, to grant a village to the Belgola temple.

His grants.

Among Chikka-Deva's grants are the following:—

(1) The Chamarajnagar grant, dated in 1675 A.D., composed by Tirumalārya, recording a gift of two villages in the Terakanāmbi country, in favour of Krishna-Yajvā, who performed on the king's behalf the *srāddha* ceremony at Gaya (on or the villages were granted on the anniversary of) the death of the king's father, they being renamed Chikka-Dēva-

Rāyapura and Krishnāpura (*E.C.* IV *Chamarajnagar* 92; *M.A.R.* 1908-1909, para 100).

(2) The Melkote Rāmānujāchārya shrine grant, dated in 1678-9 A.D., in favour of Alahasingar Iyengar for reciting the *Mahābhārata*. (*E.C.* III *Seringapatam* 94).

(3) The Seringapatam copper-plate grant, dated in 1686 A.D. (*E.C.* III Seringapatam 14) in favour of the Kōdandarāma temple he built at Seringapatam.

(4) The Dēvanagara copper-plates, dated in 1674 A.D., recording the grant of two *agrahāras*, both situated in Dēvanagara, ; named after his father and bestowed in his name to learned men of the three sects of Brāhmans—Smārta, Srī-Vaishnava and Mādhva (*M.A.R.* 1912, Para 127.) The grant was composed by Rāmayanam Tirumalārya.

(5) The Ullamballi copper-plate grant, dated in 1673, recording a grant in favour of Rudramunidēvārādhya of Revanārādhya *matha* at Hullamballi. (*M.A.R.* 1920, Para 96).

(6) The Garani copper-plate grant, dated in 1680, of which only a copy is forthcoming, recording the grant of Garani, renamed Chikkadēvarāyapura, as an *agrahāra*. (*M.A.R.* 1918 Para 130.)

His capital, Seringapatam, in the 17th century.

Seringapatam became a flourishing City during Chikka-Dēva-Rāja's reign. There is a high flown description of it in an inscription dated in 1685 A.D. (*E.C.* III *Malvalli* 61). "With plum, jack, cocoanut, plantain, lime, orange, fig and other fruit trees, with house as high as hills, was the city filled; and with cows and Brāhmans, with trees and plants, with temples, with fine elephants like Airāvata, with horses neighing like the thunder of the clouds, with splendid chariots and foot-soldiers." Such was "the beautiful city Srīranga, having splendid gateways, an ornament to the lady-earth, surrounded by the Cauvery, filled with priests, poets, wise men and ministers." Another town of some importance was Malvalli, which had, we are told, a "fort with a deep moat." It was, it is recorded, filled with men learned in the Vēdānta, Sruti, Smriti and Dharma-Sāstra.

Apparently it was a great intellectual centre, if not actually a seat of learning. At this place, Chikka-Dēva made in 1685 A.D. a magnificent pond for the use of the people. The political centre of gravity so far as Mysore was concerned had distinctly shifted from the West—from Banavāsi, Dorasamudra, Araga, etc, to Seringapatam, which during the next hundred years became the object of attraction to every aspiring power in India.

Domestic life, etc.

Chikka-Dēva-Rāja left an younger brother of the name of Kanthīrava and a son by his queen Dēvamāmba named Kanthīrava Narasa-Rāja II. The latter succeeded him. (See below). The former is mentioned in inscriptions, (*E.C.* III *Seringapatam* 64 etc). He does not appear to have ruled. Two of his grants are, however, known. One of these is dated in 1672 A.D. (*E.C.* III *Malvalli* 69) which has been wrongly assigned by Mr. Rice to king Kanthīrava-Narasa II, and the other is dated in 1676 A.D. (*E.C.* III *T.-Narsipur* 96). Personally Chikka-Dēva-Rāja is portrayed to us, both in inscriptions and in literary poems. as an intensely human personage. *Seringapatam* 14 calls him "the generous Chikka-Dēvēndra" who gave "pleasure like Upēndra." He was apparently profuse in his gifts. (His many gifts to Brāhmans seem to confirm this statement). His giving away the "sixteen great gifts" is referred to in the same inscription with evident approbation. He appears to have led his armies in person and to have won great fame both as a leader and as a soldier. His enemies are said to have sunk down in terror and rolled on the ground at sight of him, "as if he were himself the terrible Narasimha." This, of course, is hyperbolic language, but there is no doubt that he left on his contemporaries the impress of a born general. His gallantry towards Akkāreddy, whom he caught alive on the field of battle at Erode and let off with mercy, is specially praised in one poem in his honour. He is described as fond of his capital city and as taking a delight in rambling through it. As regards his encouragement of the learned, the large array of poets and authors who flourished in his reign is proof positive of a highly developed literary taste in him. A poet in eulogizing his patronage of learned men states that he treated them like the lover of a parrot, who not only found a cage for it, but also the milk and fruits to feed and protect it from starvation. He is said to have given away houses and riches to learned men and to have protected them by encouraging learning among them. If the poet who supplies us all this information may be believed—his references to historical incidents have been fully confirmed by inscriptions and known facts of history—then, we should have to allow that Chikka-Dēva-Rāja was a brilliant conversationalist as well. To talk with him once, was, in this poet's opinion, to wish for more talks with him; and to him who had not conversed with him even once, the desire was to find an opportunity to do so. "If the nectar is only known by the name," he asks, "is it possible not to yearn for a drop of it? When you have had a taste of it, is it possible not to hunger for it the more?" Such was apparently Chikka-Dēva's power of attraction, at least to the wise and the learned in his dominions. (See V. Prabhākara Sāstri, *Chikka-Dēva-Rāya* in *Chātupadyamanimanjari*, 46-54).

An estimate of Chikka-Dēva-Rāja's rule.

A wholly distorted picture of Chikka-Dēva is given by Wilks on the basis of the Mss. records at his disposal. The inscriptional records give an account of him, which is fully borne out by the literary works of his own times. A just portrayal of his greatness as a conqueror, ruler, *literateur* and humble seeker after the truth is not now impossible with the materials before us. Without doubt he was the first ruler of Mysore to look beyond the immediate pre-occupations of the hour. His wide conquests and high political ambitions show this unmistakably. His internal administration was rendered efficient and remodelled by him to suit the growing needs of his kingdom. He was not an innovator of the kind Tīpu was; he was severely practical, sensible and far seeing in his reforms. His financial changes have been adversely commented upon by Wilks but it would be wholly uncritical to say that he invented petty imposts of a vexatious character to get more than the usual "one-sixth" prescribed by Manu. As we know, imposts of this nature had long been in force in the country, since the ancient days (Ganga, Chōla and Vijayanagar times *cf.* tax on Jangamas and tax on Jiyars in the time of Vijayanagar King Narasimha, see *E.C.* IV Gundlupet 67, dated in 1505) and all that Chikka-Dēva appears to have done is to enforce their payment with regularity and precision. His exemption of the soldiery from such taxation was one not only based on grounds of policy but also in keeping with established custom. The story of the "sanguinary and treacherous" disposal of his Jangama opponents seems to rest on the statement of authorities which have not so far been, in the least, confirmed either by inscriptional or literary evidence. The whole personal history of Chikka-Dēva-Rāja seems to be against his participation in this crime, if it was at all perpetrated. He was a devout Saivite; according to one well-known contemporary poem, which describes his conquests and his character, (see V. Prabhākara Sāstri, *l.c.*, 47) he was ever engaged in the worship of the Jangamas (*Jangamār chanamu . . . . nẹ̄jāna Sēyu*) and always busied himself in the discussion of the excellent *Sivāchāra* doctrine. (*Sajjana suddhamagu Sivāchāra darsana munē Sarasu derugu.*) The "system of terror" referred to by Wilks may have been part of the working policy of the minister, the Yelandūr Pandit, to which he fell a victim. The baseless character of the rumour that the king was about to give up the Jangama faith and revive the Jain religion indicates to some extent the untrustworthy nature of the accusations preferred against the unhappy minister and his sovereign. Whatever may be said against the minister—his religion was evidently anathema to some--there is nothing in the shape of credible evidence against the king himself in this nefarious affair. It is remarkable that there is to-day no trace of a tradition even of the existence at Yelandūr of this minister of Chikka-Dēva-Rāja. It certainly stands to the credit of Chikka-Dēva-Rāja that at a time when South India was breaking-up he had the presence of mind not only to strengthen his position in his own kingdom but also to look round and see what he could to expand its limits. Haidar, who had been brought up in the traditions of Nanjarāja, the Dalavāyi, failed to keep his ambition under control. If he had followed the policy of Chikka-Dēva and had stuck to the practical issue before him, he would have gained rather than lost in realizing his dream of a Greater Mysore. Chikka-Dēva was also unfortunate in his successors, who, weak and incapable, prepared the way first for the Dalavāyi brothers and then for Haidar and his even more ambitious son Tīpu.

Death of Chikka-Dēva-Rāja, 1704 A.D.

Chikka-Dēva-Rāja died in 1704, at the advanced age of 76, after a youth spent in exile, followed by an eventful reign of more than thirty-one years; during which, amid the convulsions and revolutions which prevailed throughout the Deccan and the Karnātic, a secure and prosperous State had been established, extending from Palni and Ānamalai in the south to Midagēsi in the north, and from near Karnātic-ghur in the Baramahal in the east to the borders of Coorg and Balam in the west.

became so unpopular that Dēva-Rāja and Nanja-Rāja found means to recover their power. The Rāja and his wife were seized and sent prisoners to Kabbāldurga, the deadly climate of which they did not long survive.

Chikka-Krishna-Rāja Wodeyar II, 1734-1766 A.D.

Chamarāja VII died in 1734. A younger brother of his named Venkate-Arasu, was passed over as having too much talent to be subservient; and a child of five years of a distant branch, (Kenchangōd), was placed on the throne. He is known to history as Chikka-Krishna-Rāja. He ruled from 1734-1766. The administration continued as before, except that Venkatapati was appointed to the office of Pradhāna, while Nanja-Rāja, as Sarvādhikāri, was the head of the Government. Nanja-Rāja founded in 1741 the *agrahāra* of Nanjaraja-Samudra at Kannambadi. (*E.C.* IV, Yedatore 58). Judging from this grant and from the gifts he made to the temples, he should have been a pious man, with a conscience. (See *M.A.R.* 1912, para 114). He died after six years, refunding at the approach of death eight lakhs of rupees, which he estimated as the amount he had improperly acquired. He also left a warning against employing the person who was his actual successor, Nanja-Rāja, the younger brother of Dēva-Rāja, and surnamed Karachūri. (*Kara*, hand, *Chūri*, dagger; equivalent to the English expression "a word and a blow.") Nor was the warning a needless one. For, during the thirty-two years that Chikka-Krishna-Rāja ruled, momentous events occurred. It saw the fall of the Dalavais, the rise of Haidar and the coming into power of the English in India, whose first victory at Arcot was gained during the time that Chikka-Krishna-Rāja was sovereign at Mysore. Some idea of the position occupied, about 1760, by Haidar may be had from the fact that Chikka-Krishna-Rāja granted to him in that year, a village, in return for cash paid, in order that Haidar might make a gift of it to the tomb of Satar

Masūd Khādri at Tonnūr, to provide for feeding the poor. (*E.C.* IV Krishnarajpete 18—20). A grant of Chikka-Krishna-Rāja, dated in 1761, is the last so far known of him from inscriptions. (*E.C.* III Nanjangud 15).

Attack of Nawab of Arcōt repulsed.

The Nawābs of Arcot continued to eye with jealousy the rights of the Nawābs of Sīra to receive tribute from the rich State of Mysore. The weakness of Tahir Khān, now in power at Sira, led Dōst Alī Khān, the Governor at Arcot, to despatch a powerful and well-appointed army to exact from Seringapatam the largest contribution that had ever been obtained from it. Deva-Rāja, though no longer young, advanced to meet this invasion. The chiefs on both sides were reconnoitring at Kailancha on the Arkāvati, a few miles east off Channapatna, when the two Musalman chiefs, not heeding, came too far. Dēva-Rāja skilfully cut off their retreat, and falling upon them with his party, they were both slain after a brave resistance. Dēva-Rāja followed up the blow, and attacked the Musalman camp with his whole army. They were completely surprised and overthrown, fleeing in confusion below the Ghāts, while the victor returned in triumph to Seringapatam.

Expedition to Coimbatore.

In 1746, Nanja-Rāja commanded an expedition into the Coimbatore country against the Pālegār of Dhārāpuram; Dēva-Rāja, the Dalavāyi, taking charge of the revenue and finances. During the absence of the army, Nasir Jang, son of Nizām-ul-Mulk, now Subadār of the Deccan, marched towards the capital by order of his father to levy a contribution. A deputation was sent forth to meet him, tendering
and while the negotiations were going o
encamped at Tonnur, amused himself o
to which he gave the name of Mōti Tal
retains.

Siege of Dēvanhalli: rise of Haidar Alī.

Nanja-Rāja having returned successful from the south, his daughter was married to the nominal Rāja, as the first step to other ambitious projects. But in 1749 was undertaken the siege of Dēvanhalli, in which obscure service an unknown volunteer horseman joined, who was destined before long to gain the supreme power of the State and to play no mean part in the history of India. This was Haidar, who, in a private capacity, had accompanied his elder brother Shabāz, the commander of a small body of horse and foot in the Mysore army. The siege of Dēvanhalli was prolonged for nine months, after which the pālegār was allowed to retire to his relation at Chikballapur. Haidar's coolness and courage during the hostilities attracted the notice of Nanja-Rāja, who gave him the command of fifty horse and 200 foot, with orders to recruit and augment his corps; and also appointed him to the charge of one of the gates of Dēvanhalli, then a frontier fortress of Mysore.

Haidar's Ancestry.

Haidar was the great-grandson of Muhammad Bhelol, an emigrant from the Panjab, who had settled in a religious capacity at Aland, in Kulburga district. His sons Muhammad Alī and Muhammad Wali married at Kulburga, and then coming to Sira, obtained employment as customs peons. Before long, they removed to Kolar, where the elder died; upon which the other seized all the domestic property and turned his brother's wife and son out of doors. A Nāyak of peons at Kolar took them in, and when Fatte Muhammad, the son, was old enough, made him a peon. At the siege of Ganjikōta, on the troops being repulsed in a general assault, the young man distinguished himself by seizing a standard and planting it once more on the breach, which rallied the assailants and thus carried the day. For this exploit, the Subadār of Sīra made him a Nāyak, and he continued to rise. But on a change of Subadārs, finding himself not in favour, he repaired to Arcot with fifty horse and 1,400 peons; and, on failing to obtain service from the Nawāb on the conditions he demanded, entered the service of the Faujdār of Chittūr. The latter was soon recalled to court, on which Fatte Nāyak returned to Mysore and was appointed Faujdār of Kolar, with Budikōte as a *Jāgir*, and the title of *Fatte Muhammad Khān.* At Budikōte were born Shabāz and his brother Haidar, the latter in 1722. They were the sons by a third wife. For, Fatte Muhammad, after three sons were born to them, had lost his first wife at Kolar, to which place she belonged, and on whose death he began the erection of the mausoleum there. His second wife was the daughter of a Nevayet who, in travelling from the Konkan to Arcot, had been robbed and murdered at Tarikere. The wife, with a son Ibrahīm, and two daughters, escaping, had begged their way as far as Kolar, where Fatte Nāyak proposed to marry the elder and was accepted. She, however, died without issue, and he then took to himself her younger sister, who became the mother of Haidar.

Fatte Muhammad and the eldest son by the first wife were killed in 1729, in a battle between his patron, Abdul Rasūl Khān of Dodballapur, Subadār of Sira, and Tahir Khān, the Faujdār of Chittoor, under whom he had formerly served, who now sought to gain possession of Sira as Subadār. The bodies of the slain father and son were conveyed to Kolar, and buried in the mausoleum. Meanwhile, the family of Fatte Muhammad had been confined to Dodballapur as hostages for his fidelity, in accordance with the usual practice of those times. Abdul Rasūl had also fallen in battle, and Abbās Khuli Khān, his son, being left in possession of the Dodballapur *jāgir* on resigning all claim to Sira, now proceeded to plunder the families thus placed in his power. Shabāz and Haidar, the former about nine and the latter seven years of age, were tortured for payment of a pretended balance due from their father. When suffered to depart, the mother with her children went to Bangalore, and found shelter with her brother, Ibrahīm Sahib, who commanded some peons under the Killedār. Shabāz, when old enough, obtained a subordinate command, and rose to the position in which he appeared before Dēvanhalli.

Expedition to Arcot: the Karnātic War of succession, 1751 A.D.

An order soon arrived from Nasir Jang, as Subadār of the Deccan, for the Mysore troops to attend him in an expedition against Arcot. A force, which included Haidar and his brother, was accordingly sent under Berki Venkata Rao, and joined the main army at Maddagiri. It is unnecessary to follow the fortunes of the several claimants to the Nawābship of the Karnātic, with the rival struggles of the English and the French in support of one or the other. Suffice it to say that when Nasir Jang was treacherously killed and his camp broken up, Haidar took advantage of the confusion and managed to secure two camel loads of gold coins, which were safely despatched to Dēvanhalli, as well as about 300 horses and 500 muskets, picked up at various times. The Mysore troops shortly after returned to their own country.

Muhammad Alī's secret Treaty with Mysore.

In 1751, Muhammad Alī, the English candidate at Trichinopoly, opposed to Chanda Sahib, the French candidate at Arcot, sent an ambassador named Seshagiri Pandit to Mysore for assistance. The Dalavāyi Dēva-Rāja was adverse to engaging in the enterprise; but his younger brother Nanja-Rāja was tempted by an extravagant promise of the cession of Trichinopoly and all its possessions down to Cape Comorin to lend the required assistance, and agreed to make provision for Muhammad Alī in giving him Hardanhalli, at the head of the pass to Trichinopoly, as a *jāgir*.

Mahammad Alī's treachery and Mysore's losses.

About the time of Clive's celebrated siege and subsequent defence of Arcot, a Mysore army, consisting of 5,000 horse and 10,000 infantry marched from Seringapatam under the command of Nanja-Rāja. The only regular troops in the force were a small body in the corps of Haidar Nāyak, armed with the muskets before mentioned. The army had borne no part in warfare, when the desertion and murder of Chanda Sāhib occurred. His head, however, was sent as a trophy to Seringapatam, and hung up over the Mysore gate. The war seemed now to be at an end, and Nanja-Rāja claimed Trichinopoly. Muhammad Alī, unable any longer to conceal from the English the illegally formed agreement, declared that he had never intended to observe the compact. At the same time, he endeavoured to deceive Nanja-Rāja with fresh promises that he would deliver up the place in two months, and gave up to him the revenues of the island of Srirangam and the adjacent districts. Nanja-Rāja occupied the island, intercepted the supplies from Trichinopoly, opened negotiations with the French, and tried to gain the fort by treachery. Though powerfully assisted by the French, all attempts on the place were frustrated by the skilful measures of Major Stringer Lawrence. Nanja-Rāja then endeavoured to enter into a treaty with the English, but this came to nothing. Meanwhile news arrived of a serious danger threatening at home, and Nanja-Rāja returned to Mysore in 1755 at the summons of his brother, having nearly exhausted the treasury in the expenses of this unprofitable war, added to a subsidy paid during most of the time to his Mahratta ally Morāri Rao of Gooty and a loan of ten lakhs of *pagōdas* to Muhammad Alī, which was never repaid.

Salābat Jang's march on Seringapatam.

The danger which called for the return of the troops under Nanja-Rāja was the approach of Salābat Jang, Subadār of Deccan, with a powerful French force under

M. Bussy, to demand arrears of tribute. Dēva-Rāja had no money to meet this demand and the enemy therefore invested Seringapatam. Matters were brought to a crisis before Nanja-Rāja, though hastening with forced marches, could arrive. Dēva-Rāja was therefore driven to compromise for a payment of fifty-six lakhs of rupees. To raise this sum, "the whole of the plate and jewels belonging to the Hindu temples in the town were put into requisition, together with the jewels and precious metals constituting the immediate property or personal ornaments of the Rāja and his family: but the total sum which could thus be realised amounted to no more than one-third of what was stipulated. For the remainder, Dēva-Rāja prevailed on the *sowcārs* of the capital to give security, and to deliver as hostages their principal *gumastās* or confidential agents: but as he was never afterwards enabled to satisfy the *sowcars*, they left the *gumastās* to their fate, and of the two-thirds for which security was given not one rupee was ever realized. Of the unhappy hostages, some died in prison, others escaped, and after a period the remainder were released." On hearing of this transaction, Nanja-Rāja halted, and discharged one-third of his army; not without great difficulty in paying their arrears.

Haidar, Faujdār of Dindigul.

Haidar, who had continued to advance in favour during the operations before Trichinopoly, was now appointed Faujdār of Dindigul. He had enlisted a considerable body of Bedar peons and of Pindāri horsemen, and with the aid of his adherents organized a perfect system of plunder, the profits of which were divided between Haidar and the plunderers. Wilks writes:—

> "Moveable property of every description was their object; and they did not hesitate to acquire it by simple theft from friends, when that could be done without suspicion and with more convenience than from enemies. Nothing was unseason-

able or unacceptable; from convoys of grain, down to the clothes, turbans, and ear-rings of travellers or villagers, whether men, women, or children. Cattle and sheep were among the most profitable heads of plunder: muskets and horses were sometimes obtained in booty, sometimes by purchase. The numbers under his command increased with his resources; and before he left Trinchinopoly, besides the usual appendages of a chief of rank, in elephants, camels, tents and magnificent appointments, he was rated on the returns and received pay for one thousand five hundred horses, three thousand regular infantry, two thousand peons, and four guns, with their equipments."

Haidar proceeded with a considerable force to the south to take charge of his district, while Khande Rao, one of his adherents, was left at the capital to protect his interests. By a great variety of fictitious charges, Haidar managed to accumulate a large treasure, and with the aid of skilled artificers under French masters, began to organise a regular artillery, arsenal and laboratory.

Rāja's attempt to throw off his Ministers.

In 1756, the young Rāja, now twenty-seven years of age, becoming impatient of his position, hit upon the plan of confining the ministers and taking the power into his own hands. The secret was discovered, and Dēva-Rāja counselled mild measures. But Nanja-Rāja stormed the palace, forced the Rāja to take his seat on the throne, and then cut off the noses and ears of his partisans before his face. This disgusting affair, and the contempt of his counsel, led Deva-Rāja to retire from the capital. Accompanied by his family and a large body of adherents, he descended the Gajalhatti pass in February 1757, and fixed his residence at Satyamangala. To meet his expenses, he revoked the assignments made to Haidar, whom, therefore, Khande Rao advised to come to Seringapatam at once.

Mahratta raid on Seringapatam, 1757 A.D.

Before Haidar arrived, however, the Mahrattas under Bālaji Rao appeared, demanding a contribution. Nanja-Rāja in vain represented his absolute inability. Seringapatam was besieged, and the operations being directed by Europeans, was soon reduced to extremity. Nanja-Rāja was forced to compromise for thirty-two lakhs of rupees, but as all the cash and jewels he could muster amounted to no more than five lakhs, a large tract of country was surrendered in pledge, and the Mahrattas departed, leaving agents for the collection of revenue, and six thousand horse, in the pledged districts. These were Nāgamangala, Bellur, Kikkeri, Channarāyapatna, Kadūr, Bānavar, Harnhalli, Honvalli, Turivekere, Kandikere, Chiknāyakanhalli, Kadaba, Kallūr, and Huliyūrdurga. On Haidar's arrival, he expressed his regret that his troops had not been ordered up from Dindigul, advised that the revenue should be withheld from the Mahrattas, and their troops expelled at the beginning of the rains, which would prevent an invasion for that season. This was accordingly done. Haidar then waited on Dēva-Rāja and it was arranged between them that the resumed revenues should be restored to Haidar, with *sowcār* security for three lakhs, in exchange for a military contribution of twelve lakhs to Haidar for assistance rendered to the Nāir Rāja of Palghāt, which Hari Singh, a brave Rājput adherent of Dēva-Rāja and Haidar's rival in the Mysore army, was deputed to collect. Haidar now returned to Dindigul and planned the conquest of Madura, which did not succeed; and he shortly returned to Seringapatam, where his presence was urgently required.

Mutiny of the troops.

The troops, whose pay had long fallen into arrears, had mutinied and sat in *dharna* at the gate of the minister. Nanja-Rāja sold the provisions in store, but the proceeds fell far short of the demand. Haidar, hearing of the state of affairs, hastened to Satyamangala and prevailed on the old chief Dēva-Rāja, then very ill, to return to the capital and unite with his brother in restoring order at this critical juncture. But Nanja-Rāja was required first to make atonement to the Rāja for his former outrage. This done, he went forth with a great procession to meet Dēva-Rāja and conduct him from Mysore to the capital. Here Dēva-Rāja died, six days after his arrival, probably from dropsy, though suspicion naturally fell on Nanja-Rāja. Dēva-Rāja was apparently an active general. As Commander-in-Chief of the Chikka-Krishna-Raja's forces, he is credited in certain inscriptions (*E*.C. III Tirumakudlu-Narsipur 63, dated in in 1759 A.D., *E*. C. IV Yedatore 58, dated 1741) with the conquest of the Midagēsi, Magadi, Sivandi (Sivamadhya) and many other places difficult to overcome. He founded the Ramachandrāpura *agrahāra* in the name of God Sri-Rāma of whom he was a great devotee. A voluminous grant on sixteen copper-plates, dated in 1759 A.D., records the grant of this *agrahāra*.

The mutiny quelled.

Nanja-Rāja disgusted with the task of liquidating the arrears due to the troops, now requested Haidar and Khande Rao to undertake it. This they did after a strict scrutiny of the demands, which their consummate skill in such matters enabled them to rid of all excessive and false charges; and the claims were finally settled by distribution of all the available State property, down to the Rāja's elephants and horses. At the same time, Haidar's own troops were placed as guards of the fort; and as soon as the mutineers, having been paid and discharged, had left the capital, the most wealthy chiefs in the army were seized and all their property confiscated as ringleaders in the mutiny.

Murder of Hari Singh, Haidar's rival.

Hari Singh, who had been sent to receive the tribute due from Malabār, found himself unable to realize any of it, and on hearing of the death of his patron Dēva-Rāja, was marching back, when Haidar, to get rid of his rival, under pretence of sending back troops to Dindigul, despatched a force which fell upon Hari Singh at night while encamped at Avanāshi, and massacred him as a mutineer with the greater part of his followers. Haidar presented three guns and fifteen horses to the Rāja, and kept the rest of the plunder. At the same time, in lieu of the *sowcār* security which Dēva-Rāja had given him, an assignment was granted on the revenues of Coimbatore, and the fort and district of Bangalore were conferred on him as a personal *jāgir*.

Mahratta raid on Bangalore and Channapatna.

The Mahrattas, whose troops had been expelled as before stated, now returned, early in 1759, in great force, under Gōpāl Hari; and reoccupying all the pledged districts, suddenly appeared before Bangalore, which they invested, and at the same time sent a detachment which surprised Channapatna. Haidar was appointed to the chief command of the army to oppose this invasion. He stationed one detachment at Malvalli, under his maternal uncle Mir Ibrāhīm, and another at Maddur under Latīf Alī Beg. The latter, by feigning fear of attack, drew out the Mahrattas from Channapatna, and then surprised and took it by escalade. Haidar now concentrated his forces near Channapatna, and Gōpāl Hari, raising the blockade of Bangalore, marched to meet him with a superior force. After three months of various warfare, Gopāl Hari, finding himself straitened by the activity of his opponent, proposed a negotiation. It was arranged that the Mahrattas should relinquish all claims to the districts formerly pledged, and that Mysore should pay thirty-two lakhs pagōdas in discharge of all demands, past and present. To raise the money, a *nazarāna* or gift was levied from all the principal public servants and wealthy inhabitants, but Khande Rao could obtain only sixteen lakhs from this source. The Mahratta *sowcārs*, however, made themselves responsible for the rest on the personal security of Haidar, on the understanding that he should have the management of the restored districts in order to realize the amount.

Haidar honoured.

The Mahrattas now withdrew to their own country, and Haidar returned in triumph to Seringapatam, where he was received by the Rāja in the most splendid *durbār* since the time of Chikka-Dēva-Rāja. He was saluted with the title of *Fatte Haidar Bahādūr*, and Nanja-Rāja on his approach rose up to receive him and embraced him.

Haidar in high favour.

Before long, the pay of the troops again fell into arrears, and Haidar was again the medium of satisfying their demands. This he was commissioned to do by the Rāja on condition that he renounced Nanja-Rāja; and the fresh assignments made to enable him to meet the demand placed in his hands more than half the possessions of the kingdom. Khande Rao was made *Pradhāna* and on Nanja-Rāja was settled a *jāgir* of three lakhs of *pagodas*, with a stipulation that he should maintain 1,000 horse and 3,000 foot without personal service. Nanja-Rāja, who had been the virtual ruler of Mysore for nearly twenty years, yielded to necessity, and departed from the capital in June 1759, with all his family and adherents. He lingered, however, at Mysore, under pretence of visiting the temple at Nanjangud, until it became necessary for Haidar to regularly besiege the place and force him to retire. His *jagir* was in consequence reduced to one lakh, and he was required to fix his residence at Konanur in the west. His daughter, married to the Rāja, died soon after, and he, the Rāja, espoused two wives at once, one of them being the famous Maharāni Lakshmi Ammanni, who survived the fall of Seringapatam in 1799 and signed the Subsidiary Treaty of Seringapatam in that year. Haidar now pressed for and obtained a further assignment of four districts for the expenses of this siege, though the grant was strenuously opposed by Khande Rao, on whom the incident left an impression of permanent disgust.

His machinations with the French.

A French emissary, styling himself the Bishop of Halicarnassus, shortly arrived with proposals to Haidar to join them in expelling the English from Arcot. The terms of a treaty for the purpose were concluded with Lally at Pondicherry on the 4th of June 1760. Haidar was to furnish 3,000 select horse and 5,000 sepoys, with artillery, to be paid to the French; and on a favourable conclusion of the war, Trichinopoly, Madura and Tinnevelly were to be ceded to Mysore. In order to clear the way from Seringapatam to Arcot, the district of Baramahal, though in the possession of the Nawāb of Cuddapah, was taken possession of by Haidar, as well as Anekal, from the pālegār of that place, while the French yielded up the fort of Tyagar as a point of communication. The Mysorean troops, commanded by Makhdum Alī, on descending the *ghāts*, gained an easy and unexpected victory at Trivadi on the 17th of July. But the ambitious prospects which this opened up were swiftly blighted by the imminent jeopardy in which Haidar in a moment was placed.

Khande Rao's attempt to displace Haidar Alī.

The royal party at Seringapatam found that an exchange of Haidar for Nanja-Rāja had left them in the same dependent condition as before, and a plan was formed by the old dowager and Khande Rao for getting rid of one whose recent encroachments tended to a complete usurpation of the government. A favourable opportunity seemed now to offer. A large portion of Haidar's troops were absent at Arcot; the remainder were encamped on the north of the river, which was too full to ford; while Haidar himself with a small guard occupied an exposed position under the guns of the fort. Negotiations were opened with a Mahratta force under Visaji Pandit, which was ravaging the country between Ballapur and Devanhalli, and the services obtained of 6,000 horse to reach Seringapatam by the 12th of August. On the morning of that day, the fort gates were not opened as usual, and Haidar was roused up by a tremendous cannonade upon his position at the *Mahānavami Mantapa*—the site of the present Darya Daulat. In amazement he sent for Khande Rao, and was informed that it was he who was directing the fire. He at once grasped the position and sheltering his family and followers as well as possible, promptly secured all the boats (*harigolu*) on the river. The Mahrattas, as usual, not having arrived, Khande Rao could not attack, and the day passed in negotiations. The result was that the landing-place on the northern bank was left unguarded, and Haidar escaped that night across the river with a few tried followers, bearing what money and jewels they could carry, but forced to leave behind his wife with his eldest son Tīpu, nine years of age, and all his foot-guards. The family were removed to the fort and kindly treated by Khande Rao.

Haidar's flight from Seringapatam.

Haidar fled north-east and arrived before daylight at Anekal, commanded by his brother-in-law Ismail Alī, having ridden seventy-five miles on one horse. Ismail Alī was at once despatched to see how matters stood at Bangalore. He had scarcely arrived there before Khande Rao's orders to seize the Killedār were received. But it was too late. Kabir Beg, an old friend of Haidar's, was faithful to him. The Hindu soldiers were excluded and the fort gates shut. Haidar, on receiving the news, at once set out and reached Bangalore the same evening.

His desperate position.

Haidar's position was indeed desperate. "He was now left, as it were, to begin the world again on the resources of his own mind. The bulk of his treasures and his train of artillery and military stores all lost: the territorial revenue at the command of Khande Rao: and the only possessions on which he could rest any hope for the restoration of his affairs were—Bangalore at the northern, and Dindigul at the southern extremity of the territories of Mysore, with Anekal and the fortresses of Baramahal. The sole foundation of a new army was the corps of Makhdum Alī; and its junction was nearly a desperate hope. He had, however, despatched from Anekal positive orders for them to commence their march without an hour's delay, withdrawing altogether the garrison of Tyagar, and every man that could be spared from the posts of Baramahal." He obtained a loan of four lakhs on his personal security from the *sawcārs* of Bangalore and was joined by a few adherents. Among others, a Muhammadan of rank, Fazal-ulla Khān, son of the late Nawāb of Sira, offered him his services. All hope now rested on the corps of Makhdum Alī; against whom Khande Rao had sent the Mahrattas and the best of his troops, and reduced him to great extremities.

Haidar's return and defeat by Khande Rao.

A most unexpected turn in events saved Haidar from apparent destruction. Visaji Pandit was found ready to negotiate, and agreed to retreat on the cession of Baramahal and a payment of three lakhs of rupees. The money was at once paid, and the Mahrattas marched off. Makhdum Alī, relieved from his critical blockade, proceeded to Bangalore. The explanation of the haste of the Mahratta retreat which had excited Haidar's suspicion, now appeared. News had secretly been received of the crushing defeat of the Mahrattas by the Abdālis on the memorable field of Panipat, and all their forces were ordered to concentrate. Haidar, who had delayed giving up Baramahal, therefore retained it. He detached Makhdum Alī to secure the revenues of Coimbatore and Salem: and proceeded in person, accompanied by a French contingent, against Khande Rao, to whom place after place was yielding. He crossed the Cauvery below Sosile, and the two armies met near Nanjangud. Haidar's force being inferior in point of numbers, he endeavoured to avoid an action while waiting for reinforcements. But Khande Rao forced on a battle, and compelling Haidar's infantry to change its front, charged it while performing that evolution. Haidar was severely defeated and retired to Hardanhalli.

Haidar wins over Nanja-Rāja.

"Nothing but a confidence in powers of simulation altogether unrivalled could have suggested to Haidar the step which he next pursued. With a select body of two hundred horse, including about seventy French hussars under M. Hugel, he made a circuitious march by night; and early on the next morning, unarmed, and alone, presented himself as a suppliant at the door of Nanja-Rāja at Konanūr, and being admitted, threw himself at his feet. With the semblance of real penitence and grief, he attributed all his misfortunes to the gross ingratitude with which he had requited the patronage of Nanja-Rāja, entreated him to resume the direction of public affairs and take his old servant once more under his protection. Nanja-Rāja was completely deceived: and with his remaining household troops, which during the present trouble he had augmented to two thousand horse and about an equal number of indifferent infantry, he gave to the ruined fortunes of Haidar the advantages of his name and influence, announcing in letters despatched in every direction his determination to exercise the office of *Sarvādhikari*, which he still nominally retained, with Haidar as his *Dalavāyi*."

Khande Rao out-manoeuvred and deceived.

Khande Rao now manœuvred to prevent the junction of Haidar with his army, and had arrived at Katte Malavādi. The destruction of Haidar and his new friends appeared to be inevitable, when his talent for deception again released him from the danger. He fabricated letters, in the name and with the seal of Nanja-Rāja, to the principal officers of Khande Rao's army, to deliver him up in accordance with an imaginary previous compact. It was arranged that these letters should fall into the hands of Khande Rao, who, thinking himself betrayed, mounted his horse and fled in haste to Seringapatam. His forces became in consequence disorganized, when Haidar fell upon and routed them capturing all the infantry, guns, stores and baggage. He next descended the Ghāts, took all the forts that had declared for Khande Rao, and by the month of May returned to the south of Seringapatam with a large force. Here for several days he pretended to be engaged in negotiating; and every evening made a show of exercising his troops till after sunset. On the eighth day, instead of dismissing them as usual, he made a sudden dash across the river, and surprising Khande Rao's forces, completely routed them and encamped on the island.

Khande Rao surrendered and put to death.

Haidar now sent a message to the trembling Rāja, demanding the surrender of Khande Rao as being his servant, and the liquidation of arrears due which were designedly enhanced; offering at the same time to relinquish the service when the conditions were complied with. He, however, expounded his real views to the officers of State, and they working upon the fears of the helpless Rāja, prevailed upon him to resign the entire management of the country into the hands of the conqueror, reserving only districts yielding three lakhs of *pagodas* for himself and one lakh for Nanja-Rāja. Khande Rao was delivered up, Haidar having promised to spare his life and take care of him as a parrot, an expression used to denote kind treatment. It was, however, fulfilled to the letter, by confining him in an iron cage and giving him rice and milk for his food, in which condition he ended his days.

Character of Khande Rao and his position.

In the last edition of this work, following Wilks, the historian of Mysore, it was assumed that Khande Rao was originally a "servant" of Haidar and that his "treachery" towards Haidar in espousing the cause of the ruling Rāja was accordingly great. Since the publication of that edition, a study of the records preserved at Fort St. George, Madras, has thrown new light on the character of Khande Rao and his part in the revolt he led against Haidar. Khande Rao was, from all accounts, already in the service of the Rāja when Haidar entered it; he was, therefore, neither his "servant," as he is reported to have claimed him, nor indeed could he be pronounced guilty of "treachery" for endeavouring to rid the Rāja, his master, of the new usurper of his Sovereignty, when he acted against Haidar. Wilks admits that Khande Rao was party to the removal of the "more dangerous usurper" as Haidar had proved himself to be, with the Dowager Rāni. He agreed in the view put forth to him that "if this opportunity were lost, the Hindoo House of Mysore might be considered as extinct." As preparatory to the step eventually taken by the dowager Rani and Khande Rao, who had been *Pradhan* by then for some time, an attempt was made to secure the help of the English at Madras against Haidar. Haidar and the Rāni held different views in regard to their respective attitudes towards the English. Haidar had helped the French at Pondicherry, while the Rāni was positively against such action. Khande Rao, acting on her behalf, made it known to the English that Haidar's action was unauthorized and engaged a body of Mahratta troops to proceed in aid of the English. (Letter No. 1010 *Military Country Correspondence VIII* 321-3, Letter received 3rd October 1760). In one of his letters to Madras, Khande Rao, writing in the name of the Rāja, expressed his feelings of friendship towards the English and informed the Governor that the assistance given by the Mysoreans to the French was against the Rāja's orders, that Haidar Nāik was a rebel, that a severe defeat had been inflicted on him, that he was besieging him at Bangalore, and that it was his intention to send a troop of Mahrattas and a large body of the Rāja's army to their help at Pondicherry. He also requested the English not only to expel Haidar's troops in those parts but also to order the cessation of all plundering of the Rāja's subjects there. This letter was considered in Council and orders were issued to the troops of the Nawāb of Arcot to cease committing hostilities against the Mysore districts. (*Military Correspondence XIII*, 906-11). Replying to the letter of the Rāja, Lord Pigot, the then Governor of Madras, requested the Rāja to send a *Vakīl* (envoy) to Madras with full powers to settle affairs on his behalf. He at the same time ordered Major Preston to prevent the French party at Tiagadrug from proceeding to the assistance of Haidar. (*Military Correspondence VIII*, 324-5). In a further letter which was received at Madras on 7th October 1760, Khande Rao, who is described as Prime Minister, sent particulars to the Governor at Fort St. George of Haidar's rebellion and of the Rāja's calling in of the Mahrattas and of Haidar's defeat and flight and suggesting the advisability and advantageousness of an alliance between the King of Mysore and the English. (Letter No. 1032 *Military Country Correspondence VIII* 328-30). The Governor expressed his entire concurrence in the proposed accommodation of affairs with Mysore. (*Military Correspondence XIII* 968). The proposal, indeed, was considered so beneficial that a despatch was sent to the Court of Directors on the subject, in which it was stated that the proposed alliance was a cause of relief from further apprehensions. (*Military Des. to Court II.* 159-65). In another letter Khande Rao wrote to Governor Pigot expressing his desire to join the English to do things of great consequence. (*Military Country Correspondence IX* 12-13 letter No. 1340, received 15th January 1761). The despatch of the *Vakīl* appointed by Khande Rao, one Srīnivāsachāry by name, was announced by the Rāja in a letter received at Madras in February 1761. Shortly afterwards, Krishnayya, the Rāja's *Bhakshi*, intimated Haidar's escape and of his harassing the country as far as Nāmakal and asking for the despatch of the Nawāb's troops as promised against him. (*Military Country Correspondence IX*, 53-6, Letter No. 1726, received 30th April 1761). On 15th July, the Council at Madras resolved on refusing any aid to the Rāja. (*Military Country Correspondence XI* 446-56). On the 29th July. the Council considered a further proposal from the Mysore Rāja sent through Mahomed Usuff, their agent at Madura, requesting the despatch of military aid for putting down Haidar Nāik who was then besieging Seringapatam. The aid never reached the Rāja and on 31st August 1761 the English at Madras heard that Haidar had succeeded, that Khande Rao was a close prisoner in his hands and that he (Haidar) was intending to join Salabat Jung. (*Military Country Correspondence* IX, 124 and *Military Country Correspondence* XI, 530-47). Not long after, the Nawāb of Arcot began to represent of Haidar's intentions on Arcot and urged an immediate opening of hostilities against him. (*Military Country Correspondence* XVI 2-5). The proposal was, however, rejected (*Military Country Correspondence* 21-25) with the consequence that the fears of the Nawāb of Arcot were not long after found to be well-grounded. Khande Rao was true to the Rāja, whose loyal subject he justly claimed to be. If he was found to be true to him, he could not be expected to be a "rebel" with Haidar against him. That he was a keen soldier and that he outmanœuvred Haidar is not disputed. He was, however, no match to Haidar in the art of dissimulation, in which

Haidar was a past master. He fell a prey to it. His end was sad but he will be remembered as among the first to lay down his life to save the country from the usurper's hands.

Haidar's usurpation complete, June 1761.

Haidar's usurpation was by this time complete; but he entered on the Government of the country, in June 1761, with a studied show of reluctance and in the form of a mock submission to the wishes of the Rāja. After two months, having placed Seringapatam under the command of his brother-in-law Makhdum Āli, he proceeded to Bangalore. Basālat Jang, a brother of the Subadār of the Deccan, and therefore one of the claimants to that dignity, was at this time in possession of Adōni and meditated establishing his own pretensions. The south was the direction in which he could with least opposition extend his territory. He accordingly, in June 1761, planned to reduce Sira, then in the hands of the Mahrattas, but found it would require too long a siege. He therefore marched to Hoskote, which also defied his efforts. Negotiations were soon opened between Haidar and Basālat Jang; and the latter, in return for a gift of three lakhs of rupees, invested Haidar with the office of Nawāb of Sira, styling him in the deeds of investiture Haidar Alī Khān Bahādūr. He also offered him the title of *Zang*, but Haidar, who could not pronounce it better than *Jang*, fancied it contained some covert sneer, and so declined it in favour of Fazal-ulla, who thus became Haibat Jang.

His extensive conquests—Sira, Chitaldurg, Bednur etc.

Haidar now united his army to that of Basālat Jang and captured Hoskote. Dodballapur was next taken, and lastly Sira. Here Basālat Jang left Haidar, being called to the north by the hostile movements of his brother Nizām Alī, now Subadār of the Deccan. Haidar returned and attacked Chikballapur. Morāri Rao of

Gooty, advancing to its relief, was defeated, and the place fell after a most obstinate defence, the palegār taking refuge on Nandi-durga. Kodikonda, Penukonda and Madakasira, possessions of Morari Rao, were next taken; and returning to Sira, Haidar received the submission of the palegārs of Raydurga and Harpanhalli, and forced that of the *palegār* of Chitaldurg. The latter introduced to him a pretender to the throne of Bednūr, as related in the history of the Chitaldurg District, and the invasion of Bednūr was planned. He entered the province at the end of January 1763, and at Kumsi found the late Rajā's prime minister, who had been long imprisoned at this place. From him every information was obtained as to the approaches and resources of the capital, in consequence of which Haidar, rejecting all the offers of money made to buy him off, pressed on. The Rāni and her paramour fled, followed by the inhabitants *en masse* who took shelter in the woods. Haidar, the instant of his arrival at the barrier, in March, ordered a noisy but feigned attack to be made on the posts in his front, while he himself, at the head of a select column, entered the city by a private path pointed out by the minister. The flames of the palace were extinguished and a seal placed on the doors of all but the poorest of the deserted dwellings. A booty was thus secured which has been valued at twelve millions sterling. Detachments were despatched to the coast and in pursuit of the Rāni. The former took possession of the fortified island of Basavarāj-durga, as well as of Honavar and Mangalore. The latter took the Rāni prisoner at Ballalrāyan-durga. She, with her paramour, her adopted son, the nominal Rāja, and even the pretender whose cause Haidar had ostensibly espoused, were all alike sent to a common imprisonment at Madgiri. This important conquest was ever spoken of by Haidar Alī as the foundation of all his subsequent greatness. He designed to make Bednūr his capital, and gave it the name of Haidar-nagar. His family was removed thither, and the building commenced of a splendid palace, which was never finished. He also established a mint and struck coins—known as *Haidari* and *Bahādūri Pagodas* in his own name. (See Chapter IV above). A dock-yard and naval arsenal were further formed on the western coast for the construction of ships of war.

Attempt at assassination at Bednur frustrated.

The former officials of Bednūr had been, to a great extent, retained in their offices, and when Haidar Alī, having contracted the usual Malnād fever, was unable to attend to business, they formed a conspiracy for assassinating him and recovering the capital. But it was discovered. The commissioners appointed to investigate it were found to be involved, and instantly hanged in his presence. Three hundred conspirators suffered the same fate before the day ended. All opposition was thus effectually crushed.

Reform of the Army and Court etiquette.

The hill country of Sunda was subdued in December. Meanwhile Reza Alī Khān, son of Chanda Sāhib, and the French candidate for the Nawābship of the Karnātic, who, escaping from Pondicherry on its capture by the English in 1761, had been living since in Ceylon, landed in Kanara and claimed protection from Haidar. He was received with distinction, and presented with a *jāgir* of a lakh of rupees. By his advice, many changes were introduced into the army. The infantry were for the first time dressed in a uniform manner, and classed into *avval*, first, and *duyam*, second: the former composed of tried and veteran troops with superior pay. The etiquette and ceremonials of the court were also regulated, and a greater show of splendour assumed in retinue and personal surroundings.

Embassies to the Nizām and the Pēshwa. Haidar suffers defeat at Rattihalli.

Haidar now bethought himself of appeasing the Mahrattas and the Nizām, the former for the seizure of Sira, the latter for accepting the title of Nawāb from his brother. Embassies with gifts were accordingly sent to either Court. At Haidarabād the object was attained, but the Mahrattas could not be reconciled, and Haidar resolved to anticipate an invasion. Savanur was conquered, and the Mysore frontier advanced nearly to the Krishna, when Gopāl Rao, the Mahratta chief of Miraj, was ordered to check further progress, but he was defeated. Mādhava Rao, the Pēshwa, now crossed the Krishna with an immense army, and Haidar sustained a damaging defeat at Rattihalli, with severe loss of the flower of his army. He fell back to Anavatti, where also the Mahrattas were victorious, and Haidar, with fifty cavalry, barely escaped by the fleetness of their horses. The Mahrattas retook all the recent conquests to the north; and Haidar, driven back into Bednūr with the most hopeless prospects, sent off his family and treasure with all speed to Seringapatam. At length negotiations were opened, and the Mahrattas retired in February 1765, on the restoration of all places taken from Morāri Rao of Gooty and Abdul Hakīm Khān of Savanūr, and the payment of thirty-two lakhs of rupees. Sira was left in Haidar's hands.

Rebellion in the East.

During this unfavourable aspect of his affairs to the west, all his recent acquisitions to the east were in a flame of rebellion. His brother-in-law, Mir Alī Reza, was sent thither, and restored his authority. The palegār of Chikballapur, being starved out on Nandi-durga, was forced to surrender, and sent a prisoner, with his family, first to Bangalore and then to Coimbatore.

Conquest of Malabar.

The conquest of Malabar was next undertaken, on information derived from Alī Rāja, the Māpilla ruler of

Cannanore, who sought help from Haidar to extend his own power. A force was left at Basvapatna for the security of the north, and with all disposable troops Haidar descended into Kanara early in 1766. The Nairs were subdued with difficulty, owing to the wooded nature of the country. The northern States being conquered, the Zamorin of Calicut came forward and made his submission. Haidar suspected treachery and, while concluding an agreement to reinstate him on payment of four lakhs of Venetian Sequins, secretly sent a force to seize Calicut. The Zamorin was perplexed and delayed payment, on which he was confined to his palace and his ministers tortured. Fearing the same fate, he set fire to the building and perished with all his family. Leaving a force at Calicut, Haidar moved on to Coimbatore, receiving the submission of the Rājas of Cochin and Pālghāt on the way. In three months, the Nairs again rebelled. Haidar returned to put them down, and adopted the expedient of deporting vast numbers to the less populous parts of Mysore. But the usual consequence to which the natives of Malabar are subject followed from the change of climate, and of 15,000 who were removed not 200 survived. A general amnesty was proclaimed, and the erection commenced of a fort at Palghāt as a point of communication with the country.

Death of Chikka-Krishna-Rāja; accession of Nanja-Rāja Wodeyar, 1766-1770 A.D. Haidar plunders the Palace.

During these operations, the reigning Rāja, Chikka-Krishna-Rāja, had died in 1766 A.D. and Haidar had sent instructions to instal his eldest son, Nanja-Rāja, then eighteen years of age, in his place. On arriving at the capital in 1767, he discovered that this youth was not likely to acquiesce in his subservient position. Haidar immediately resumed the three lakhs of *pagodas* allowed for the Rāja, plundered the palace of every article of value except the ornaments the women actually had on their persons at the time, and placed his own guards over the place.

Fresh attempt to put down Haidar: King Nanja-Rāja at its head.

Nanja-Rāja, taking advantage of Haidar's low fortune in Malabar, tried to throw off the usurper's yoke. He was 23 years of age and fretted at his confinement, which was worse than ever before. He opened negotiations with the Mahrattas, with whom the Mysore House was generally on friendly terms. Communications were opened through Tryambak Rao and soon the way was paved for the second attempt that was made to put down Haidar. But it was destined to prove a failure because those who were called in to aid in the endeavour were too much bent on their own self-aggrandizement to remember their duty to their King (see below). In view of their own interests, the Mahrattas joined with the Nizām in a joint invasion of Mysore. Intelligence of this soon reached Haidar. The Mahrattas first appeared, under Mādhava Rao, and Haidar in vain endeavoured to stop their progress by cutting the embankments of the tanks, poisoning the water in the wells, burning the forage, and driving off all the villagers and cattle on their route. The Mahrattas arrived at Rāyadurga and marched down the bed of the Haggari to Sira. Here Mīr Sāhib, Haidar's brother-in-law, betrayed his trust, and gave it up in return for Guramkonda, the possession of his ancestors. Haidar now made strenuous efforts to treaty with the Mahrattas, who had overrun all the east, before Nizām Alī should join them. At length, by the address of Appāji Rām, a witty and skilful negotiator, the Mahrattas agreed to retire on payment of 35 lakhs of rupees, half to be paid on the spot, and Kolar to be retained in pledge for the rest. On Nizām Alī's arrival soon after, Haidar persuaded him into an alliance with himself against the English. Meanwhile, discovering that Nanja-Rāja, the old minister, was negotiating with the Mahrattas and Nizām Alī, he induced him by a false oath of security to come to Seringapatam, on the plea that his advice was needed in the critical state of the country, and then made him prisoner, reducing his allowances to the bare necessaries of life.

Fall of Nanja-Rāja, Dalavāi.

Thus disappears from history Nanja-Rāja, who more than once so artlessly played into the hands of Haidar and wrought not only his own destruction but also that of his comrades and country. In his earlier days, Nanja-Rāja showed considerable promise. He was in the fight, as we have seen above, which ended with Clive's successful defence of Arcot. His avarice, however, was unbounded and his power of discrimination poor. His fall is pathetic to a degree, the more so when we remember what a distinguished part he could have played if he had worked more prudently and thought a little less of himself and a little more of the fortunes of his sovereign. His great defect was want of political foresight. History will adjudge him responsible for Haidar's usurpation, in so far as a single personage could be held responsible for it. Haidar used for his own ends what he had learnt from Nanja-Raja and the first man whom he sacrificed in his upward ascent was his former master and first employer. Nanja-Rāja was in private life a pious and studious man-of-letters. He was a prolific writer in Kannada, and found time, in the midst of his many-sided administrative activities to translate a number of Sanskrit works. Among these may be mentioned the *Kakudgiri-mahātmya*, *Mārkandēya-Purāna*, *Siva-gite*, *Siva-dharmōttara-darpana*, *Bhadragiri-mahatmya*, *Kāsī-Kānda*, *Garalapuri-mahimādarsa*, *Bhakti-Vilāsa-darpana*, *Sētu-mahimādarsa*, *Harivamsa*, *Hālāsya-mahatmya*, *Sīvabhakti-mahatmya*, and *Hari-dattā-chārya-charita*. He also composed the *Sangīta-gangā-*

dhara and other works in Sanskrit. There is a well-known tradition in Mysore that he kept a diary of the warfare he engaged in which, it is said, he gives an account of the siege of Arcot and other well-known incidents in the early stages of the Karnātic War. He was not only an author himself but he also appears to have liberally patronised literary merit. Thus, Nrisimha-Kavi, author of the Sanskrit drama *Chandra-kala-parinaya*, speaks of him as a modern Bhōja in encouraging poets. (*M.A.R.* 1908-9, Para 102). He was an ardent Saivite and his benefactions to the temples were many. He built, in 1752, the tower of the Trinayanēsvara temple at Mysore, (*Ibid*); and he presented metal images of the sixty-three Saiva saints—*Tiruttondar*—to the Nanjangud temple. (*E.C.* III Nanjangud 200-265; see also Yedatore 32, dated in 1767).

First Mysore War, August 1767 to April 1769.

The circumstances under which Nizām Alī went out to Haidar and both attacked the English at Madras may now be detailed. In October 1765, the Madras Government had been advised by Lord Clive that the Mughal Emperor at Delhi had made a free gift of the Northern Circars to the East India Company. These districts being then held by the Nizām, a force under Brigadier-General Caillaud was sent to take possession of them early in 1766, and met with no serious opposition, except at the fort of Kondapalli, which was taken by storm on the 7th March. Upon this, the Nizām, who was not disposed to surrender his claims without resistance, threatened to invade the Karnātic, and the Government of Madras, becoming alarmed, deputed General Caillaud to Haidarabad with full powers. The result was a treaty concluded on the 12th November by which the Nizām consented to the cession of Rajamundry, Ellore, Chicacole and Guntur subject to an annual tribute of nine lakhs of rupees; but with the proviso that Guntur, then in possession of Basālat Jang, a brother of the Nizām, was to be continued to him for life, during which continuance the annual payments were to be limited to seven lakhs. The Madras Government further engaged to furnish a detachment of troops to "settle in everything right and proper the affairs of His Highness' Government." The intention of this being that the Nizām should be assisted in a projected attack on Haidar, Colonel Joseph Smith was sent to Haidarabad early in 1767 to arrange the details, and on the 20th January he was granted an audience at which it was determined that the English detachment should assemble on the Krishna, and proceed with the Nizām's army against Bangalore. The detachment marched accordingly but shortly after the junction had been effected Colonel Smith retired towards the British frontier on discovering that the Nizām was secretly negotiating with Haidar. The Madras Government, however, did not share in the Colonel's suspicions and permitted three battalions of sepoys to remain in the Nizām's camp as a proof of their confidence. This force was reduced soon afterwards to five companies under Captain George Brown, for whose safety considerable apprehensions were entertained, but they were ultimately permitted to depart without molestation a few days before the commencement of hostilities.

About the end of May, the Nizām and Haidar prepared to enter the Karnātic while the English, on their part, endeavoured to strengthen their frontier by taking possession of certain places in the Baramahal belonging to Haidar, *viz.*, Vaniambādi, Tirupattūr, and Kāveripatnam. An attempt to take the rock fort of Krishnagiri, which was made on the 3rd June, was repulsed with loss, although the storming party behaved with much gallantry.

Invasion of the Karnātic by Haidar Alī and the Nizām, August 1767.

On the 25th of August, 1767, the forces of Mysore and Haidarabad descended the Ghāts by one of the passes near Krishnagiri and attacked Colonel Smith, who, though at first taken by surprise, completely defeated them at Tiruvannāmalai on the 26th September. Tīpu, then seventeen, had, under guidance of Ghazi Khān, his military preceptor, penetrated with a body of horse to the very precincts of Madras, when, hearing the result of the battle of Tiruvannāmalai, he retired with precipitation to join his father. Mutual recriminations ensued between Haidar Alī and Nizām Alī, and nothing was done for a month. The former then resumed the offensive and retook Tirupattūr and Vaniambādi on 5th and 7th November respectively but signally failed in an attack on the hill fort of Ambur, which was gallantly defended by Captain Calvert, who won an honorary distinction for his battalion by his brave conduct on the occasion. In the hope of closing the campaign with a brilliant exploit, Haidar went in person against an English detachment escorting supplies, but was repulsed at Singārapettai, his horse being shot under him and his turban pierced by a bullet. Leaving some cavalry to watch the English, the confederates retired in disappointment above the Ghāts with all their forces at the end of the year.

Operations in the Northern Circars.

On the side of the English, a detachment from Bengal operating from the Northern Circars soon penetrated to Warrangal, which was abandoned on his approach. This diversion having laid open the door to Haidarabad, the Nizām was glad to conclude on 23rd February 1768 a treaty with them, ceding the Northern Circars and resigning all claims to Mysore, and, separating from Haidar Alī, returned to his capital. Haidar also made overtures, but without success. Meanwhile a fleet was fitting out at Bombay for capturing the Mysorean ports on the western coast, and the chiefs of Malabar were by Court-Martial at the end of 1769 among other charges for misconduct in the field at Arleri and elsewhere and was found guilty on the latter count but the Court refrained from passing any sentence in consideration of his former services. Government disapproved of the finding for certain reasons and directed the Court to revise their proceedings, but they refused either to allow the reasons to be read or to be noticed in any way. Government upon this ordered that he should be dismissed and that proceedings should be taken against him in Court for the recovery of grains, stores and plunder taken and misappropriated in the Baramahal and Coimbatore countries.

At Hoskote a corps under Morāri Rao joined the English forces on the same day that Haidar Alī arrived at Bangalore. Haidar made a desperate attempt to surprise the camp of Morāri Rao, but failed. Then, sending off his family and treasure to Savandurga, he set off on one of those extraordinary diversions which seemed always to occur to him when his affairs were most critical. He passed rapidly by a circuitous route east and then north to Guramkonda, with the view of inducing Mīr Sāhib to return to his allegiance. This unlikely object was actually attained, and Haidar, reinforced, returned towards Kolar, and opened negotiations. But his offer of Baramahal and ten lakhs of rupees fell far short of the demands of the English and of Muhammad Alī, and came to nothing.

Haidar's descent into the Baramahal, Nov. 1768.

Haidar had meanwhile despatched Fazal Ulla Khān to Seringapatam, whence he descended the Gajalhatti pass with a field force for the recovery of the districts in the south. He himself, after some indecisive engagements, suddenly descended into the Baramahal, and, giving out that he had defeated the English, passed on to Coimbatore, gaining possession of the fortified places on the route. This proved an easy task for him owing to the faulty and unmilitary disposition of the troops left behind by Colonel Wood, when in August he marched to rejoin Colonel Smith. The isolation of so many weak detachments at such a distance from the army, which prevented their being supported in case of need was unjustifiable, especially when we remember that they had been left "without provisions, without money, and without instructions." The garrisons of Erode and Kāvēripuram held out, but, induced to surrender on a promise of safety, were marched off as prisoners to Seringapatam.

Major Fitzgerald follows Haidar.

As soon as Haidar's incursion into the Baramahal became known, Colonel Ross Lang, who had succeeded to the command of the troops in Mysore on the recall of Colonel Wood, detached a select corps of about 5,000 men, under Major Fitzgerald, to follow him. Major Fitzgerald, however, was unable to overtake Haidar, before his recapture of the forts in Salem, and having received instructions to make the safety of Trichinopoly his first care, he inclined his course in that direction. Haidar, after the capture of Kāvēripurm, entered the Karnātic, burning and plundering, as he went, and eluding Fitzgerald's efforts to come up with him.

Colonel Smith resumes command, 1769.

Colonel Smith resumed command of the army at Chetput, about 70 miles South-West of Madras, on the 1st February 1769, and having been furnished with good and sufficient carriage, he began to press Haidar hard.

Fazal Ullā Khān invaded Madura and Tinnevelly, while Haidar, levying four lakhs of rupees from the Rāja of Tanjore, moved by rapid marches towards Cuddalore. Negotiations were again opened, about this time, and a cessation of arms for twelve days took place on 22nd February 1769. Haidar's first condition, however, was that he would treat only with the English and not with Muhammad Alī. These terms could not be agreed on, and hostilities continued. Haidar, who knew that the Mahrattas were preparing for another invasion of Mysore, had become really desirous of peace, and finding himself opposed by a really capable officer, and being apprehensive, further, of some disaster, he resolved to endeavour to put an end to the war by a bold stroke without running the risk of a general engagement. Acting on this determination, he secretly sent off the main body of his army together with all his guns and baggage to re-ascend the Ghāts, while he himself, with 6,000 chosen horse and 200 foot, marched 140 miles in three days and a half, and appeared at the gates of Madras with his cavalry on the 29th March. He had come to make peace in person with the English. Mr. Du Pre, one of the Members of Council, was, at his request, deputed to discuss the terms with him. A treaty was signed by the English on the 3rd April 1769 and by Haidar the next day. Colonel Smith had come up on the 31st March to Vandalur, about 12 miles from the Mount, while the negotiation was pending, but Haidar was so much disquieted by this proximity that he insisted on Smith's being required to keep at a distance of 25 miles until matters should be finally adjusted. The conditions of the treaty were moderate and consisted of mutual restitution of conquered districts with the single exception of Karūr, an ancient dependency of Mysore, which had been retained by Muhammad Alī, since the last war, by tacit acquiescence, and was now to be restored to Mysore, an exchange of prisoners, and reciprocal assistance in purely defensive war. Thus ended what is known in the annals of British India as the first Mysore war. Haidar returned leisurely to Kolar and then to Bangalore. Though there is (as Wilks puts it), "genuine moderation" observable in this treaty, nothing "can relieve it from the character of dictation" on Haidar's part under the walls of Madras and nothing can take away from it "the unnecessary and insulting degradation" under which it was concluded by the authorities at Fort St. George. Another feature of the treaty which demands notice is the second article which stipulated that "in case either of the contracting parties shall be attacked, they shall, from their respective countries, mutually assist each other, to drive the enemy out," the pay of the auxiliaries being defrayed at fixed rates by the party demanding assistance. Haidar's first demand was for an alliance offensive and defensive, which, after much discussion, Mr. Du Pre, the Madras Envoy, peremptorily refused. Now it was notorious to all India and openly avowed by Haidar himself that this clause was intended by him to be operative against the Mahrattas, whom he considered his greatest foes. It will be evident from the sequel that by the article ultimately agreed to, the Company subjected themselves to all the embarrassments of an offensive alliance without any of its advantages; and that Mr. Du Pre had acquiesced in the spirit of an article to the letter of which he had objected as fundamentally inadmissible. Historical justice demands, as even Wilks admits it, this reluctant notice of an error committed by Mr. Du Pre, whose political wisdom and distinguished talents were undoubtedly great.

Defence of the Madras Government.

It must, however, be conceded that neither Mr. Du Pre nor the Madras Government of the time had any option in the matter. They found peace "necessary" to them at the time; they had "to save as much of the Jaghir as possible from plunder" and as they explained in their Consultation of the 10th April 1769, they had to carry out the positive orders of the Court of Directors themselves in the matter of effecting a peace conveyed in their letter dated 13th May 1768. They thus defended themselves to the Court of Directors regarding the peace:—

"Much invective hath been circulated in this colony, and nearly in the terms in which you express your sentiments of the peace 'dictated at the gates of Madras,' and we find it hath been used as industriously at home to establish the same ideas. If an indifferent person were to read of an enemy dictating peace at the gates of a fortified town, the idea that would immediately occur would be that the enemy came with a superior force; that the garrison, seeing no hope of dislodging the enemy, and fearing for their town, their, lives and property, accepted the terms prescribed. This is the idea that men have endeavoured at home, and abroad to propagate; how justly will appear. Our army had been in pursuit of the enemy in the southern part of the Carnatic for nearly four months without being once able to come up with him; at the last march before the peace he gave our army the slip, and arrived at the Mount about 48 hours before our army halted at Vandaloor twelve miles short of the Mount. One of the first points he insisted on was, that an order should be sent to Colonel Smith to halt at 10 Coss (about 25 to 30 miles) from him, and declared that although he came to negotiate a peace he would not remain there, unless an order was sent, but would march immediately to the northward, of Madras, or to Tripasoor, where he could be more conveniently supplied with provisions and provender. As a peace was necessary to us, and every day increased our distress, it appeared better to us to negotiate with him near at hand than at a distance, and it was very material to save as much of the Jaghir as possible from plunder. It missed Colonel Smith, but the messenger returning overtook him at Vandaloor twelve miles from the Mount. What then, it might be asked, could induce us to make the peace, if the enemy was so much afraid of our army. The motives are clearly and fully assigned in our reasons entered in Consultation on the 10th April 1769. This being the case, we cannot see why it was more disgraceful to negotiate at the Mount than at 100 miles distant."

The following is an abstract of these reasons which are set forth at considerable length in the Proceedings of Government quoted above—

(1) The repeated anxiety for peace which had been expressed in several letters from the Court of Directors, and their positive orders on the subject, dated 13th May 1768.

(2) The insufficiency of the means of maintaining a body of cavalry, the want of which army enabled the enemy to protract the war, and to deprive Government of their ordinary sources of revenue by laying waste the Carnatic, Hyder being able to detach a large body of horse to cut off communications, and to prevent Colonel Smith from obtaining any intelligence regarding his movements, while he on the other hand was kept fully informed as to those of the Colonel.

(3) The losses sustained by the army from death, sickness and desertion, as evinced by the state of Colonel Smith's force at the Mount on the 4th April 1769, at which time the effective Cavalry, European and Native, had been reduced to 68 men, the two regiments of European Infantry to 379 of all ranks, and the battalions of sepoys to less than half of their established strength of 1,000 men.

(4) The state of the Carnatic which had been reduced to a desert by Hydar's policy of avoiding an engagement, and ravaging the country.

(5) The safety of the districts of Madura and Tinnevelly which had been entered by detachments of the enemy.

Causes of the failure of the campaign.

Colonel Wilson, the historian of the *Madras Army*, has gone into the question of the causes that led to the want of success during this campaign. He is inclined to set it down to the cupidity of the members forming the Madras Government of the time and the appointment of Field Deputies, who impeded the work of the Commander-in-Chief. It would appear that shortly before Colonel Smith entered Mysore, Government sent two Members of Council, *viz.*, Messrs. Call and Mackay, to his camp, under the designation of Field Deputies, to be associated with him in the conduct of operations. One of these gentlemen held the contract for victualling the European troops, and also that for the supply of carriage to the army, but the profits were shared by the other Members of Government, with the exception of the Governor.

The Nawāb of Arcot also joined the camp at the same time, for the purpose of assuming the management of any territory that might be conquered, and of aiding generally with his advice. The Deputies and the Nawāb established their head-quarters at Kolar where they detained from 150 to 200 European Infantry and several battalions of sepoys for their own protection, thus seriously diminishing the means at the disposal of Colonel Smith.

The unsatisfactory character of the campaign was owing, in a great measure, to this mischievous arrangement which led to constant interference with the Commander-in-Chief; one notable instance of which was the withdrawal of the regular garrison from the rock fort at Mulbagal, the result having been the loss of that important post. In addition to this source of embarrassment, the want of carriage, the scarcity and dearness of provisions, and the inadequate supply of ammunition and military stores, all combined to retard the movements, and impair the efficiency of the army.

The Madras Government, in a report to the Court of Directors written in March 1769, ascribed the failure of the campaign, principally to the want of hearty co-operation on the part of the Nawāb, to the want of cavalry, and to the want of money; but the feeling of indignation occasioned by the mismanagement in the field was so general throughout the service that it was found expedient to assemble a Committee for the purpose of ascertaining the causes of the failure in respect of carriage and provisions.

In November 1769, this Committee submitted their report. They admitted the great impropriety of the Members of Council having been principals in the contract, but ascribed the bad condition of the cattle generally to causes over which the contractors had no control, *viz.*, rainy weather, bad roads, want of forage, etc., etc., and they exonerated them from any default in the matter of victualling the Europeans. It was allowed that the rice furnished to the Native troops had been bad in quality and deficient in quantity, but it was held that for this the Nawāb and his agents were to blame, as they had engaged to make the supply.

The Madras Government in their letters to England, defended themselves both in regard to the contract, as well as the general management of the war, but their conduct was condemned by the Court of Directors in almost every particular.

The following extract from their general letter, dated 15th September 1769, contains their opinion regarding the appointment of the Field Deputies:—

> "Upon the return of the army from the Mysore country into the Carnatic, we find that the Field Deputies are come back to the Presidency of Madras. We cannot but disapprove of their original appointment which could have no other tendency but to impede the operations of the campaign, and give rise to very mischievous disputes betwixt the Commander-in-Chief and the Deputies, by which we fear the public service has suffered essentially.
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> * * * *
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> "Our opinion is that when the Company has made choice of a proper person to be a Commander-in-Chief, all trust and confidence should be reposed in him to direct the plans and operations of the campaign."

In March 1770, the Court, when reviewing the conduct of the war, observed they were satisfied that the army had not been properly supplied either with provisions, stores, or carriage; and in reply to the explanation given by the Madras Government regarding the contract, they made the following remarks with reference to the acceptance of Mr. Call's tender in 1761, and the arrangement then made by the Members of Council to take shares in the contract:—

> "The advantages of the Council (you say) were small; therefore, Mr. Call proposed that the members thereof should

become joint subscribers for carrying on the business of that contract, which it was their duty to put on the best and most beneficial footing for the Company.

* * * *

"We were yet much more astonished and concerned to find that of all the Members of our Council, not one had honour or virtue enough to reject a proposal which was as wholly incompatible with their duty, as it was unworthy of their character and station to accept."

The Court then proceeded to dwell on the fact that after this arrangement had been made, no public tenders were again invited. With respect to the manner in which the contract had been fulfilled, the Court were of opinion that "the contractors had an eye to the profits, rather than any regard to promote the public interests"—they also pronounced the defence to be contradictory, loose, and unsatisfactory, and the omission to advertise for fresh tenders to have been "highly criminal."

The result of all this was the organisation of a department for the supply of provisions and carriage.

The actual effect of the mismanagement of the campaign and the treaty which concluded it was that Haidar, when he next got embroiled with the Mahrattas, sought the aid of the English at Madras, who, remaining neutral, became his mortal enemies, upon whom he vowed vengeance.

Haidar levies contributions from Cuddapah and Kurnool.

Haidar was soon again in the field, in order to acquire the means to meet the meditated Mahratta invasion. When he had allied himself with Nizām Āli, it was secretly stipulated that Cuddapah, Kurnool and other places up to the Tungabhadra, should be transferred to the control of Mysore. He resolved now to enforce this agreement, and, moving north-east, levied contributions on the Pathan Nawābs of Cuddapah and Kurnool and the *pāḷegārs* of the neighbourhood. He, however, feigned friendship for Morāri Rao, and was repulsed in an attempt on Bellary. But, unable to meet the superior forces of the Mahrattas, now (1770) in full march on his capital, he gradually retired before them, laying waste the whole country to prevent their advance, and placing a detachment at Bednur, under Tipū, to cut off their supplies and harass them in the rear. Negotiations being opened, Mādhava Rao demanded a crore of rupees; Haidar would offer only twelve lakhs. Both parties claimed help from the English, who therefore remained neutral.

Mahratta incursion, 1771.

The Mahrattas conquered the whole of the north and east of the country, their progress being, however, long arrested by a gallant defence of the little fort of Nijagal (Nelamangala Taluk), which was at last taken by the pālegār of Chitaldrug, who had joined the Mahrattas. Madhava Rao was now taken ill and returned to Poona, leaving Tryambak Māma in command. Haidar was emboldened by this change and took the field, but met with no success. At last an attempt to retreat unobserved by way of the Mēlkōte hills being discovered, Haidar's army was attacked, disorganized, and totally routed with great slaughter, at Chinkurali, on the 5th of March 1771. Haidar fled on horseback to Seringapatam. Tipū, who was thought to have fallen, escaped in disguise. For ten days the Mahrattas were engaged in dividing their spoils. They then sat down before Seringapatam with a large force, the remainder being employed in ravaging the whole country above and below the Ghats. Haidar could produce little effect on them, and in June, 1772, a treaty was concluded, by which he bound himself to pay thirty lakhs of rupees, one-half at once, besides five lakhs for "durbār expenses"! For the balance, Kolar, Hoskote, Dodballapur, Sira, Maddagiri, Chanrāyadurga and Guramkonda were left in their hands.

Public exactions to meet Mahratta demands.

Haidar next turned his attention to the reigning King. Nanja Rāja had, as stated before, opened negotiations with the Mahrattas through Tryambak Rao. He was therefore strangled, and his brother, Chāma Rāja, put in his place. Haidar next proceeded to extort money from all who were supposed to have any, applying the torture wherever necessary. Even his brave general, Fazal Ulla Khān, was not spared, nor Nanja Rāja, his old benefactor. The latter survived only one year, the former gave up all he had and died in extreme poverty. Fazal Ulla Khān surrendered every pie and died in a *wretched pal*, or private tent, a patched remnant of his former splendour.

Conquest of Coorg, 1773.

Mādhava Rao died in November 1772, his successor Nārāyan Rao was killed in Agust 1773, and Raghunātha Rao or Raghōba became ostensible Pēshwa. Haidar considered the time favourable for action. He sent an embassy to Madras to form an alliance with the English. Tīpu was detached to the north to recover the places ceded to the Mahrattas, while Haidar suddenly invaded Coorg, as the first step towards reconquering Malabār. The Coorgs, entirely unprepared, were surrounded by his troops, and a reward of five rupees was offered for every head. About 700 had been paid for, when, struck by the fine features, Haidar relented and ordered the massacre to cease. The landholders were confirmed in their possessions on a moderately increased rent, a fort was erected at Mercara, and Dēvaiya, the Rāja, who had become a fugitive, was captured and sent to Seringapatam.

Reconquest of Malabar, 1773.

A force was at once despatched to Malabār, which seized Calicut and reduced the Nāir chiefs to dependence in a wonderfully short time. Tīpu was equally successful in the north, and thus, between September 1773 and

February 1774, Haidar completely recovered all the territory he had lost. A treaty was shortly formed with Raghōba, by which Haidar engaged to support his pretensions to be the head of the Mahratta State, in consideration of the tribute payable from Mysore being reduced to six lakhs. An insurrection in Coorg was promptly put down, and Haidar returned with his army to Seringapatam early in 1775. The negotiations with the English unfortunately came to nothing, owing to the intrigues of Muhammad Alī, and Haidar therefore turned towards the French.

Death of Chāmarāja-Wodeyar VIII. Accession of Chāmarāja Wodeyar, IX 1776-1796 A.D.

Chāma Rāja now (1775) died, and there being no heir to the throne, Haidar, who had so far professed to hold Mysore on behalf of the Hindu Royal House, resorted to the following method of selecting one:—Assembling all the male children of the different branches of the family, he introduced them into a hall strewed with fruits, sweetmeats, and toys, telling them to help themselves. They were soon scrambling for the things, when one little fellow took up a dagger in one hand and a lime in the other. "That is the Rāja!" exclaimed Haidar, "his first care is military protection, his second to realize the produce of his dominions; bring him hither and let me embrace him." Thus did Chāma Rāja IX, a member of the Kārugahalli family, obtain the throne, and he was accordingly installed as Rāja. Haidar, however, continued to wield his usurped authority in unabated fashion. An inscription dated in 1774 (*E.C.* V, Belur 65) truthfully represents Chāma-Rāja VIII as the King and the Nawāb, the most excellent Bahādur Haidar Alī, as the Administrator.

Attack on Bellary, Gooty, etc.

About this time, Haidar received a body of 1,000 men from Shiraz in Persia to serve in his army, and sent an embassy for more. But the latter was lost in the Gulf guessed the danger, pushed the bolster into the bed to resemble a sleeping figure, and, slitting a hole in the tent, escaped. The assassins rushed in and cut at the bed. Paralysed with astonishment to find their victim gone, they were instantly overpowered. Of those who survived till morning, some had their hands and feet chopped off, and the rest were dragged at the feet of elephants. Sidhout surrendered on the 27th of May, and Abdul Halim Khān, the Nawāb, was sent prisoner to Seringapatam. His sister, whose sense of honour was only equalled by her beauty, which surpassed that of any female captive yet secured, threatened to destroy herself, rather than enter the unlimited *harem* of the conqueror in the usual informal manner. The ceremony of *nika* was therefore performed, and this lady, under the title of Bakshi Bēgam, was soon after placed at the head of the seraglio.

Reorganization of Civil Departments.

On returning to the capital, a complete revision was made of the civil departments. Mir Sādak was made finance minister and Shāmaiya head of the police and post-office. Since the defection of Khande Rao, every one of Haidar's ministers, Hindu and Muhammadan alike, had died from tortures inflicted to recover real or pretended defalcations. The undoubted ability of Shāmaiya developed to the utmost perfection the system of espionage and fabrication of such charges, to atone for which the utmost farthing was exacted under the pressure of tortures which often terminated the lives of the unfortunate victims. A system was introduced of paying the troops on half-monthly *pattis* (lists) instead of monthly, which gradually resulted in their getting only nine or ten months' pay for the year. A double marriage was arranged in 1779 with the family of the Nawāb of Savanur, whose eldest son was united to Haidar's daughter, and Haidar's second son Karim, to the Nawāb's daughter. The ceremonies were celebrated with great pomp at Seringapatam, and accompanied with the gift of the unrestored half of Savanur to the Nawāb.

Treaty with the Mahrattas.

During these festivities, an envoy arrived from the ministerial party at Poona, by whom Haidar was expecting an invasion. But, induced by the hopelessness of Raghōba's cause, once again a fugitive, and other considerations, Haidar entered into a treaty. On condition that Raghōba's grant of territories up to the Krishna was confirmed, the future tribute fixed at eleven lakhs of rupees, and all arrears cancelled, he agreed to co-operate with the dominant Mahratta party and Nizām Alī for the expulsion of the English from India. The failure of negotiations with the latter had made him ill-disposed towards them. Two events gave ground for open hostilities. The English being then at war with the French, Pondicherry was taken in October 1778, and Mahe in March 1779. The capture of the former did not directly affect Haidar, but the latter was the port through which he received military supplies from the Mauritius. He had, therefore, declared it to be under his protection, as being situated in his territory, and had threatened to lay waste the province of Arcot if it were attacked. The other event was that an English corps under Colonel Harper, marching to relieve Adōni, proceeded through the territory of Cuddapah without formal permission obtained from Haidar, to whom it now belonged, the Commanding Officer being merely furnished with a letter to the Manager of the district.

Second Mysore War July 1780-March 1784. Mr. Gray, envoy from Madras.

The news of this reached Haidar at the very time that the missionary Schwartz had arrived at Seringapatam, commissioned by the Governor of Madras to assure him of the amicable designs of the English Government, "If the English offer the hand of peace and concord, I will not withdraw mine," said Haidar, but he sent letters to the Governor requiring reparation for the alleged grievances, and referring to his unfulfilled threat of revenge. Meanwhile, some English travellers who landed at Calicut were seized and conveyed to Seringapatam. Mr. Gray, Member of Council, was sent as an envoy to demand their release, and to bring about a good understanding. But Haidar, on finding that none of them were military, had let them go, and Mr. Gray met them on his way; but he proceeded on to the capital, where he was treated with studied disrespect, for war had been determined on.

Haidar's invasion of the Carnatic, July 1780.

After prayers for success, in both mosques and temples, Haidar Alī left his capital and descended the Ghāts by the Chengama Pass on the 20th July 1780, with a force of 90,000 men, unequalled in strength and efficiency by any indigenous army that had ever been assembled in the south of India. French officers of ability (Mons. Pimorin and Lally the younger) guided the operations, and the commissariat was under the management of Pūrnaiya, one of the ministers of finance. A body of horse, under his second son, Karīm Sāhib, plundered Porto Novo on the 22nd; a larger body proceeded towards Madras, burning the villages and mutilating the people who lingered near them. From Pulicat to Pondicherry a line of desolation, extending from thirty to fifty miles inland, was drawn round Madras. The black columns of smoke were visible from St. Thomas' Mount, and the bleeding victims were pouring into Madras. On the evening of the 24th July, a body of horse appeared at St. Thomas' Mount and pillaged St. Thome and the adjoining villages. All the families in the neighbourhood of Madras retired into the fort that night, and every residence beyond the island was vacated, except Government House, which was protected by a company of sepōys and a party of artillery with two guns.

Inactivity of Madras Government.

The Madras Government under Mr. Whitehead, though frequently warned by some of its own members, had remained wholly supine until the 24th July, when the appearance of the enemy compelled them to issue orders for the concentration of all the troops at their disposal. Colonel Braithwaite, commanding at Pondicherry, was directed to evacuate that place and march to Madras. He reached St. Thomas Mount on the 24th August. On the 6th August, Colonel Cosby was sent from Madras to the south to organise a detachment for intercepting any convoys which might come through the passes for Haidar's army. A number of minor forts in the Karnatic were garrisoned, among them Wandiwash by Lieutenants Flint and Parr detached from Braithwaite's forces. About the end of July, the Government resolved to assemble the army at Conjeeveram, and they directed Colonel Long to send the battalion of European infantry from Vellore to that place. Lord Macleod, commanding H.M. 73rd Regiment at Poonamalli, was sent for to Madras and offered the command of the army. Lord Macleod earnestly protested against the proposal to assemble the troops at Conjeeveram at a time when the whole country was occupied by Haidar, and he recommended the concentration near Madras of all available troops previous to undertaking operations. He also objected to the removal of the European battalion from Vellore, and concluded by saying that a proper regard to his reputation would not permit him to adopt a responsibility in the execution of plans which did not coincide with his own judgment.

Sir Hector Munro's Campaign—its Failure.

General Sir Hector Munro maintained his own view and it was decided he should assume command of the army in the field and marched to Conjeeveram, there to effect a junction with the troops expected from various quarters, which were ultimately restricted to the detachments of Baillie and Cosby. On the 21st August, Haidar invested Arcot and on the 26th, the British troops at St. Thomas' Mount marched for Conjeevaram, partly in order to cause Haidar to raise the siege of Arcot, and partly for the purpose of effecting a junction with Colonel Baillie's detachment then marching from the north. On the 15th June, Colonel Baillie had been ordered to march from Ellore to Inacondah in the Guntoor District, so as to be south of the river Krishna in the event of his being required in the Karnatic. He arrived on the 15th July and on the 25th, he was directed to proceed to Cuddapah for the purpose of effecting a division. This measure was protested against and was subsequently dropped. At the same time, the western route by Tirupati was recommended to intercept some of Haidar's convoys. Colonel Baillie reached Nellore on the 16th, and on the 24th was about 4 miles south of Gummadipundi, about 27 miles from Madras, which he could have reached by one forced march, the road being clear. But at Gummadipundi, he received a letter from General Munro directing him to march to Conjeeveram by Periapālaiyam and Tirupāssur. In compliance with this ill-advised order, to which the disasters of the campaign have been attributed, Baillie struck off to the south-west, and reached the bank of the Corteliar near Vungul on the 25th. Owing to heavy rains, he did not cross the river until the afternoon of the 3rd September (Wilks says the 4th, but both Baillie and Munro in their Reports give the 3rd as the date). Haidar, having received intelligence of this change of route, which brought Baillie's detachment straight towards him, detached Tipū with a division estimated at 40,000 horse and foot with 12 guns in order to intercept

Baillie, while he himself with the rest of his army, advanced to within a short distance of General Munro's camp at Conjeeveram.

Engagement at Perambā-kum.

On the afternoon of the 6th, Colonel Baillie reported that he had on that day been engaged with, near Perambākam, from 11 A.M. until 2 P.M., a large body of the enemy which he had beaten off, but that he could not venture to leave his position, and therefore requested the General to move to his assistance. The letter reached Sir Hector Munro on the 8th, but he being of opinion that it was necessary for him to remain at Conjeeveram with the main body for the protection of his stores and provisions, contented himself with sending a detachment composed of the flank companies of the army under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Fletcher. This detachment left camp on the night of the 8th, but Colonel Fletcher, having skilfully evaded the enemy, joined Baillie at Perambākum early in the morning of the 9th. About 8 o'clock that night, Baillie, in conformity with orders, set out for Conjeeveram. Shortly afterwards, fire was opened upon the column, but this was soon silenced, and the detachment was prepared to resume the march when Colonel Baillie suddenly resolved to halt until daylight contrary to the orders received, and also against the opinion of Colonel Fletcher who urged him to push on to Conjeeveram, then distant only 8 or 9 miles. To this Baillie would not assent, and the troops lay on their arms all night unmolested.

Second engagement at Perambākum.

The march was recommenced about daylight and the detachment had proceeded about two miles when the enemy began to fire from four or five guns in the plain at a considerable distance from the left flank. This was followed by a charge of Tipū's select horse which was repulsed with heavy loss (one account puts it at 1,200).

Captains Rumley and Gowdie, with the sepoy grenadiers, were then sent against the guns, and succeeded in taking three or four, but the sepoys had lost their order during the advance, and being charged in flank by a large body of cavalry, they fell back in some confusion, and with some loss. Haidar who had sent off his infantry and guns towards Perambakum on the previous night unobserved by Munro, followed with his cavalry before daybreak, and was now seen advancing in force. A cross fire from 50 or 60 pieces of artillery was then opened on the detachment, and shortly afterwards two, or according to some accounts, three tumbrils were blown up. Many were killed by the explosion, and the camp followers rushing in for protection, the troops, both European and Indian, were thrown into disorder. The Europeans were speedily rallied, and although exposed to a heavy fire from 7-30 to 9 or 10 A.M. without the means of returning it, they repulsed no less than thirteen separate attacks. The sepoys, who had become mixed up with the camp followers, no longer preserved any order. Baillie, worn out at last and hoping to save the lives of his men, ordered them to lay down their arms, which had no sooner been done than the enemy rushed in, and commenced an indiscriminate slaughter which lasted until stopped by the French Officers with Haidar's army. Of eighty-six European Officers, including those on the Staff and the Surgeons, thirty-six were killed or died of their wounds, and fifty, of whom thirty-four were wounded, were taken prisoners. Thus ended the second action at Perambakum, which assumed such an importance in Tipu's mind that he got the details of the action caricatured on the walls of his palace—Darya Doulat—at Seringapatam.

General Munro's movements.

General Munro arrived at Conjeeveram on the 29th August, and on the 6th September moved on to an

elevated spot about two miles on the road to Perambākum, where he encamped. Haidar's camp was then on the left at a distance of two miles. On the 8th, Baillie's application for assistance arrived, and the General, after some consideration, determined to send a detachment instead of proceeding in person with the whole army. The reasons which influenced him, as explained by himself in a letter to Government, were his own highly critical situation at Conjeeveram, his only hopes of provisions being from the paddy he had collected in the *pagoda*, his proximity to Haidar's camp, his fear that, if he moved with his whole force, Haidar would most certainly possess himself of his (the General's) ground and Conjeeveram and thereby cut him off from all provisions. In that case, he said, he must have starved. He, therefore, resolved, with the concurrence of his principal officers, to send a strong detachment and to remain with the rest of the troops to watch the enemy's movements. He flattered himself that so strong a detachment as he had sent would enable Colonel Baillie to join him, the more so as he had sent word to him to begin his march on the 9th September and march all night towards him—which was the one thing which, despite Fletcher's admonition—Baillie's failed to do. After sending off the detachment, General Munro ordered the tents to be struck, and the men lay on their arms all night. Firing was heard about mid-night, but it soon ceased, and no alarm was occasioned thereby. About daybreak, heavy firing was heard from the direction of Perambākum, and the army marched immediately. After proceeding about 4 miles, smoke was seen on the left. The line of march
was altered accordingly, but after going a short
the direction was again altered towards
Thomas Munro, who was present, record
obvious to everyone that the guides we
army away from the scene of action), and

tained for about 2 miles when a wounded sepoy brought intelligence of Baillie's defeat. Upon this, the army retreated to Conjeeveram, where it arrived at about 6 o'clock in the evening.

His retreat to Madras.

Sir Hector Munro, finding himself without provisions and having no hopes of assistance, determined to retreat to Madras. The heavy guns and all stores which could not be removed were thrown into the large tank at Conjeeveram, and the retreat commenced early on the morning of the 11th. The army was harassed all the way to Chingleput by a numerous body of cavalry and lost a large quantity of ammunition and military stores, besides camp equipage and private baggage. It arrived at Chingleput on the morning of the 12th and was there joined by a detachment from the south under Colonel Cosby, who had tried to carry Chittapet by escalade but had been repulsed with loss. The casualties, according to Innes Munro, were heavy, as many as 500 sepoys being killed or wounded between Conjeeveram and Chingleput. The rear guard of the retreating army was wholly made up of sepoys, who behaved splendidly, despite the fact that several of them had fought on two consecutive days in the advances of Baillie and Munro and had been physically worn out with fatigue and exhaustion. The army resumed the march from Chingleput on the 13th September, and encamped at Māmbalam (the Marmalong of History), between St. Thomas' Mount and Madras, on the succeeding day.

His conduct criticised.

As Wilson points out, different views have been taken regarding the course taken by General Munro in detaching Fletcher to Baillie's instead of proceeding himself. His subsequent action—after despatching Fletcher—shows what he thought of his own decision.

Although considered unwise by most, it was defended by some, amongst them by Innes Munro and Lieutenant Liridsay, H.M. 73rd Regiment. In other respects, however, the conduct of this short campaign has been universally condemned, more especially the selection of an unsafe point of junction for Baillie's detachment, and the failure to support it on the morning of the 10th September. The Court of Directors were so much dissatisfied, that in January 1782, they sent out orders for General Munro's removal, offering him at the same time, the option of submitting his general conduct while in command to the judgment of a Court of Enquiry or Court Martial. These instructions, however, were not received at Madras until Sir Hector Munro had sailed for England.

Baillie's mistake.

Baillie's mistake in not keeping up to Sir Hector Munro's injunction has been severely censured by Innes Munro, who writes in his *Narrative:*—

> "While I profess my admiration of the enterprising spirit of Lieutenant-Colonel Baillie, and lament his unhappy fate; yet, as the melancholy period of his expedition will probably become the topic of general conversation in many circles of your acquaintance at home, it may be proper to point out to you, who are unacquainted with the nature of military operations, two circumstances which appear to have materially contributed to the accomplishment of this fatal disaster. His halting so long in the night, contrary to the instructions sent to him from the General by Lieutenant-Colonel Fletcher, was unquestionably an imprudent measure. The speedy union of the two armies was essential to the preservation of both ; and had he continued his route, this must have been effected early in the morning, in despite of every obstacle, which would have put the general in a condition to execute his intended plan of giving battle to the enemy, and opening a passage to Arcot, the only place where provisions were to be found. It seemed also a great omission in Colonel Baillie not to take possession of the village of Pollilore, which was not then above eight

hundred yards from his right, in place of indulging Tippoo in his views of procrastination until his father should arrive, by drawing up his army on disadvantageous ground, and sending out detachments to seize guns that could render him, though successful, no material advantage. Even after Haidar's division appeared clearly to be in possession of the village, it may with reason be supposed that the detachment of grenadiers which marched from our army, led by an officer of such intrepidity and judgment as Lieutenant-Colonel Fletcher, (supported by the rest of Colonel Baillie's command under his own gallant direction, having their flanks properly secured by the British artillery as they advanced), would have put him in safe possession of the village, where he might have made a successful stand until joined by the main army then rapidly marching towards him, nor ought the water-course intervening to have been considered on such an occasion as any material obstacle. Human nature, however, is never infallible. Events are deduced by means which at the time are not equally perceptible to all: msioconception therefore, particularly when it leads to unparallelled suffering and disaster, is not surely to be imputed as a fault. The gallantry of Colonel Baillie was undoubted; his virtues were acknowledged by all; and his calamitous end must excite the sigh of pity in every bosom not wholly unassailable by the accumulated misfortunes of another."

Madras Government's plan of operations.

The original mistake, however, lay in the plan of operations adopted by the Madras Government, which shifted the field of battle from near Madras to Congeeveram. What Innes Munro says is right when he observes:—

"In a review of this melancholy and fatal event, that no imputation may fall on any individual, it is necessary to recur to the origin of the ill-concerted expedition. It was first suggested, as has been already observed, by the Navob of Arcot (who was very naturally solicitous to save his capital), and eagerly embraced by the council. The only plausible reason which they could adduce in support of a measure of such singular hazard, was the impossibility of supporting the army, when reinforced, in the vicinity of Madras. No provisions had been laid in by them, nor the smallest preparation made for the support even of a force so inconsiderable. They therefore, without any consideration of probable contingencies, resolved upon sending out the army to forage for themselves, who were to be joined by another still worse provided than they were. Had Lieutenant-Colonel Baillie's detachment been ordered to repair to St. Thomas' Mount, as proposed by Sir Hector Munro and Lord Macleod, it is probable it would have accomplished the junction without molestation, as Hyder's whole army was then before Arcot. When united, they might then have had the ability to execute any judiciously concerted plan which might have tended to the relief of the settlement."

Surrender of Arcot and minor forts.

Haidar broke up his camp near Conjeeveram on the 19th September and returned to Arcot to prosecute his siege. The *pettah* was carried by assault and the place surrendered on the 3rd November. Various minor forts, including Gingee, gave themselves up. Amboor, under Captain Keating, held out for over a month but capitulated owing to want of ammunition on 15th January 1781 to Tipū and General Lally, who invested it with a large force. On the west coast, Major Cotgrave twice beat back in September and October 1780 Haidar's forces, Lieutenant Close (afterwards well known as Major-General Sir Barry Close, Bart) distinguishing himself in one of the actions.

Sir Eyre Coote's campaign, 1781.

Haidar's successes and the failure of Sir Hector Munro's campaign led the Supreme Government at Calcutta to interfere in Madras affairs. Warren Hastings, then at the head of affairs, sent out Lieutenant-General Sir Eyre Coote with a detachment. He also suspended Mr. Whitehill, the Governor at Madras, whose place was taken by Mr. Charles Smith, Senior Member of Council. On June 23rd, 1781, Lord Marcartney took over charge from Mr. Smith. Sir Eyre Coote reached Madras early in January 1781 and immediately took the field. On the 17th, he marched for the relief of Chingleput, Wandiwash and Perumukkal (Permacoil). Chingleput was relieved on the 19th, on the 21st Karunguli was taken by storm, on the 23rd Haidar decamped from Wandiwash, and about the same time the siege of Perumukkal was also raised. The army moved on to Pondicherry, where it remained inactive for a time. In April, Tiruvidi, 16 miles west of Fort St. David, was taken by a detachment under the personal command of Coote. A French fleet now appeared off the coast, and the English force moved to cover Cuddalore, which was threatened by Haidar with the view of occupying it as a depôt for the troops expected from France. But Sir Edward Hughes, being off the western coast with a British squadron, destroying Haidar's infant navy in his own ports of Calicut and Mangalore, the French fleet made off for Mauritius; and Haidar, who had avoided every opportunity of coming to close quarters with Coote, withdrew rapidly to the interior, leaving a sufficient force to intercept all supplies. While a want of these, and a wretched equipment, prevented the English from following, he ravaged the district of Tanjore, sending off to the upper country all that was movable, including immense herds of cattle. "Weavers and their families," adds Wilks, "were collected and forcibly sent to people the island of Seringapatam. Captive boys, destined to the exterior honour of Islam, were driven to the same place with equal numbers of females, the associates of the (then) present and the mothers of a future race of military slaves."

Battle of Porto Novo, 1st July 1781.

In June, Coote moved out against Chidambram, which had been used as a depôt for provisions, but, being repulsed, retired to Porto Novo with a view to procure battering guns. Encouraged by this and overestimating the effect of the repulse, Haidar made a forced march of a hundred miles in two days and a half, and placed himself between the English and Cuddalore. Sir Edward Hughes at this juncture arrived off the coast. While with a portion of the squadron he protected Cuddalore, the English force, with only four days' rice, carried on the soldiers' backs, marched against Haidar's position; and on the same day, the 1st of July, was fought the battle of Porto Novo, in which, with a force one-eighth that of the enemy, Sir Eyre Coote, after a severe engagement, completely beat Haidar's army from the field. Haidar Alī, who was watching the operations seated on a stool on a small hill, was near being taken prisoner. He was conveyed out of danger by a faithful groom, who made bold to force the slippers on his master's feet, saying, "We will beat them to-morrow; in the meantime, mount your horse." He reluctantly left the field, pouring forth a torrent of abuse.

Coote's description of the battle.

The following is taken from Coote's account of the battle, dated Camp near Cuddalore, 6th July 1781:—

"One extra day's rice was landed, and the march at length commenced on the 1st instant at 5 in the morning. From every information received, it was clear that the enemy had united their whole force (Tippoo's detachment excepted) and from their position taken up between us and Cuddalore, meant to try the issue of a general engagement. The grounds they occupied, naturally strong and commanding, were rendered much more formidable by most of the spots that would admit of it being strengthened with front and flanking batteries erected with judgment and despatch by Hyder Ally's corps appropriated for such services. Large bodies of cavalry, who had from our arrival at Porto Novo hovered round our camp, rendered it impossible for even a single hircarrah to return with any intelligence to be depended on, of either the strength or position of the enemy's batteries. Our grand guard, and the other outposts were absolutely the boundary and limited extent of our knowledge respecting the enemy. The protection of our baggage and numerous followers required a very considerable proportion of our small army to prevent or repel any insult during our march in that quarter, and forming the most necessary detachment considerably weakened our force in line, which could ill-afford a single man from the grand object of engaging and forcing the numerous army of Hyder Ally situated as described. However, two regiments of cavalry, a battalion of sepoys with three 6=and four 3= pounders, the baggage guard consisting of about 150 sepoys, the few Polygars we have, and our small Mahratta corps, were ordered for their protection. Their road lay on the right between our army and the sea.

"By seven in the morning, the line had drawn out of our ground of encampment near Porto Novo marching from the right. The country soon opened into an extensive plain, and as the enemy's cavalry appeared there in force, I formed in two lines, and proceeded on my march in order of battle. We had not advanced above one mile when the enemy's batteries were clearly discovered. As to position, they lay exactly on our intended road of march. I halted the army for nearly an hour. It was necessary to explore, if possible, the ground on our right in hopes of its admitting an advance from that point by which we should avoid the enemy's direct fire from their batteries, and have a chance, by gaining the left of their posts, to turn, or otherwise command them.

"The principal force of their army was drawn up in rear of their works, extending further on the plain than either eye or horizon could command, with large bodies of cavalry in every direction, and their rockets were thrown in numbers to impede or harass our movements. During this interval of unavoidable inaction, thoroughly to examine their position, we were obliged to suffer a warm cannonade; their guns were well served and did execution.

"We could not afford to throw away many a shot to answer them, having occasion for every round we had for more decisive service.

"I determined upon the movement to the right, and proceeded about 9 o'clock, the two lines marching parallel to one another in that direction; consequently it only required their facing the front to reassure at any time their original order. Two battalions with eight field pieces were ordered to form a third face, the flanks of this corps joining both lines on the left to keep some batteries in check from that quarter which opened while we were forming the above movement.

"A practicable road was found on the right, made by Hyder for other purposes than our approach. The road alluded to was made by Hyder for the purpose of drawing his guns to a large redoubt about half a mile from the sea. The work was far advanced and required but another day to complete it. Through it we proceeded towards the field. His guns which were under cover, and his artillery uncovered in line, galled us considerably as we advanced, and a quick and forward movement seemed absolutely necessary. On passing the road above mentioned, I was obliged to file off, and reduce my front, but as soon as the ground permitted, formed in order as before, a thick caldera (screw-pine) hedge covering my right. Some sand hills contiguous to this pass that lay luckily situated, were unoccupied, and contributed very materially to favour my plan of operations.

"The moment was critical. I had gained the flank of the enemy's batteries, waited with impatience under a very heavy fire of cannon till I had ascertained that the heights in my rear were passed by the second line, then instantly moved on with the first, as fast as order and an advancing fire of artillery on our side would permit.

"I have the pleasure of acquainting you that the disposition promptly resolved on succeeded, for there was no time for aught but decided despatch: hesitation in the situation of our affairs would have been little better than a defeat, having no resource but four days' provisions carried on the soldiers' backs. The guns in their batteries were soon drawn off, and retired to their line, when our attack was very warmly disputed till 4 o'clock.

"The bravery of our troops at length carried the point, and the first line forced the enemy's infantry, artillery, and their cavalry to give way, obliging them to seek for safety by a retreat. Just as they went off, their principal force of infantry, who were, from the situation of the ground, under tolerable cover, gave one general discharge of musketry, but too distant to do considerable execution.

"The second line obstinately disputed, and with success, an attack meditated on my rear by many battalions of infantry with their guns, and a very large body of cavalry.

"The different efforts made to force and charge the rear corps of the second line were all repulsed, the heights disputed were carried and kept possession of, by which the advancing corps were left at liberty to push on in front advantageously.

"The possessing the heights also prevented their proceeding towards the sea to attempt our baggage as it was from thence covered in perfect security and unmolested.

"I was joined by the corps in my rear at midnight. It took some time to bury our dead on the enemy's ground of encampment. Every possible attention was paid also on the field to our wounded men.

"That night the army pursued the road the enemy had retired by, crossed the strong pass or *nallah*, "Paravernar," without any molestation, and took up our ground on the north-west side of it near to the village of Mootypollam (Mōtupālaiyam), thereby securing a material point towards completing my march to Cuddalore.

"From authentic information, the enemy's force was nearly as follows: Artillery 47 pieces very well served, 620 Europeans, 1,100 Topasses and others in European dress, Cavalry 40,000, 23 battalions of sepoys, strength 18,000. Irregular footmen armed with matchlocks, pikes, and rockets, 120,000. The above were in Hyder's own pay, besides lascars, pioneers, and artificers not included.

* * *

"His guns were principally worked by Europeans, and Native Artillery who had formerly been in the Nabob's service, and it is reckoned that there were embodied in his infantry from 2,800 to 3,000 of our sepoys made prisoners in Colonel Baillie's action, and at other places since the commencement of the war.

"These accounts are taken from an intelligent Portuguese officer who has come over to us in the beginning of the action. They are also corroborated from other channels of intelligence.

"The behaviour of the whole army on this most interesting day was uniformly steady and worthy of the highest commendation.

"I was well seconded by Major-General Munro who commanded the first line. His spirited and active conduct contributed much to our success. Brigadier-General Stuart who commanded the second line, and had orders to defend the heights, performed that service much to my satisfaction.

"In short, every individual of our little army seemed to feel the critical situation of our national concerns.

* * *

"The only difficulty was to restrain the ardour of the troops within prudential bounds. Eager to advance, it became particularly necessary to guard against accidental disorder, situated as we were with multitudes of cavalry against us on the watch to take advantage of hurried, or confused movements.

"From the want of a corps of cavalry on our side equal in number to the service required, we were, with victory decidedly declared, obliged to halt just beyond the enemy's ground, not being able to take advantage of so distinguished a day; for with a corps of cavalry, the enemy's guns, stores, etc., etc., would to a certainty, have fallen into our hands. Their strong, fine cattle drew their guns off on a trot, nor was it possible for fatigued infantry to hinder this distressing sight to us.

"The spirited behaviour of our sepoy corps did them the greatest credit. No European could be steadier; they were emulous of being foremost on every service it was necessary to undertake."

Innes Munro's narrative.

Innes Munro, who was present at the battle, regrets that the enemy was not pursued and blames Coote for not giving the order for pursuit. He writes in his *Narrative*:

"Upon the conclusion of this hard-contested business, how mortifying was it to find that no other advantage had been gained by us after such extreme fatigue than the simple possession of the field?—a compensation very inadequate to the loss of so many gallant soldiers. This might have been one of the most glorious and decisive victories ever obtained, had the General permitted the line to advance at an earlier period of the day. There cannot be a doubt but it would have finally terminated the war, as most of the enemy's guns must have inevitably fallen into our hands; for it was with the utmost difficulty they got them reconveyed across the *nullah* during the pursuit; a labour in which, by Meer Sahib's gallantry, and our own tardiness, they were singularly favoured. It was also a matter of surprise to many in the army that the British cavalry were not ordered to pursue the fugitives, there being, with Marrattas and others, a thousand in the camp, a number that might have done considerable execution against a flying enemy if properly conducted, particularly as they had eight light three-pounders dragged by horses constantly attached to them."

Wandiwash, invested by Tipu, was again relieved, and he was recalled to join his father at Arcot.

Battle of Pollilore, 27th August 1781.

Haidar, resolved to risk another battle, chose, as being fortunate to himself, the very spot on which Colonel Baillie's detachment had been overcome, and the anniversary of that event was the day fixed on. Sir Eyre Coote, after forming a junction with the troops sent by land from Bengal, had taken Tirupāssur, and wished for nothing so much as to bring his enemy to action. The result was the battle of Pollilore, 17 miles south-west of Tirupāssur, fought on the 27th August, in which, after an engagement of eight hours, Haidar was forced to abandon the field. Coote in his description of this battle states that "had not Hyder Ally from a principle of superstition which we know regulates in a great measure the actions of the natives, chose to have met me at the ground on which he had formerly been successful, I could not have moved one mile further to the westward in quest of him, but must have been, for want of provisions, reduced to the necessity of returning without an action." Coote's information was that Haidar had on the day of action in the field 1,50,000 men with 80 pieces of cannon. He calculated Haidar's loss at near 2,000. Coote adds:—

"Hyder Ally's army was strongly posted. His troops covered in hollow ways and ranged just behind the summit of the rising ground in our front, would not stand when pushed.

Their loss consequently (was) not so considerable as it would have been had they waited the decision of the day from our musketry, but this they in general avoided, always drawing off their guns, and retiring before we can bring them to close action."

The English forces numbered about 11,000 Europeans and Indians included, the casualties being Europeans killed 28, wounded 28, and Indians killed 105, wounded 207, and missing 58. Wilks describes the action as a "dubious victory," while Mill takes much the same view and greatly exaggerates the English losses. Sir Thomas Munro, who was present as a subaltern at the battle, says that the enemy were forced from all their positions before sunset, and after standing a cannonade on open ground for a short time, fled in great hurry and confusion beyond Conjeeveram.

Battle of Sholinghur, 27th September 1781.

Haidar next took up a strong position in the pass of Sholinghur, to prevent the relief of Vellore, reduced almost to extremities. At the battle of Sholinghur, fought on the 27th of September, victory again declared for the English, and Vellore was saved. Haidar's forces precipitately fled from the field of action towards Kaveripak. The whole of Haidar's army was in the action and his losses exceeded, according to Coote, 2,000, while Wilks mentions it as being upwards of 5,000. The English losses were only 100 killed and wounded. The *pālegārs* of Chittoor now came over to the English, and Haidar, indignant at their desertion, detached a select corps to burn their villages and lay waste their country. But Sir Eyre Coote, placing himself at the head of a light corps, after an absence of thirty-eight hours, during thirty-two of which he had never dismounted from his horse, returned to camp, having completely surprised and defeated these troops, capturing all their equipments.

The diplomacy of Hastings: Haidar's position critical.

The energy of Warren Hastings, the Governor-General—never more conspicuous than at this critical time, when England, at war with America, France and Holland, was engaged in a life struggle in India with the Mahratta hosts in the west, and Haidar's armies in the south—having triumphed over the mischievous opposition of a Council which frustrated every public measure, had succeeded in withdrawing the active opposition of Nizām Āli and of one branch of the Mahrattas, under Madhoji Bhonsla. He now concluded a treaty with Sindhia, on the 13th October 1781, and the mediation of the latter was to be employed in bringing about a peace between the English and the Poona Mahrattas under Nāna Farnāvis, which was actually effected in May 1782. Meanwhile Haidar's *vakil* had ascertained that this was intended, and that the Mahrattas would unite with the English in compelling his master to make peace, unless the latter would at once give up all the territories acquired by him north of the Tungabhadra and all claims over the *pālegārs* to the south, in which case they undertook to continue the war and bring back Sindhia to the confederacy. Haidar now felt himself in a critical situation. He was beaten at all points by Sir Eyre Coote; he had received no adequate assistance from the French; the west coast was lost; Malabār, Coorg and Balam were in rebellion. The defeat of Colonel Braithwaite's corps at Annagudi, 6 miles N.-E. of Kumbakonam, by Tīpu, which occurred at this time (February 1782), had no permanent effect in improving his prospects. It was about this period that Haidar, being much indisposed, was, either by accident or design, left entirely alone with his minister Pūrnaiya; after being for some time apparently immersed in deep thought, he addressed himself to Pūrnaiya in the following words (related to Colonel Wilks by Pūrnaiya) :—

"I have committed a great error, I have purchased a draught of *sendi* (spirits) at the price of a lakh of *pagodas*: I shall pay dearly for my arrogance; between me and the English there were perhaps mutual grounds of dissatisfaction, but not sufficient cause for war, and I might have made them my friends in spite of Muhammad Alī, the most treacherous of men. The defeat of many Baillies and Braithwaites will not destroy them. I can ruin their resources by land, but I cannot dry up the sea; and I must be the first to weary of a war in which I can gain nothing by fighting."

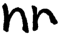
Campaign of 1782.

He now resolved to abandon the east and to try his fortune in the west. In December, he sent all the heavy guns and stores to Mysore, compelled the people below the Ghāts to emigrate thither with their flocks and herds, destroyed the forts, and made arrangements for demolishing Arcot, when news suddenly arrived that a French force had actually arrived off Porto Novo (10th March 1782). But of the troops M. Bussy had originally embarked for the prosecution of his plans in India, the first division had been captured by Admiral Kempenfelt in December 1781, and a second in April 1782. Several naval engagements also took place at this time in Indian waters, in which the English uniformly gained the advantage. Cuddalore, however, was now taken by the French; and, forming a junction with Haidar, they carried Perumukkal in May, before Sir Eyre Coote could arrive for its relief. But on the 2nd of June was fought the battle of Ārni, in which the English were victorious, and nothing but the want of cavalry prevented a large capture of artillery. As it was, Haidar's loss included several tumbrils and a gun. On the 8th June, however, Coote's grand guard, consisting of a select body of cavalry and 100 sepoys, was nearly entirely destroyed at Neddingal, between Ārni and Wandiwash, by a body of about 6,000 horse commanded by Haidar, Tipū and Lally. Apart from this unfortunate disaster, which was wholly due to the imprudent conduct of Lieutenant Cruityzer, the Officer in Command, who was taken prisoner, the campaign of 1782 proved a great success. Vellore was relieved by Ensign Byrne on 14th June 1782. Sir Eyre Coote requiring a change of air, embarked for Bengal on the 28th September (1782) and was succeeded by Major-General James Stuart, Sir Hector Munro having previously resigned.

Operations on the West Coast—Haidar's death, 7th December 1782.

On the other coast, the corps sent to Malabār under Makhdum Alī was completely defeated and destroyed at Tricalore by Colonel Humberstone, the commander being killed. Nothing could be done during the monsoon to retrieve this disaster, but as soon as the weather permitted in November, Tīpu, assisted as usual by Lally's corps, under pretence of striking some blow near Trichinopoly, proceeded by forced marches across the peninsula, hoping to fall upon the English, who were preparing for the siege of Palghātchēri. But in this he was disappointed, and sustained a defeat at Paniani on the 25th. While waiting for reinforcements to renew the attack, an event occurred of the utmost importance. Haidar's army in Coromandel had cantoned sixteen miles north of Arcot for the rains, the French being at Cuddalore, and the English at Madras. The health of Haidar had been declining, and in November he developed an abscess, or cancer, in the back, known as the *rajpora*, or royal boil. The united efforts of Hindu, Muhammadan and French physicians did no good, and on the 7th of December 1782, this remarkable man breathed his last in his camp at Narasingarāyanpet, near Chittoor, at the age of sixty.

Character and personality of Haidar Alī.

War first brought him to notice, and engaged in war he died. War was his element. The brief periods of repose between one warlike expedition and another were consumed in repairing the losses of the last, or providing the means for the next. The arts and products of peace he valued only as they furnished the sinews of war. But it is impossible to withhold homage from the great natural talents which raised an unlettered adventurer to the supreme control of a powerful kingdom, or the indomitable energy and fertility of resource which found in the most desperate reverses but fresh opportunities of rising. He could neither read nor write any language, though he spoke fluently Hindustani, Kannada, Marathi, Telugu and Tamil. The sum of his literary attainments consisted in learning to write the initial of his own name, H, to serve as his signature on public occasions; but either from inaptitude to learn, or for the purpose of originality, he inverted its form, and signed thus,  (copied from a grant in the Inam office). In person he is described as robust and of medium height, of dark complexion, with an aquiline nose and small eyes. Contrary to the usual custom of Musalmans, his face was clean shaven, even the eyebrows and eyelashes being removed. The most striking article of his dress was a scarlet turban, flat at the top, and of immense diameter. His uniform was flowered white satin, with yellow facings and yellow boots, and a white silk scarf round his waist. He was fond of show and parade on great occasions, and at such times was attended by a thousand spear-men, and preceded by bards who sang of his exploits in the Kannada language. He was an accomplished horse-man, a skilful swordsman, and a dead shot. He had a large *harem* of six hundred women, but his strong sensual instincts were never allowed to interfere with public business. From sunrise to past noon he was occupied in public durbār; he then made his first meal, and retired to rest for an hour or two. In the evening, he either rode out or returned to business. But frequently the night was enlivened with the performances of dancing girls or of actors of comedies. He took a second meal about midnight and retired to rest, some times having drunk freely.

His characteristics and modes of business.

The following extracts from accounts by the Rev. W. Schwartz, who was sent by the English in 1769 to Haidar as a peace-maker, contain a graphic description of his characteristics and modes of business :—

"Haidar's palace is a fine building in the Indian style. Opposite to it is an open place. On both sides are ranges of open buildings, where the military and civil servants have their offices, and constantly attend. Haidar can overlook them from his balcony. Here reigns no pomp, but the utmost regularity and despatch. Although Haidar sometimes rewards his servants, yet the principal motive is fear. Two hundred people with whips stand always ready to use them. Not a day passes on which numbers are not flogged. Haidar applies the same cat to all transgressors alike, gentlemen and horse-keepers, tax-gatherers and his own sons. And when he has inflicted such a public scourging upon the greatest gentlemen, he does not dismiss them. No, they remain in the same office, and bear the marks of the stripes on their backs as public warnings, for he seems to think that almost all people who seek to enrich themselves are void of all principles of honour.

"When I came to Haidar, he desired me to sit down alongside of him. The floor was covered with exquisite tapestry. He received me very politely, listened friendly and with seeming pleasure to all I had to say. In reply, he spoke very openly and without reserve............When I sat near Haidar, I particularly observed in what a regular succession, and with what rapid despatch, his affairs proceeded one after the other. Whenever he made a pause in speaking, an account was read to him of the district and letters received. He heard it, and ordered the answer immediately. The writers ran, wrote the letter, read it, and Haidar affixed his seal. Thus, in one evening, a great many letters were expedited. Haidar can neither read nor write, but his memory is excellent. He orders one man to write a letter and another to read it to him. If the writer has in the least deviated from his orders, his head pays for it. What religion people profess, or whether they profess any at all, that is perfectly indifferent to him. He has none himself, and leaves every one to his choice."

Varying European views: Innes Munro's opinion.

English and French writers widely differ in their estimates of the character and greatness of Haidar. Captain Innes Munro of the 73rd (or Lord Macleod's) Regiment of Highlanders, who took an active part in the military operations on the Coromandel Coast against the combined forces of the French, Dutch and Haidar from the year 1780 to the peace concluded in 1784, has left on record a view of Haidar's talents which, besides being a contemporary one, is also fairly just to him. Writing in July 1780, he said:—

"Many have compared the military genius and character of Hyder Ally to those of the renowned Frederick the Second, king of Prussia; and indeed, when we consider the distinguished abilities of that prince amongst his contemporaries in this country, and the intrepid manner by which he had established himself upon the throne of Mysore, and extended his dominions, one cannot but allow the simile to be exceedingly just.

"Hyder Ally first placed himself at the head of the Mysore army entirely by his military prowess. A great part of that kingdom borders upon the Mahratta states, which occasions a constant enmity betwixt two powers. The Mahrattas, being in former times the most powerful warriors, were always making unlawful encroachments upon the Mysore territories; but when Hyder Ally came to head the troops of that nation against its enemies, he soon convinced the Mahrattas that his countrymen only wanted a proper leader to make ample retaliation; for, by his prudence and conduct in the art of war, he not only drove them back to their own country, but considerably extended the Mysore kingdom by acquisitions from the Mahratta frontiers, which all the efforts of the latter have been ineffectual to retrieve. By these exploits, he ingratiated himself much into the favour of his countrymen; and was particularly admired and respected by the soldiers under his command, for his singular address and intrepidity, although he was at the same time reckoned austere and arbitrary in his deportment. Hyder soon afterwards availed himself of this attachment in the usual Asiatic manner; for, upon the demise of his sovereign, the old king of Mysore, he immediately usurped the throne under the title of regent and guardian to the young prince (who was then an infant); and has ever since assumed the supreme authority and titles of Navob of Mysore, keeping the real heir confined within the walls of Seringapatam, the capital of the Mysore country, who is occasionally exhibited to the public by way of show or form, as Mahomed Ally, the navob of Arcot, is at Madras by the Company, who, excepting empty titles, has in like manner been divested of every prerogative in the Carnatic.

"Hyder now became a terror to all his neighbours; for, having united the talents of a profound politician to those of an able warrior, he showed uncommon abilities in forming such judicious establishments, both civil and military, in his dominions, as in course of time rendered him the most formidable and potent prince in Hither Hindostan.

"As all great acquisitions in this country are made by force of arms, the first object with Hyder Ally was to establish a good army; and experience taught him, in the course of his frequent conflicts with the English, that European discipline was absolutely essential to that end. He therefore endeavoured, by every possible means, to allure to his standard military adventurers of all nations and tribes, but particularly the European artificers and sepoys that had been trained up in the Company's service, to whom he held out the most tempting rewards; nor did he ever want emissaries for this purpose in every battalion in the Company's service, as appears from the words of command, which are now given in English throughout his whole army.

"By this means he soon brought his established forces to a perfection in European discipline never before known amongst the black powers in India; and his progress in tactics has been matter of astonishment and terror to all those who have ventured to encounter him in the field. But what at once show the extended ideas and ambition of this prince, are his surprising endeavours to become formidable at sea. No art has been left untried to entice into his pay our ship-carpenters and dockyard-men from Bombay and other places; and in this attempt the French and other European powers have been induced to assist him; so that the progress which he has already made in constructing docks and equipping a naval force is almost incredible.

"The surprising energy of this man's uncultivated mind (for he is totally ignorant of letters), when compared to the rest of his contemporaries in power, is truly worthy of admiration. Who, but an hero born to conquer, would at once relinquish all the prejudices and ill-founded habits of his country, so foreign to ours, and so readily adopt whatever European improvements appeared most essential to secure his government, to extend his empire, and to render his name immortal? He is not only sublime in his views, but capable of seeing them minutely executed. His ends are always great, his means prudent, and his generosity unbounded, whenever proper objects offer; nor can any prince be more watchful over the intrigues of his enemies both abroad and at home; by which means he knows well where to anticipate hostile designs, and where to take advantage.

"It is not then to be wondered at, if a prince possessed of so many great qualities, and so ambitious of fame and high honours as Hyder Ally Cawn, should behold his powerful neighbours the English, and their ally the navab of Arcot, with an eye of jealousy and hatred. It can only be from political motives if ever he is at any time induced to show them a fair face; for I have been told from good authority that he secretly entertains an implacable aversion to all Europeans, which he takes as much care to instil into the mind of his son Tippu, as Hamilcar, the famous Carthaginian general, did when he caused Hannibal to take the oaths of perpetual enmity against the Romans. Need we then have doubted that he would openly declare those sentiments whenever an opportunity offered? No; his reasons were too well founded ever to admit of a deviation from them; nor can he be blamed for breathing a spirit of patriotism, which is natural to every native of Hindostan."

Some Indian views: Kirmani's characterization.

The *Nishani Haidari* (*History of Hydur Naik*, by Kirmani, translated from the Persian by Colonel W. Miles) says:—

"In all the cities and towns of his territory, besides news-writers, he appointed separately secret writers and spies to patrol the streets at night, and from them he received his intelligence. From morning to night he never remained a moment idle. He was a slave to the regulation of his working establishments. . . . . . . All the operations or measures undertaken by Haidar's government, small or great, were superintended by himself in person; insomuch that even leather, the lining of bullock-bags, tent walls, and strands of rope, all passed under his inspection, and were then deposited in his stores."

The *Ahvali Haidar Naik* (by Mirza Ikbal, printed as a supplement to Kirmani's *Nishani Haidari*) thus describes the state of the country in Haidar's time:—

"By his power, mankind were held in fear and trembling; and from his severity God's creatures, day and night, were thrown into apprehension and terror. Cutting off the nose and ears of any person in his territories was the commonest thing imaginable, and the killing a man there was thought no more of than the treading on an ant. No person of respectability ever left his house with the expectation to return safe to it."

Wilks' view.

Wilks writes:—

"On the conquest of a new country, it was his invariable habit to inflict some memorable severities, not only for the purpose of extorting money, but with the avowed object of impressing his new subjects with a salutary terror of his name. On the same avowed principle, of inspiring terror into all descriptions of men, whether absent or present, he availed himself of a police too horribly perfect, to punish with boundless cruelty, the slightest levity of observation, made in the confidence and seclusion of domestic intercourse, that had any reference to his public or private conduct; and thus, where it was worse than death to blame, unqualified applause became the necessary habit of public and of private life.

"In spite of this reputation, and the notorious system of exaction and torture applied to every individual who had to render an account, men of almost every country were attracted to his court and standard, by brilliant prospects of advancement and wealth; but a person, once engaged in his service, and deemed to be worth keeping, was a prisoner for life: he would hear of no home but his own, and suffered no return; but the summary severity, cruelty, and injustice of his character were directed rather to the instruments than the objects of his rule; official men had cause to tremble; but the mass of the population felt that the vigour of the Government compensated for many ills, and rendered their condition comparatively safe.

"In action, Hyder was cool and deliberate, but enterprising and brave when the occasion demanded. In his early career, and in his wars with the native powers, he was far from sparing of his person, but opposed to Europeans, it was observed that he never personally encountered the heat of action. His military pretensions are more favourably viewed in the conduct of a campaign than of a battle; and if the distinction can be allowed, in the political, than in the military conduct of a war. In the attack and defence of places, he and his son were equally unskilled; because in that branch of war, no experience can compensate for want of science.

"In Council he had no adviser, and no confidant; he encouraged, on all occasions, a free discussion of every measure suggested by himself or by others, but no person knew at its close, what measures he would adopt in consequence.

"Hyder was of all Mohammedan princes the most tolerant, if, indeed, he is himself to be considered as a Mussulman. He neither practised, nor had ever been instructed how to practice, the usual forms of prayer, the fasts, and other observances. He had a small rosary, on which he had been taught to enumerate a few of the attributes of God, and this was the whole of his exterior religion. It was his avowed and public opinion, that all religions proceed from God, and are all equal in the sight of God; and it is certain, that the mediatory power represented by *Ranga Swamey*, the great idol in the temple of Seringapatam, had as much, if not more, of his respect, than all the Imaums, with Mohammed at their head.

"In common with all Sovereigns who have risen from obscurity to a throne, Hyder waded through crimes to his object; but they never exceeded the removal of real impediments, and he never achieved through blood what fraud was capable of effecting. He fixed his steadfast view upon the end, and considered simply the efficiency, and never the moral tendency of the means. If he was cruel and unfeeling, it was for the promotion of his objects, and never for the gratification of anger or revenge. If he was ever liberal, it was because liberality exalted his character and augmented his power; if he was ever merciful, it was in those cases where the reputation of mercy promoted future submission. His European prisoners were in irons, because they were otherwise deemed unmanageable; they were scantily fed, because that was economical; there was little distinction of rank, because that would have been expensive: but beyond these simply interested views, there was by his authority no wanton severity; there was no compassion, but there was no resentment: it was a political expenditure, for a political purpose, and there was no passion, good or bad, to disturb the balance of the account. He carried merciless devastation into an enemy's country, and even to his own, but never beyond the reputed utility of the case; he sent the inhabitants into captivity, because it injured the enemy's country, and benefited his own. The misery of the individuals was no part of the consideration, and the death of the greater portion still left a residue, to swell a scanty population. With an equal absence of feeling, he caused forcible emigrations from one province to another, because he deemed it the best cure for rebellion; and he converted the male children into military slaves, because he expected them to improve the quality of his army. He gave fair, and occasionally brilliant encouragement, to the active and aspiring among his servants, so long as liberality proved an incitement to exertion, and he robbed and tortured them, without gratitude or compunction, when no farther services were expected; it was an account of profit and loss, and a calculation whether it were most beneficial to employ or to plunder them.

"Those brilliant and equivocal virtues which gild the crimes of other conquerors, were utterly unknown to the breast of Hyder. No admiration of bravery in resistance, or of fortitude in the fallen, ever excited sympathy, or softened the cold calculating decision of their fate. No contempt for unmanly submission ever aggravated the treatment of the abject and the mean. Everything was weighed in the balance of utility, and no grain of human feeling, no breath of virtue or of vice was permitted to incline the beam.

> "There was one solitary example of feelings incident to our nature, affection for an unworthy son whom he nominated to be his successor, while uniformly, earnestly, and broadly predicting, that this son would lose the empire which he himself had gained."

News of Haidar's death kept in secret.

The minister Pūrnaiya sagaciously planned that the death of Haidar should be concealed from the army until the arrival of Tīpu, and Krishna Rao, his official colleague, acceded to the same course. It is a high testimony to the order and discipline of the army, and the influence and ability of Pūrnaiya, that this was successfully carried out. The body of Haidar, deposited in a large chest filled with aromatics, was sent off to Kolar under escort, as if a case of valuable plunder. All business went on as usual. The chiefs of the army were separately and quietly taken into confidence, and all inquiries were answered to the effect that Haidar was better, but weak. Only one officer, commanding 4,000 horse, conceived the project of removing the ministers, seizing the treasury and proclaiming Abdul Karīm, Haidar's second son. But the plot was discovered, and the accomplices were put into irons and sent off under guard.

Tipū joins his army and succeeds Haidar.

A courier on a dromedary, travelling 100 miles a day, conveyed the intelligence to Tīpu at Paniani by the afternoon of the 11th. Next morning he was in full march eastward. Dispensing with all ceremony calculated to excite inquiry, he went forward as rapidly as possible, and after performing the funeral ceremonies at Kolar, joined the army in a private manner between Ārni and Vellore on the 2nd of January 1783. The most ample acknowledgments were made to all the public officers, and especially to Pūrnaiya, for their prudent management of affairs during this critical period, and Tīpu Sultān took peaceable possession of an army of

88,000 men, and a treasury containing three crores of rupees in cash, besides an immense amount of jewels and valuables.

Lord Macartney's plans foiled.

It was part of the policy and plan of Lord Macartney, the Governor of Madras, to prevent the easy return of Tipū to the Karnātic and effectuate his defeat before he joined his main army. That the health of Haidar had been for some time on the decline was well known at Madras. That his increasing indisposition induced Tipū to deem his presence absolutely necessary in the Karnatic at a period so critical and big with his future fate was also equally well known. In view of his illness, Haidar had also made some overtures of peace to the English at Madras, with seeming sincerity as he then seriously anticipated his own dissolution, in consequence of which he was apprehensive of some fatal commotions. What transpired actually in Haidar's camp confirmed the truth of his apprehensions and the news that had filtered down to Madras. The anxiety, therefore, of Lord Macartney to prevent Tipū's return to the Karnātic was both natural and real. As soon as the death of Haidar became known, he urged Major-General Stuart, who had succeeded Sir Eyre Coote in the post of Commander-in-chief, to take the field before Tipū could return from the West Coast, but the General at first professed his disbelief in the report and afterwards threw other difficulties in the way, so that Tipū was enabled to join his army, as above stated, on the 2nd January 1783 before the English troops had moved from the Mount. No sooner had he found himself at the head of the army without opposition of any kind and without any the least symptom of the commotion usual upon such an occasion, and proclaimed Nawāb and Generalissimo of the Armies, than he dropped his father's negotiations with the English for peace and gave every assurance to the

French of his fidelity and attachment to them, and of his fixed determination to prosecute a vigorous war against the English. While the highest praise is due to the consummately clever manner in which Pūrnaiya and Krishna Rao made possible the succession of Tipū, blame cannot but affect to the English General who frustrated Lord Macartney's plan by his dilatory methods and made it impossible for the English to deal a severe blow to Tipū at a time when it would have been easy for them to do so.

Campaign of 1783: operations on the West Coast.

Tipū and the French, awaiting with sanguine prospects the arrival of M. Bussy to decide on the plan of the campaign, were offered battle by the English near Wandiwash on the 13th of February. But this was declined, and within a week news from the west obliged Tipū and his allies to withdraw the main body of the army for the defence of his possessions in that quarter. General Matthews had landed at Coondapur, carried Haidarghar, and on the 16th February captured Bednur. Honavar and Mangalore had also fallen to the English, who were now in possession of all the intermediate country. Shekh Ayaz, the *Chela*, whom we have previously mentioned in connection with his appointment to the government of Chitaldrug, was at this time governor of the Bednur country. He had abundant reason for fear in the accession of Tipū, and having discovered, as he anticipated, that the latter had ordered his immediate assassination, abandoned his charge and fled to Bombay, at the same time that Tipū's army was marching for its recovery. General Matthews, having gained spoils to the value of eighty-one lakhs of *pagodas*, besides jewels, was waiting for reinforcements, when Tipū appeared on the 9th of April. The Genera had, however, committed the grave mistake of not only extending his conquests in the districts dependent on Bednur but also in place of destroying those forts immediately on their surrendering, he imprudently dispersed a great part of his army in a pitiful detail for their defence, without ever anticipating the least bad consequence from such a hazardous measure. Meanwhile Tipū, dividing his army into two columns, with one retook Kavale-durga and Haidarghar, and with the other Anantapur; and, cutting off all communication with the coast, invested Bednur. The place was defended with every spirit and bravery until it became a heap of ruins and further resistence unavailing. The garrison, being starved out, capitulated on the 30th on honourable terms. But instead of being sent to the coast as stipulated, both officers and men were on the ground of their having tampered with the treasury marched off in irons to Seringapatam. Tipū now advanced for the recovery of Mangalore, and invested it on the 4th of May. The garrison under the brave Colonel Campbell and his undaunted garrison held out in spite of great hardships. In July arrived intelligence that peace had been concluded in Europe between the English and the French; the leaders of the French forces, therefore, to the great indignation of Tipū, announced the necessity for their withdrawal. An armistice was agreed to on the 2nd of August, but the articles were not observed by Tipū. Mangalore held out till the 30th of January 1784, when the starved-out garrison, whose bravery had excited the highest admiration even from Tipū, were allowed to retire to Tellicherry. Thus ended a siege, in which Colonel Campbell and the troops under his command, acquired the highest share of military glory. Unfortunately, however, that brave officer, worn out with fatigue, did not live long to enjoy his justly merited applause, he soon afterwards dying at Bombay.

Operations in the East, 1783.

As soon as Tipū left the Karnātic, General Stuart began the demolition of the works at Wandiwash and

Karunguli, which he completed by the end of February. In March, he moved for the relief of Vellore, and it was not until the 21st April that he commenced his march towards Cuddalore for recovering it from the French. His movements were so dilatory that he did not arrive there until the 7th June, having taken 48 days to accomplish 126 miles, and thus given the enemy time to supply themselves with provisions and ammunition, of both of which they had been much in want, as shown by intercepted letters. The General was severely censured for his procrastination, though a good part of the censure was ill-deserved as there was hardly any use in arriving at the place before the ships which carried the entrenching tools and gun and stores arrived there, and also for the mismanagement by which the carriage of the army, equal to the transport of provisions for twenty-five days, had in a few weeks been so reduced as not to be able to carry more than sufficient for nine days' consumption. This result was contrasted with that effected by General Coote in January 1782 when he threw three months' provisions into Vellore in the face of the enemy, and returned to Madras in fifteen days without any particular diminution in the carriage. Just about this time (24th April), Sir Eyre Coote returned to Madras from Bengal, but died there on the 27th March to the grief of the army, especially to the Indian part of it, by whom he was regarded with a degree of attachment never manifested towards any other European officer. (See Wilks, *History* II. 355). At Cuddalore, General Stuart was not able to produce any impression, though the attack on the French lines proved successful so far as its objective was concerned. The casualties were heavy and the arrival of Suffrein's fleet proved timely. With the reinforcements it landed, the French made a sally, which was repulsed, among the prisoners taken being Bernadotte, afterwards king of Sweden, who was then a

Serjeant. Despite this success, the position of the English now became critical, their number having been diminished by casualties and disease, whereas the enemy had been considerably strengthened from the fleet. Fortunately, at this juncture, intelligence was received of the conclusion of peace in Europe in consequence of which hostilities ceased on the 2nd July.

Operations in the South (1782-4).

In the south, in September 1782, Colonel Lang demolished the fortifications of Negapatām; then he took Karoor (1783); and Avarakurichi was taken by storm on the 10th April. Dindigul next surrendered (4th May). A few days later, Colonel Lang was superceded in his command by Colonel Fullarton, of H. M's 98th Regiment. Vigorous in action, Fullarton took Dhārāpuram on 2nd June and was about to proceed towards Coimbatore, when he was directed by General Stuart to join the main army at Cuddalore. In compliance, with this order, he arrived within three forced marches at that place, when intelligence of the cessation of hostilities with the French enabled him to retire to the South, where he commenced a series of successful operations which continued until the close of the war and formed, as Colonel Wilson rightly characterises it, "a striking contrast to the unsatisfactory result obtained under the other leaders of the time, Coote only excepted." He began by marching to Melur, in the Madura District, where he left a strong garrison. Next he reduced Sivaganga, twenty miles further east. Here he exacted the tribute due from the Rāja and compensation for the ravages committed by him in the Company's territory. Next he took Panjālamkurichi, distributing the large sums of money found in it to the troops, who had been ten months in arrears of pay. Having arranged for garrisoning this fort, he marched on Sivagiri, which was evacuated. The Rāja, who had fled to a mountain stronghold, had been joined by several other *pālegārs.* Their united resistance was, however, broken and the stronghold taken. With its reduction, all the Madura *pālegārs* submitted. At Dindigul, which he reached on the 23rd September, two detachments from the main army joined him. This accession raised his force to 13,600 men, of whom 2,050 were Europeans. He brigaded the troops and changed the usual march order to facilitate easy communication between distant parts of the line and then re-commenced his march. Early in October, he marched towards Palni and from thence to Palghautcheri, reducing different minor forts by the way. The march through the Anāmalai forests was attended with great difficulty but was successfully accomplished. Palghautcheri was captured on the 5th November and the treasure found in it was, once again, distributed among the troops in consideration of their necessities. Coimbatore was next taken and preparations were made to advance against Seringapatam *via* Satyamangalam, in the hope of either attacking that place at a disadvantage during the absence of Tipū, then before Mangalore with a considerable army, or to force him to raise that siege. These preparations had been completed, and Fullarton was about to march, when on the 28th November he received instructions desiring him to restore all the places he had taken, and to retire within the limits possessed by the British on the 20th July preceding. These instructions emanated from the English Commissioners (Messrs. Sadlier and Staunton, later joined by Mr. Hudleston) who, at the suggestion of Tipū, had been deputed by Lord Macartney to proceed to Mangalore, there to negotiate a treaty and who had been invested with plenary powers. Colonel Fullarton remonstrated strongly, pointed out the great advantage of his position and intended operations, and intimated his intention to remain at Coimbatore until further orders. His reasoning, however, was of no avail and about the middle of

December he was directed by the Madras Government to obey the instructions of the Commissioners. He accordingly left Coimbatore, and returning to the south, he broke up his army into three divisions, one of which was sent to Karoor, another to the neighbourhood of Dindigul, and the third to Kovanur on the borders of Madura. Scarcely had he finished these cantoning arrangements, when the Madras Government, beginning to doubt the sincerity of Tipū, sent orders desiring him to re-assemble his army, and to retain possession, until the conclusion of the negotiation, of all places taken by him which he had not already given up in conformity with their previous instructions.

Treaty of Mangalore, 11th March 1784.

In the meantime, the journey of the Commissioners towards Mangalore had been retarded on various pretexts and they did not reach that place until it had been evacuated by the British. On their arrival, they were treated with marked indignity, and Tipū continued to postpone the settlement of the conditions of peace until the intelligence of the re-assembly of Colonel Fullarton's army, and of other preparations being made by the Madras Government, induced him to sign the treaty on the 11th March 1784. This was primarily based on the condition of the mutual release of prisoners and restitution of conquests. In accordance with the latter, all the places taken by Fullarton were given up with the exception of Dindigul, which was held pending the release of prisoners. Cannanore was kept by the Bombay Government on the same ground, while Tipū on his side retained possession of Āmbur and Satghur.

Third attempt at uprooting the usurpation, 1782-8.

About this time, the idea of uprooting the usurpation was determined upon by those interested in the reigning family. Two attempts had already been unsuccessfully made but the ardour of the loyalists had not been damped.

The time appeared propitious for a fresh attempt. Haidar had died; his son Tipū, generally unpopular and disliked even by his own father on occasions, was absent at Mangalore; and some of Tipū's own party were inimical to him. Added to these pre-disposing causes was the intensity of feeling among the dispossessed *palegārs* and others for the losses of territory sustained by them and the indignities they had suffered. Very similar was the feeling among the immediate adherents of the reigning family, both Hindu and Muhammadan, who made up their minds that the usurpation should cease and the royal house restored to its ancient position of dignity and independence. The attempt appears to have been carefully planned, steps having been taken to time it opportunely with the expected arrival of British troops at the capital. The scheme accordingly consisted of two parts: one was the obtaining of British aid by getting the English at Madras interested in the restoration idea, as much in their own interests as in the interests of the loyalists; and the other was to make the necessary arrangements at the capital (Seringapatam) by getting the loyalists act together and subvert on a day fixed the Killedār's authority in the city and thus obtain the key position as it were to the Government of the State. Once this was done, the idea seems to have been the British army would occupy the fortress and the return of Tipū effectually prevented. Wilks, who had access to all the documents pertaining to this loyalist attempt, writes thus of the first part of the scheme:—

The first part of the story: Wilks' account of the same.

> "In the early part of 1782, Mr. John Sullivan, political resident at Tanjore, charged with a general superintendence over the southern provinces, and unlimited powers of political communication with both coasts, had in the course of the confidential authority committed to him by his government, opened to Colonel Humberstone, recently arrived on the coast of Malabar, his views regarding the employment of the forces

under his command which would best promote the general purposes of the war; and there is in the whole of his extensive correspondence at that period, a manly, energetic, and enlightened grasp of mind, which leads us incessantly to regret its limited sphere of operation, and the inadequacy of his means to the accomplishment of his conceptions. The recent defeat and capture of Colonel Braithwaite's corps in Tanjore had produced the greatest degree of despondency in the southern provinces, and even considerable alarm for the safety of the provincial capital: but the ample authorities committed to Mr. Sullivan, were exercised on this occasion with so much energy and address, as speedily to revive the public confidence; he had even found resources for raising and equipping troops, to replace, at least numerically, the losses of the late disaster, and had reason to hope for the early organization of that force, which afterwards took the field under Colonel Lang. The plan proposed in the first instance, involved little more than the general views of the Governments of Bengal and Madras, officially communicated to him, for an efficient diversion on the coast of Malabar, which among benefits of a more general nature, would relieve the pressure and liberate the rosources of the provinces committed to his charge; but on further correspondence with Colonel Humberstone, these views extended to a combined operation by the route of Palghaut, to unite with Colonel Lang in Coimbatore, and eventually to prosecute farther offensive operations. These ideas were approved by his own Government and afterwards recommended to the adoption of that of Bombay, but the displeasure of Sir Eyre Coote, which has been already noticed, and his disappointment at Colonel Humberstone's landing in Malabar, gave to his opinions, if not an original bias unfavourable to the measure, at least the character of intemperate disapprobation; the landing therefore of Colonel Humberstone, approved by the Government of Madras, but disapproved as we have seen in the first instance, by that of Bombay, and by Sir Eyre Coote, instead of being, as it might have been, rendered an efficient branch of an important combination, was left to assume the character of an insulated and eminently dangerous diversion.

" Mr. Sullivan, who in consequence of the difficulty of communication, long remained ignorant of the opinions of Sir

Eyre Coote, and the dissensions at Madras, sought to strengthen a plan approved by his Government, by means of such political support as circumstances might admit. For about six years past, a bramin named Tremalrow had been residing in Tanjore, who gave himself out as "the son of the minister of that Raja of Mysore who had been deposed by Hyder," that he had been deputed on a secret mission from the imprisoned Ranee (the personage described in Volume I, page 233) to Lord Pigot in 1776, and on hearing of his revolutionary supersession, retired to Tanjore. (A genealogy, with which I am furnished, traces the family of Tremalrow up to Govind Acharee, the Gooroo, high priest, of the Kings of Vijeyanuggur: from him is said to have descended Tremalayangar, the minister of Chick Deo Raj, *Vide* Volume I, page 56, the alleged ancestor of Tremalrow. I have the authority of the brother of Tremalrow, for stating, that he is entirely unconnected with either of these families, and that the second is not lineally descended from the first, and is of a distinct sub-division of caste; but it is right to add, that these brothers were at variance.) In this situation he had ingratiated himself with the Raja, by whom he had been announced to Mr. Sullivan, through the medium of Mr. Schartz, whose knowledge of the languages, joined to his personal character, gave weight to every representation which he consented to convey. Tremalrow was a person of considerable talents and acquirement, and showed himself to possess extensive information regarding the Government and resources of Mysoor. It is known, that he had served in a subordinate capacity, in some of the departments of Hyder's Government, at first as a writer in the office of Assud Ali Khan, minister of finance, who died in 1772, and afterwards in the department of the post-office and police, under Timmapa (the predecessor of Shamia), by whom he was patronized and employed on several missions; and it is understood in Mysore, that while absent on one of these, he heard of the intended disgrace of his patron, and apprehensive of being involved in its consequences, fled from Mysore. This person stated himself to possess political powers from his imprisoned mistress, and means of communication which enabled him to receive from her letters addressed to Lord Macartney, and Sir Eyre Coote, and political instructions for his own guidance. Original letters, addressed by Colonel Wood, Colonel Smith, and Mohammed Ali, during the war of 1767, to Madana, Hyder's Governor of Coimbatore and Malabar, produced to support the authenticity of his communications, were scarcely conclusive to that extent, although affording evidence of confidential access either to the supposed conspirators of 1767, or to the records of Hyder's police; and after a voluminous correspondence, Mr. Sullivan was authorised to conclude a treaty with Tremalrow, in behalf of the imprisoned Ranee: the main purport of which was, on the one part, the eventual restoration of the ancient family; and on the other, the payment of stipulated contributions, as the army should advance into the provinces of Mysore; with other ulterior considerations reciprocally advantageous but cautiously guarding the English Government against any inconvenient pledge. This treaty was sent for ratification to the Government of Madras, every member of which had entire confidence in the authenticity of the powers, and the reasonable prospect of success. Sir Eyre Coote, although originally inimical to the plan, had, before his departure to Bengal, encouraged Mr. Sullivan to persevere. General Stuart alone, after the departure of Sir Eyre Coote, a member of the Select Commitee of Government, not only stated his opinion that the whole was a delusion, but converted into a source of festive merriment at his public table, this official proceeding of the secret department of the Government. The treaty was however ratified on the 27th November 1782, subject to the confirmation of the Governor-General."

Elucidation of connected facts.

To the above account, a few particulars may be added, to further elucidate matters. The treaty which Sullivan, the Political Resident at Tanjore, concluded with Tirumala Rao, acting on behalf of Maharāni Lakshmi Ammanni, the Dowager-Queen, was, as its recital relates, by virtue of powers delegated to him by Lord Macartney, then Governor of Madras, on the 27th of September 1782, to "conclude an agreement with Her Excellency the Rana of Mysore, subject to the approbation of the Governor-General and Council." The treaty itself bears date the 28th October 1782 and was signed at Tanjore by Mr. Sullivan for the Governor and Tirumala Rao for the Maharāni and attested and authenticated by the Rev. C. T. Schwartz, the well-known Missionary. This treaty is printed in Aitchison's *Treaties, Sannads and Engagements* (Vol. V), and in the *Mysore State Papers* (Vol. I. 1-11). The treaty is in fifteen articles and recites that copies of it were "interchanged with Tirumala Rao, the Agent of Her Excellency the said Rana, and with me (John Sullivan) as representative of the Honourable Company." It is necessary to bear these facts in mind as Wilks, despite what he writes above, throws, in certain other parts of his work, doubts as to the authentic character of the envoyship of Tirumala Rao. In the very first article, the Company acknowledge that they "are well acquainted with the usurpation of Hyder Ali and the misfortunes which they have brought upon the family of the Raja of Mysore, whose servant he was." The article then states:—"They (the Company) are willing to assist with their troops in reducing Hyder Ali, and in re-establishing the Raja in his hereditary dominions upon the conditions proposed in the first, second, third and fourth Articles." In these articles, a successive scale of payment is prescribed as each place is taken over from the usurper and handed back to the Rāni. Thus, on the taking over and delivery of the Coimbatore country, three lakhs of Kantiray *Pagōdas* was to be paid; on the English army ascending the Balaghaut and taking Ardhanhalli and other forts, a further sum of one lakh of *Pagōdas* was to be paid; on "the surrender of the fort of Mysore and the Government of the country being given over to our Rana or whoever she may adopt" another one lakh was to be paid; and finally upon the fall of Seringapatam, another five lakhs was to be paid, "in all the sum of ten lakhs of pagodas" was to be paid. The English were also to maintain an army in the Mysore country, whose expenses were to be paid for by the Rana's Government. The Company agreed not to interfere with the internal management of the country "nor with the business of the paligars, in the collection of the revenue or in the nomination of the killedars, etc., but will support and assist all officers who may be appointed by the Government of Mysore." If the Company failed "to reduce Hyder Naig," and were "obliged to make peace with him," the Company were to take over the protection of the loyalists and reimburse them of the money advanced by them "on account of our Rana for the purposes before mentioned." In the event of success, the Company engaged to put the Rana in possession of all conquests made by Haidar Alī and protect her and her successors in the same, except the territories taken by Haidar from the Mahrattas and the Nizam, in regard to which the Company retain liberty "to enter into such engagements with those powers relative to those countries as they may think proper."

The leading Loyalists in the movement.

In regard to those who took part in this attempt, the Maharāni Lakshmi Ammanni and Tirumala Rao, her Agent, deserve a few words. The Maharāni was the daughter of Gōpāl-Rāj-Urs, who had been at one time nominated Killedār of Trichinopoly. She was the widow of the late Rāja Chikka-Krishna-Rāja Wodeyar and survived the whole of the subsequent revolutions and signed the Subsidiary Treaty of Seringapatam in 1799. Wilks describes her as living in August 1808 "in the perfect possession of her faculties, a sensible and amiable old lady, whose observations on the incidents of her eventful life are highly interesting and intelligent." Many accounts of her distinguished career have appeared in recent years, of which the most notable ones will be found in the publication entitled *Mysore Heroes* referred to in the *Bibliography* attached to this Chapter. She seems to have signed her letters,—at any rate to her agent and envoy—

as "Sreeranga," apparently after the name of the famous god at Seringapatam, of whom she is known to have been a great devotee. From a careful consideration of all the relevant facts, the opinion might be hazarded that she was the inspirer of the loyalists, if she was not, indeed, at their head. She was not merely astute; she was brave, diplomatic and energetic to a degree in the prosecution of the great desire that seems to have possessed her at this period of her life. She was a doggedly persevering lady and was endowed with patience and powers of endurance quite past understanding to mere men. Tirumala Rao, her Agent, was a decendant of a respected Srī-Vaishnava family long resident in the State. His real name appears to have been Tirumala Iyengār, a decendant of the Minister of that name who served under Chikka-Dēva-Rāja. He traced his descent from one Gōvindachāri, the hereditary *guru* of the ancient kings of Vijayanagar. The story of his endeavour on behalf of his sovereign at Tanjore and Madras is told in a pamphlet privately issued some twenty years ago by a descendant of his, which will be found referred to in the *Bibliography* under the title of the *Mysore Pradhans.* Tirumala Rao was undoubtedly a man of resource. He was not only capable of interesting others in the cause he believed in but also made them do their utmost for it. From authentic documents made public—documents vouched for by General Harris, Fallowfield, etc.,—it is clear that he spent large sums from out of his private purse for the good of the Mysore Ruling House and the East India Company. The Company too were generous in recognising his worth and services and not only reimbursed him of his expenses to some extent but also provided him with an allowance to meet his daily wants. Tirumala Rao was assisted in his arduous and dangerous labours by his brother Nārāyana Rao. Their reward in case of success was to be ten per cent of the revenues of the restored districts and the office of *Pradhāna* (or Chief Minister) to be held hereditarily in their family. They got into touch with successive Governors of Madras and through their aid they made the position of the Royal House better known. The sympathy they won for the cause they believed in and worked for did not end in words. As stated above, the campaign of Lang and Fullarton in the south and west was the immediate effect of the Treaty of 1782 effectuated by Tirumala Rao on behalf of the Maharāni. When Karur was taken (2nd April 1783), the Mysore colours were hoisted on it and its possession transferred to Tirumala Rao. Likewise, when Coimbatore fell, Tirumala Rao was put in charge of it. The army at the latter place was ready to advance "at the word of command whenever it was to be given."

The second part of the Scheme.

Now, we come to the other part of the attempt: the projected taking of Seringapatam and preparing the way for the restoration of the ruling House. The full story is told by Wilks, who, whatever doubts he might have possessed about the direct connection of the Maharāni with Tirumala Rao's designs and actions, had none about his share in the correspondence that culminated in the Loyalist insurrection that broke out at this time in Seringapatam. Wilks writes :—

Wilks' account of same.

"Whatever doubts may have been entertained of the authenticity of the documents produced, and the communications reported by Tremalrow in 1782, while Hyder was still alive, there can be none of his correspondence with the members of this conspiracy, and of having aided in promoting a crisis, which if well combined, might have produced the most decisive results. To trace with any certainty the secret history of a combination, every member of which who was discovered, or even strongly suspected, was put to death, and every subsequent mention of which was treason, would, in every instance, be an arduous attempt; and the difficulty in this case is augmented by other circumstances. On the restoration of the

Hindu dynasty in 1799, Tremalrow was one of two candidates for the office of minister, and the effects of rival pretension on the principals as well as their adherents, gave plain and abundant cause for distrusting the statements of each. Seyed Mohammed Khan, the killedar of Seringapatam, who discovered the conspiracy, and directed the executions, became a pensioner of the East India Company, and was totally independent of every influence but theirs. His written and personal narratives, the published journals, and oral information of English prisoners, and conversations with numerous witnesses of the overt facts, have been the principal checks on a secret narrative, obtained by the author under circumstances which precluded the ordinary means of scrutiny.

"The advancement of *Shamia* to be minister of the post-office and police in 1779 has been stated, and we have seen that the influence of this office had even a wider range, and more perfect organisation than can readily be apprehended by the subject of a free State. The secret terrors of his active administation had even been felt by his colleagues, and produced a jealousy which sought for his removal. It was sufficient for this purpose to give obscure hints of the good fortune of his family, the means of accumulating wealth, and the power to expose every secret but their own ; these insinuations were not long concealed from the emissaries of *Shamia* ; but at what period he began to contemplate revolutionary plans has not been ascertained. Shortly after Hyder's death, he perceived the early certainty of ruin, and veiled his projects with augmented zeal in the service of his sovereign, whom he of course accompanied to Mangalore. His brother *Rungeia* was at the head of the department at Seringapatam, and the name of the relation is mentioned, whom he sent from Mangalore to concert with his brother, the plans of proceeding. At the period of his arrival *Singeia*, the provincial head of the department at Coimbatore, was on business at Seringapatam, and with Narsing Row (Choukee Nevees) a sort of muster-master, paymaster, and town-major, was called to the secret consultations. The Hindoo Raja was to be nominally restored, and *Shamia*, *Rungeia*, and *Narsing Row*, were to form the administration ; the last-named person was included, on the ground of his undertaking the actual execution of the plot, for destroying the killedar, with Assud Khan, and the whole of his faithful battalion, and seizing the gates and the treasury. The communmnications with the English army which was to ascend at the period agreed, was left to *Rungeia*, through the medium of *Singeia* at Coimbatore ; all the Hindoo, and a few Mohammedan commandants of corps were gained, and sworn to secrecy; the English prisoners were to be released, and placed under the command of General Matthews; and *Rungeia* had for the first time visited the English prison, about ten days before the intended explosion ; had enquired into their wants, and desired them to be of good cheer. It was deemed necessary that an instrument should be prepared of sufficient authenticity to convince the English of the nature and extent of the conspiracy, and to this the seals and signatures were obtained of the persons already named, of the commandants of corps, and of *Souberaj*, ostensibly the representative of the imprisoned royal family, but in fact a descendent, by the female line, of the late Dulvoy Deo Raj, (stated on the authority of Seyed Mohammed Khan). It is not clear from the narrative whether this instrument ever reached the English army, but the intelligence from *Singeia* at Coimbatore gave assurances of that army being ready to advance at the concerted notice whenever it should be given. The narrative states the attempt to have been premature, but that *Rungeia* considered farther delay to be hazardous, on account of the number of persons intrusted with the secret, and the danger of treacherous or accidental discovery; he therefore pressed *Narsinga Row* to strike the blow, and everything was prepared from nine o'clock on the 24th of July 1783. Seyed Mohammed states eight months' (lunar) after his appointment, which would bring it to about the first week in August. (I take the date in the text, from the journal published in "Memoirs of the War in Asia, 1789"; but adverting to the restraints under which that journal was kept, it may not be exact to a day). It was the pay-day of Assud Khan's and some other Mohammedan corps, he would be present to superintend its distribution to the corps in waiting and without arms at the Cutchery, where the killedar always attended before the appointed hour; the treasury attendants, the corps of pioneers employed in moving the treasure, a body of jetties who had the guard of that part of the palace, were all provided with daggers to commence the work with the destruction of killedar, and his attendants;

while large bodies of Hindoo peons were ready to fall, in every direction, on the unarmed Mohammedans. Matters being thus arranged, Seyed Mohammed Khan on returning from the hall of business to his house on the night of the 23rd, was accosted in a whisper by an obscure individual, who said he had something of importance to communicate ; and on hearing his tale he was enabled in the course of the night to seize a despatch prepared for transmission to the English army ; to secure the principal conspirators, and to adopt measures for defeating the intended explosion. Narsing Row made a full disclosure in the hope of pardon, which he did not receive ; and all the minor agents confessed to the degree of their actual information. As an example to intimidate, a considerable number of conspirators were immediately executed, by the horrible process of being loosely tied to an elephant's foot, and dragged in that state through the streets of the town. Tippoo's orders were required for the disposal of the heads of the conspiracy, and on the arrival of these orders, *Narsing Row Souberaj*, and the heads of corps, and of the jetties, were executed. *Shamia* was sent in irons to Mangalore, and with his brother *Rungeia* was exposed to every contumely in separate iron cages, where they are said to have persisted to the last in denying their participation in the crime; although the torture extracted considerable treasures. Many adherents of their family continue to this day to interpret all the overt facts, into a pretended conspiracy contrived by the other ministers; on which most improbable supposition, *Narsing Row* must be considered as the voluntary victim of the calumny. *Shitaub*, the former killedar of Seringapatam, superseded by Seyed Mohammed, was seized on the first alarm, simply on conjecture ; and was released at the close of investigation on a perfect conviction of his innocence. Neither evidence, nor the unlimited use of the torture, had directed the slightest suspicion towards the imprisoned Ranee ; it is just possible, that she might afterwards have been induced, by the political rivalry to which we have adverted, to assume a disguise in her confidential conversations with late Sir Barry Close, and with the author ; but the absence even of suspicion, when so strongly excited by circumstances, added to her uniform and consistent assurances, convinced them both, of her entire ignorance of every part of the correspondence conducted in her name. But that conviction must not be understood to impugn the reality of Tremalrow's projects for the subversion of the actual Government. Long before the usurpation of Hyder, the Hindu prince had been kept in ignorance of acts purporting to be his own, as profound as was the ignorance of the imprisoned Ranee in 1783; and simulated authority had been the familiar habit of the Court.

"On a fair consideration of all the authentic facts which have been disclosed, we must ascribe to the conspirators at Seringapatam, a precipitancy rendered necessary by circumstances; and a more confident assertion for the encourgement of their friends, than they were justified in making, regarding the immediate advance of the English army; for we cannot ascribe to Tremalrow, the imprudence and impolicy of having encouraged that expectation, at the particular period when he knew the English to be restrained from action by the armistice of Cuddalore, when Colonel Fullarton was preparing to march from Trichinopoly (as he did on the 4th of August), in the opposite direction of Sivaganga. In what manner the conflicting pretensions of Tremalrow and Shamia, might in the event of success have been adjusted, it may not now be necessary to conjecture.

"Such, however, were the two circumstances, namely the execution of Mohammed Ali, at Mangalore, and the detected conspiracy at Seringapatam, which induced Colonel Fullarton to infer a disaffection in Tippoo's army favourable to the success of his enterprise; but there may be ground for questioning the accordance of this inference with the opinion raised by some authorities to the dignity of an axiom, that every detected conspiracy, instead of weakening, has a direct tendency to strengthen the hands of a despot; and exclusively of these two examples, there was certainly no sufficient ground for crediting the existence of defection, sufficient to form the ground of political action. The confidence of Colonel Fullarton was better founded, in officers eminently distinguished for talents and professional experience, and troops of an excellent quality, although containing too large a proportion of young soldiers. He had arrived, as we have seen at Coimbatore, on the 26th of November, and on the 28th, two days before his intended advance, he received instructions from plenipotentiaries, duly authorized, on their route to negotiate at Tippoo's Court, directing him, not only to suspend his intended operations, but unconditionally to abandon all his conquests and to retire within the limits possessed by the English on the 26th of the preceding July."

Thus failed the attempt. It is only necessary to add, by way of explanation, that Shāmaiya, who is mentioned above as the leader of the insurrection, was a Srīvaishnava Brāhman of Sulakunte, in the Kolar District, and that his real name was Shāma Iyengār, his brother being Ranga Iyengār. Though Wilks describes him as a human monster, there is reason to believe that he was an active Loyalist from the moment the usurpation hardened into a fact—*i.e.*, from the time that Haidar began to consolidate his position from a *de facto* administrator of his master's (Kartar's *i.e.*, Sovereign Lord's) kingdom, as he called it, into his own *de jure* rule of it. When Haidar virtually dispossessed the Rāja and displaced him in the public eye, Shāma Iyengār fell away from him and joined that band of Hindus and Muhammadans in the State who desired to end the unnatural condition of affairs set up by Haidar and what is worse, which Haidar tried to perpetuate in his own family. In the executions that followed the betrayal, it is said that over 700 families, who were described as the adherents of the Rāja in this connection, were put to death. Several fled out of the country while others went into self-chosen obscurity to avoid further troubles.

Kīrmāni's account of the attempt.

In Kīrmāni's *History of Tipū Sultan*, the story of this attempt is told in a slightly different manner, which is worthy of note. In that work, the loyalists are said to have won over the Killedār of Seringapatam to end the rule of Tipū. "Anche Shama," we are told, "having united in heart and hand with the Governor of the fort, planned and concerted to effect the destruction of his master's (Tipū's)house," had excited "a great disturbance."

Muhammad Alī, the Commandant, sent to the Capital to restore order, proceeded, we are told, by forced marches from Chengama by way of Bangalore and encamped at the Karighat hill, on the bank of the river and "after the fashion of the wolf-courtesy," began, following the path of intimacy, to show great regard and friendship towards the rebel Governor and sent a message to him to the effect, that if permission was accorded, he would enter the fort alone, and sleep one night at his house, that he might have the pleasure of seeing his family and children, and that the next morning, according to the orders of the Sultān, he would proceed by the route of Coorg to the attack of Nagar. Kirmāni then proceeds:—

"The Killedar lent a willing ear to the deceiving words of the commandant, and gave orders to the guards of the fort that he should be admitted; and he seeing all things favourable to his views and hopes, at night held his detachment in readiness, and crossing the rivers placed his men in ambush near the walls of the fort, and gave them orders that when he should enter the fort, and his Turee or trumpet sound the charge, they were immediately to enter and man the walls, bastions and gates. Accordingly he, accompanied by fifty brave and experienced men as a guard, immediately after entered the gate of the fort and sounded his trumpet, and having seized and bound the guard, posted his own men at the gate. In the meantime at the sound of the trumpet, the troops in the ambush swiftly advanced from their concealment, and entered the fort and extended their guards and sentinels on all sides.

"The brave commandant now quickly advanced to the houses of the Killedar, and his deputies, and to that of Anchi Shamia and his colleagues, and before they could open their eyes from the sleep of neglect and folly, they were dragged out of their beds and put in prison. The next morning, with the sanction of the Sultan's mother, some of the rebels were blown from a gun; the companions of Shamia impaled, and he himself loaded with irons and confined in an iron cage—a fit punishment for his villainy.

> "The office of Governor of the capital was now transferred to Syud Muhammad Khan Mehdivi, a friend of the Sultan's and the defence of the City was entrusted to the care and responsibility of Assud Khan, Risaldar, a brave and very able man, and who was also an old servant. Muhammad Ali having effected this, immediately marched with his troops by long stages, taking with him the letters of the Sultan's mother, and his report of the arrangements made at the capital, and arrived in camp at Nuggur, and detailed all the circumstances to the presence.
>
> "The Sultan was well pleased with his services and presented him with a gorget and a Khillat or dress of honour."

Difference between Wilks' and Kirmani's account reconciled.

It will be seen from the above narrative, that the Killedār of Seringapatam was in league with the Loyalists and that he was not the person—as mentioned by Wilks—whom the loyalists aimed at. It is, however, difficult which Killedār, Kirmani had in view in writing his account. As he gives no name, it is possible that it was Sitab, the previous Killedār on whom suspicion had fallen and who was among those thrust into prison by Muhammad Alī, the Commandant.

Treaty of Mangalore criticized.

The Treaty of Mangalore has been denounced as much for the manner in which it was patched up as for its contents. Both the manner of making it and the conditions forming it have been adversely criticised. Innes Munro, who took part in the war and who was, as he puts it, "a sufferer" by it, thus criticises it:—

Innes Munro's views.

> "Peace is generally considered by those who have toiled through the hardships of war as such a blessing, that the acquirement of it is generally applauded, however humiliating or repugnant to the real interests of the State, the terms may be upon which it is obtained. To establish peace, upon a firm and lasting foundation, is an object that I should conceive requires the most profound deliberation. To begin a war is a matter of more serious import than the generality of mankind are capable of perceiving; but when once entered into upon

proper grounds, in order to secure a permanent peace, it should never be ended while the least prospect of advantage remains.

"It is to be hoped that tho treaty of peace, which the Company have lately concluded with Tippoo Sahib, is only meant to be temporary. Such, I am certain, must be the wish of every Briton actuated by sentiments of patriotism, and capable of feeling the indignities which have been uniformly heaped upon the British name. Can any Englishman read of the sufferings of his unfortunate countrymen, in the different prisons of Mysore, without dropping a tear of sympathy?—Or can he peruse the account of the repeated indignity and contempt with which his nation has been treated by the present usurper of Mysore, without being filled with indignation, and burning with sentiments of retaliation and revenge?

"It must be allowed that the distresses in which we were involved during the war, in this quarter of India, were in a great measure occasioned by our own imprudence and misconduct. Want of unanimity amongst our rulers laid the foundation for miscarriage and defeat; and the ardour of our armies was invariably checked by the want of supplies, withheld through the anarchy and dissensions that generally prevailed in the councils of Madras. The rocks, upon which we have split, are now perceptible to every eye; and it is to be hoped that future rulers may be directed by them to shun the fatal disasters into which the affairs of this settlement have lately been plunged. To retrieve our sinking reputation in India must be the united effort of labour and of wisdom; and I should humbly conceive that no measure would be more likely to effect this desirable purpose than to crush the object of our just revenge, the present usurper of the Mysore throne; and, by an observance of rigid integrity in our future engagements with the country powers, to wipe off the odium and distrust now universally attached by them to the British name.

"In my humble opinion, the fairest opportunity that ever can offer of accomplishing this great end was lost by concluding a peace with the Mysoreans, at a period that seemed pregnant with every advantage to our arms. It must be acknowledged, that without money war cannot properly be carried on; and it will ever be felt as a subject of serious regret, that the Company were not better prepared for the public expenditures before they involved themselves and the nation in such a labyrinth of difficulties. Had that attention been paid by those in power here to the true interests of the Company, I am confident that the most felicitous consequences would have ensued. Tipoo Sultan, the inveterate enemy of the English name, might have been effectually humbled, in place of appearing to treat our embassy with the arrogant pride of a conqueror. From the many proofs that the Company had experienced of the fidelity and obedient disposition of their troops, they might have ventured to impose another year's service upon them without incurring a great additional expense; and to this I am confident the troops would have readily assented, not only from a desire of revenge for the barbarous treatment of their brave fellow soldiers, but from the idea of novelty and advantage arising from a prosecution of the war in an enemy's country, where the lure of plunder would have animated their hopes. It can hardly be doubted, when we consider the reduced state of the Mysore army at that particular period, and the discontent and dissensions that very generally prevailed in it, but that success must have attended the efforts of four formidable and well-conducted British armies, stationed nearly at the four extremities of the Mysore kingdom; one of which indeed had already penetrated a considerable way into the enemy's country, and had secured several very important posts; and none of them above two hundred miles from its metropolis. Four such armies advancing boldly and at the same time to one great object, *viz.*, Seringapatam, with a view of placing the rightful heir upon the throne, could not possibly have failed of success. But it is unpleasing to dwell upon circumstances that are now past remedy; I shall therefore only hazard one more observation.

"Prudence and policy will clearly dictate that the deposing of Tippoo Sahib, in attempting which little is to be dreaded, and establishing the lawful sovereign upon the throne of Mysore, are objects of the most essential consequence to the interests of the India Company in the Carnatic. By such means the Marrattas would be kept as much in awe as at present; and the Company, in the king of Mysore, would most likely secure a peaceable neighbour and a powerful ally."

It will be seen from the above that Innes Munro would not consider the Treaty as giving peace to the land or to the British until Seringapatam was actually attacked and taken, Tipū dethroned and the Hindu dynasty restored. That was the view of the time and that was the view that came ultimately to prevail.

Wilks' criticism.

Wilks criticises adversely the Treaty at great length and quotes Schwartz, who had been called in to act as Interpreter to the Peace Commissioners, but had been stopped by Tipū at the bottom of the Gajjalhatti Pass, as ridiculing the idea of a peace with Tipū without the means of enforcing it by the aid of an army ready to move on his territories if he did not abide by it. On meeting Colonel Fullarton, and learning the order under which he was acting, this venerable preacher of peace and Christian forbearance, in spite of a simplicity in the ordinary affairs of life sometimes amounting to weakness, thus described his astonishment. "Alas! said I, is the peace so certain that you quit all before the negotiation is ended? The possession of these two rich countries (Coimbatore and Malabar) would have kept Tipū in awe, and inclined him to reasonable terms. But you quit the reins, and how will you manage that beast? The Colonel said, I cannot help it." Such, indeed, Wilks adds, was the general tone of humiliation, that even Fullarton a few days before, had submitted to have a Captain and a small advanced guard cut off and to be satisfied with a lame explanation; "This affair," said Schwartz, "was quite designed to disperse the inhabitants, who came together to cut the crops, and to assist the English." Even the long-suffering and patient Lord Macartney, torn by dissensions at his Council table, lacking funds for energetically prosecuting the War, and with a Supreme Government too unsympathetic, if not exactly inimical, to his views and even hinting at his suspension, was compelled to cry halt to his spirit of meekness and forbearance towards Tipū. The advances he had made for peace had, he saw, been plainly misconstrued. He peremptorily ordered Fullarton "not only to retain possession of Palghaut, should that fort not have been delivered, but likewise to hold fast every inch of ground of which he was in possession, till he should have received accounts of the result of the negotiation." Luckily for him, Fullarton had not completed his arrangements for the distribution of his troops into cantonments, and he carried out Lord Macartney's orders to the letter.

In defence ‹ Lord Macar ney.

Lord Macartney has been blamed for making advances for peace and of not obtaining a full jail delivery from Tipū. As regards the former, it is to be feared that Macartney was too much obsessed by the peace idea. The causes for peace may have been of the impelling kind, but there was hardly any reason for him to appear as a suppliant for peace, as Tipū boastfully declared him to be. He need not have gone the length of sending Commissioners to Mangalore, an idea of that artful diplomat Appaj Rām, who represented Tipū at one stage of the negotiations, to which he readily succumbed. As to his failure to insist on an instant and complete jail delivery, it must be conceded that this was pressed at every stage of the negotiations. Mr. Staunton, the Private Secretary of Lord Macartney, who was one of the Peace Commissioners, positively declined his assent to the surrender of Mangalore and the other western conquests, until perfectly satisfied of the release of every prisoner, to be determined by the certificate of their existence by the other Commissioner in the form of an official message to Saiyid Sāheb, the General of Tipū. Again, a copy of the Treaty was delivered to Brigadier-General Macleod for his information and guidance, and he was ordered to hold Cannanore, with a strong garrison, until he should receive information of the release of all the prisoners. Lord Macartney, on discovering abundant ill faith on this head, even announced to Tipū that he would retain Dindigul, until the residue should be released. But so many of these unfortunate men had been doomed to death, by poison or assassination (full details of their sufferings will be found in the *Memoirs of the Late War in Asia,* referred to in the Bibliography to this Chapter), that the question of their "return" was altogether beyond the ingenuity of Tipū Sultān. The "final humiliation," as it has been called "of surrendering Dindigul," despite the non-return of the prisoners and the inhabitants forcibly deported from across the border, was apparently a necessity that could not well have been avoided in the circumstances in which Lord Macartney's government found itself at the time. Lord Macartney, at the same time, was most punctilious in his inquiries about the fate of various prisoners. For instance, he called upon Colonel Braithwaite, immediately after his release, for any information he might possess on the subject of the alleged murder of General Mathews, about which circumstantial accounts were then in circulation at Madras. The Colonel was of opinion, for certain reasons given, that no undue means had been resorted to in the case of General Mathews, though he could not "account for the deaths of several officers, without concurring in the general belief that they died of violence of some kind." Nor did the Madras Government drop the matter here. Having come to know in November 1789 that Captain Rutledge of the Artillery was still alive and in prison near Seringapatam, they applied for his release, and that of other prisoners handed over to Haidar by Admiral Suffrein, through General Conway, the Commandant of the French Settlements in India. Tipū, however, positively denied the existence of any such persons.

Before leaving the subject of prisoners, a word should be added of the *good Commandant*, Saiyid Ibrāhim, the theme of their prison songs and the object of their veneration, who animated the despondent, restrained the rash and furnished an example to all of cheerful resignation and ardent attachment. When removed from the prison to Kabbaldurg, he mildly bespoke attention to his family, if his fellow-prisoners should ever return, and some years elapsed after their release before accumulated sufferings brought him to the grave. Shortly after the restoration of the ancient Hindu Royal House, the Madras Government, by an order dated 26th May 1800, ordered the erection of a mausoleum over his remains at Kabbaldurg (not Channapatna, as stated by Mr. Rice in the previous edition of this work) and endowed by Lord Clive (later Earl Powis, then Governor of Madras) on behalf of the East India Company, "with a view to perpetuate the remembrance of his virtues and the benefit of his example." Saiyid Ibrāhim commanded the Tanjore Cavalry in 1781 and was made prisoner during that year. He was repeatedly invited by Tipū to accept service in Mysore with the most brilliant promises. He persistently refused these offers, and was removed to Kabbaldurg, as stated above, where "he suffered the hardships of a rigorous confinement and unwholesome food, intended to have produced that acquiescence which the Sultan's invitations had failed to produce." His sister, who shared his misfortunes in captivity, and was subsequently wounded in the storm of Seringapatam, was given a life pension of 52 *pagōdas* and 21 *fanams* per month.

Difficulties i the way of Lord Macartney.

It must be said in justice to Lord Macartney that he had to contend against many difficulties, among these the great scarcity of provisions and money, experienced by the army during the campaign of 1781-1782. The arrears due to the Army were not in fact cleared until 1789. The fidelity of the Indian branch of the Army was so great that notwithstanding the extreme severity of the service, it steadily resisted the numerous offers conveyed by the emissaries of Haidar and Tipū. Such fidelity, under such circumstances, has been characterised as being "without parallel in the military history of any nation." Lord Macartney endeavoured to meet the situation by obtaining the assignment of the revenues of the Karnātic in 1781-1782. Macartney did not, it is to be feared, get from the Commanders-in-Chief of his time that co-operation in the field or at the Council table that he had reason to expect from them, and even in regard to Sir Eyre Coote, who was responsible for the earlier part of the war, Wilks reluctantly admits as much. He appears to have made a great deal of his position as a Member of the Supreme Council at Calcutta and appears to have insisted in having his own way at Madras. "Although this estimable veteran," says Wilks, "could not fail to discover through the fullest drapery of Lord Macartney's compliments, many intelligible insinuations, that much more might have been done, than was actually accomplished by the army; it must, with whatever reluctance, be allowed that the temper evinced by Sir Eyre Coote on this and other occasions, exhibited mournful evidence of his having outlived some of the most attractive qualities of his earlier career." Nor did Sir Eyre Coote's successor, Major-General Stuart, give better satisfaction to Lord Macartney. From the time of his succeeding to the command of the Army, he appears to have set himself in direct opposition to Government upon almost every subject. Without going so far as to profess absolute independence of the Civil power, he went very near it, and on one occasion when called upon to interfere in a case where an officer of His Majesty's troops had refused to comply with a requisition from the Civil authorities, he stated he was of opinion that there were cases where the requisition of Government concerning the employment of His Majesty's troops might be refused by the Officer commanding. This conduct, as Colonel Wilson remarks, and his assumption of authority over the Royal troops, gave Government much uneasiness, but no active measures were taken until after the suspension of hostilities with the French, when General Stuart was directed to make over command of the army to Major-General Bruce, and to proceed to Madras, there to account for his dilatory and unsatisfactory conduct during the campaign, and other matters. He made over charge accordingly on the 3rd July (1783) and returned to Madras, where he continued his obstructive and contentious behaviour until it became so serious that Lord Macartney took the decisive step of dismissing him from the Company's service on the 17th September (1783) and appointed Major-General Sir John Burgoyne as the senior officer in His Majesty's service, to take command of the King's troops. Despite this order of dismissal, General Stuart determined to retain command of the King's troops, and Sir John Burgoyne informed that he would continue to obey the General. The Government accordingly resolved to arrest him before he could take any steps for the subversion of Government. Colonel Wilson remarks that it is difficult to say whether there were sufficient grounds for this apprehension. Although General Stuart had been one of the principal persons concerned in the arrest and deposition of Lord Pigot in 1776, it must be remembered that he was then acting in concert with the majority of the Members of Government, whereas in 1783, he possessed no adherent in that body. On the other hand, it was known that the suspension of Lord Macartney was contemplated by Warren Hastings, then Governor-General, and the prospect of the support of the Governor-General might have induced an impulsive and arbitrary man to go to any length. The arrest of the General was effected by the Fort Adjutant and he was conveyed to the fort. Colonel Lang was appointed to assume command of the Army and he forthwith took over the duties of the Commander-in-Chief. There were at first some signs of murmur among the Royal Officers, but even they tendered their services shortly afterwards on being satisfied that the authority of General Stuart over the royal troops in India had only existed by virtue of his commission from the East India Company. Meanwhile, Government permitted Sir John Burgoyne to assume the separate command of the King's troops but as he began to issue orders not usually promulgated without Government's previous sanction, he was put under arrest on 31st December (1783) and the next senior officer placed in command of the Royal troops. At the same time, it was resolved by Government to send General Stuart to England, a proceeding against which he protested vigorously, alleging amongst other objections, that the vessel taken up for him was not seaworthy. General Stuart would not embark until coercive measures were applied and this was done by the sepoys laying hold of him. He then protested he was being carried away against his will by force and went on board ship. The vessel, it must be added, had been duly surveyed before being chartered and pronounced perfectly seaworthy. The arrangements for the General's comfort on board appear to have been made on the most liberal scale. General Stuart, however, made the application of coercive measures, rendered necessary by his own conduct, a personal matter between himself and Lord Macartney, whom he called out on his return from Madras. A duel was fought accordingly near Kensington on 8th June 1786, in which Lord Macartney was shot through the shoulder. Lord Macartney was attended by Colonel Fullarton and General

Stuart by Colonel Gordon. The story of the duel has been told by Sir Charles Lawson in his *Memories of Madras* and is of interest to-day mainly because of the personalities involved in it.

Lord Macartney and the Supreme Government of India.

Apart from the troubles that Lord Macartney had from those at his own Council table, he had to deal with a Supreme Government which latterly became plainly inimical to him. Even Sir Vincent Smith, who criticises warmly Lord Macartney's Governorship of Madras, has had to admit that "the interference of Calcutta sometimes was practised in an irritating way." That seems a very mild way of putting the attitude of Hastings towards Macartney. Sir Charles Lawson suggests personal jealousy on the part of Hastings who saw something strange in the "handsome young nobleman in Madras, who had influential friends at his back, especially Hastings' remorseless enemy Charles James Fox." James Mill has remarked that Lord Macartney was not only of superior social rank to the Company's servants in India during the time he was Governor of Madras, but that he "set one of the finest examples of elevating a servant of the King to a high office in that country," and thereby of "intercepting the great prices which animated the ambition of the individuals rising through the several stages of the Company's service." There was little disposition in Calcutta to give him credit for what Mill describes as his accomplishments, his talents, his calmness of temper, his moderation and his urbanity. He spared no pains to keep his Council well acquainted with his views about passing events; and he wrote despatch after despatch of a voluminous nature, and in courteous terms, to the Governor-General in Council, in view to inducing them to give up their poor opinion of, and their distrust of him. The India Office Library and the British Museum contain a large number of his papers and Sir Charles

Lawson, after an examination of them, has been led to endorse the conclusion of Sir John Barrow, the biographer of Lord Macartney, that his minutes are "masterly productions," and that his "whole correspondence with the hostile and counteracting Government of Bengal is characterised by a clearness, closeness, and cogency of argument, and by a firmness and moderation which distinguish it, in a very striking manner, from the loose, the puerile, and fanciful reasoning, and the haughty, harsh and acrimonious language of the letters from Calcutta."

The relations of the Bengal Government with that of Lord Macartney were sufficiently friendly at first, and the pecuniary assistance of which Madras stood so much in need was afforded on more than one occasion, but this did not last long; the two Governments were soon at variance, and further aid was withheld.

The jealousy entertained by Warren Hastings against Lord Macartney as his probable successor, aggravated by the steady opposition of the Madras Government to certain measures advocated by that of Bengal, has been assigned as the principal cause of this state of matters.

The first of these proposed measures was the cession of the rich and extensive district of Tinnevelly to the Dutch, together with the exclusive right to the pearl fishery on the southern coast, in return for which the Madras Government were to be furnished with 1,000 European infantry, 20 European artillery, and 1,000 Malays, to be paid and maintained by the East India Company. Seeing that Government were not in want of more troops, but of money wherewith to pay those they already had, the acceptance of this proposal would have increased their liabilities, while at the same time it diminished the means of meeting them. This negotiation, which had been carried on between the Bengal Government and the Director of the Dutch settlements in Bengal, was suddenly dropped on receipt of the intelligence of war in Europe.

The cession of the Northern Circars to the Nizām on condition of being furnished by him with a body of horse was another of the measures pressed upon the Government of Madras. The Governor-General laid much stress upon the value of the aid to be received, while he depreciated that of the Circars as yielding only a moderate revenue, and the extent of frontier rendered it difficult of defence. In reply it was pointed out that the collections for the year had amounted to 612,000 pagodas, that the extensive sea-board of the Circars afforded every facility for landing reinforcements should they be required, and that the country was of great importance on account of the manufactures it produced, for which reasons Lord Macartney declined to give it up without the special orders of the Court of Directors.

Another important matter regarding which the two Governments were at issue, was the assignment of the revenues of the Karnātic, an arrangement which had been originally concluded with the approbation of the Bengal Government, and the results of which had been very advantageous. Nevertheless, early in 1783, on the strength of certain *ex parte* representations, the Madras Government were required to relinquish it. At this very time, orders had been received from the Court of Directors approving of the measure, and requiring the co-operation of the Bengal Government in carrying it out, but instead of obeying, that Government repeated their orders for the surrender of the assignment to the Nawāb. Lord Macartney, however, determined not to comply, and the matter rested until 1785 when it was surrendered in conformity with orders received from the Board of Control. The impolicy of this measure soon became apparent, but no change was made until 1790, when Lord Cornwallis and the Supreme Government, authorised and directed the Governor and Council of Madras to assume the management of the revenues of the Karnātic during the war:

> "In order that the total amount of the collections might be applied with fidelity and economy, in the proportions that had already been settled, to defray the exigencies of the war, and to support His Highness' own family and dignity."

Lord Macartney's political prescience.

This shows that Lord Macartney was in the main right in regard to the Karnātic question. Though Pitt took a different view of Lord Macartney's policy in this matter in which he was subsequently falsified, he praised his work at Madras and said that his conduct while there entitled him to the highest applause that words could possibly bestow. The fact also that he had a definite offer of the Governor-Generalship, in succession to Warren Hastings, while yet in India, from the Court of Directors, which he had to decline owing to reasons of health and that the offer was renewed to him shortly after he returned to England and only fell through because the Ministry of the day would not countenance his request for such a mark of Royal favour as would unequivocally show the world that he was going out with the combined support of the Crown, the Ministry and the Company, confirm this estimate of his services. Pitt, however, could not see his way to confer on him the British peerage he desired to receive and so the Governor-Generalship was, three days later, offered to and accepted by Lord Cornwallis. Lord Macartney was the type of a true nobleman; he was an upright, an incorruptible man; he returned home with absolutely clean hands; he entertained decided views about the necessity of subordinating the Military to the Civil authority in India, and he was full of ideas of administrative reform. Of his political talents and military plans, contemporary opinion (see Wilks II, 39) was undoubtedly too critical. At any rate, modern opinion, based as it is on a fairer appreciation of the difficulties of his position, differs very widely from contemporary opinion, which appears, in some respects, to have been influenced by the passions and prejudices of the time. He was a genuine statesman, as his conduct towards Mysore showed it, while the unlimited confidence he reposed in Mr. Sullivan, who carried through the Mysore negotiations and whose political sagacity won even the approval of Wilks, who is uniformly critical of Macartney's acts, shows that he could choose his men well and act fairly towards them. The highest justification of Macartney's policy towards Mysore—which had for its sheet-anchor the end of the usurpation and the restoration of the ancient Hindu dynasty—must be that it was the one that ultimately came to prevail, though it required two more wars to reach that goal. Political prescience cannot surely be denied to a man who could map out a policy of the kind that Lord Macartney laid down so early as 1782 for the solution of the problem that Mysore presented as much to its own people as to the Company, their neighbours. It should be remembered too that Lord Cornwallis has been adversely criticised for the mildness of his treaty with Tipū in 1792, which, because it did not overthrow Tipū in entirety, cost another war. General Medows (see below) would have preferred to dethrone Tipū in 1792 and restore the country to its ancient Hindu rulers, the policy adopted later by Lord Wellesley, who, it should be remembered, only executed what Lord Macartney, in 1782, had put down as the ideal policy for the effectual putting down of Tipū. (See *Cornwallis Correspondence II*, 78).

Tipū's cruelties after the Treaty.

The reversion of Mangalore to the possession of Tipū was signalized by the forcible circumcision of many thousands of Indian Christians and their deportation to Seringapatam. A revolt in Coorg next year led to the same treatment of the greater part of the inhabitants, the occasion being marked by Tipū's assumption of the title of Pādshāh. All Brāhman endowments were at this period resumed.

Maharatta invasion, 1784-1787.

On returning from Mangalore, a demand had been made upon Nizām Āli for the delivery of Bijāpur. He therefore formed an alliance with the Mahrattas, who not only countenanced the Deshāyi of Nargund in refusing Tipū's requisitions, but sent the latter notice that three years' tribute from Mysore was in arrears. On this he despatched a force against Nargund, which the Mahrattas failed to relieve; and, after operations protracted for several months, the Deshāyi, induced on a false promise to deliver himself up, was treacherously put into chains and sent off to Kabbaldurga in October 1785. Kittur was taken in a similar manner. War now ensued. The Mahrattas under Hari Pant, and the forces of Nizām Ali under Tohavar Jang, were on the banks of the Krishna early in 1786, prepared for the invasion of Mysore. They first attacked Badāmi, and took it on the 20th of May. Tipū. keeping close to the Bednur and Sunda woods, made a sudden dash across the country to Adōni. Two assaults had been gallantly repulsed, when the approach of the confederate armies forced him to raise the siege. But the rising of the Tungabhadra induced the allies to abandon Adōni and cross to the north of that stream, and the Sultān, hastening to glut his vengeance on the fort, found it evacuated. In August, Tipū boldly crossed the stream, a movement quite unlooked-for by the allies at that season, and formed a junction with the Bednur division. The hostile armies were now encamped in each other's view near Savanur. The unfortunate Nawāb of this place, who, as we have seen, had allied himself by marriage with Haidar's family, had been ruined by every method of exaction, and now threw himself into the hands of the allies.

Tipū was successful in his operations, especially in his night attacks, and the allies retiring from Savanur, he entered it without opposition. The Nawāb fled. A peace was at last concluded in 1787, by which Tipū agreed to pay forty-five lakhs of rupees, thirty at once and fifteen after a year; also to give up Badāmi, Adōni, Kittur and Nargund.

Reduction of Harpanhalli and Rāyadurg.

Returning by way of Harpanhalli and Rayadrug, after deceiving those *pālegārs* by repeated acknowledgments of their services, Tipū treacherously seized and sent them off to Kabbaldurga, plundering their capitals of every article of the slightest value, and annexing their territories.

Destruction of Mysore town and fort.

On returning to the capital, Tipū ordered the destruction of the town and fort of Mysore, and commenced building another fortress on a neighbouring height, which he called Nazerbar. It goes by the name of Nazarbad, and is now a part of Mysore City. The very same stones were reconveyed to re-build the same old fort of Mysore, in 1799. The town was utterly destroyed, and the inhabitants were ordered to remove at their option to Ganjam on the island of Seringapatam or to Agrahār Bumboor, re-named Sultānpet, a little to the south of Seringapatam.

Tipū's visit to Malabār, Dindigul.

In January 1788, Tipū descended to Malabār, and remained there several months arranging for its effective administration and the reformation of its people, calling upon them either to give up their sinful practices or be honoured with Islam. He also ordered the destruction of Calicut and the erection of a new fortress of the name of Furruckku (Ferkoe), and then marched to Coimbatore in the monsoon. He also now began to lay claim to the title of *Paighambar*, or apostle, on the ground of his religious successes, and symptoms of incipient madness, it is said, appeared. From Coimbatore he visited Dindigul, and meditated, it appears, the conquest of Travancore. Laying waste with fire and sword the territories of refractory *pālegārs*, he returned to Seringapatam, and devoted four months to a classification of *Sayyids* and *Shekhs* in his army into distinct brigades, leaving for the time being the Patāns and Moghuls to be intermixed with the Hindus. A simultaneous rebellion occurred now in Coorg and Malabār, and the Sultān, passing through Coorg to quiet it, entered Malabār. Large parties of the Nāirs were surrounded and offered the alternative of death or circumcision. The Nāir Rāja of Cherkal, who had voluntarily submitted, was received and dismissed with distinction, but immediately after, on a false charge of conspiracy, was killed in a skirmish, his corpse being treated with every insult. Over 8,000 temples were also desecrated, their roofs of gold, silver and copper and the treasures buried under the idols amounting to many lakhs, being treated as royal plunder. Before leaving Malabār, Tipū visited Cannanore, where the daughter of the Beebee was betrothed to one of his sons. He also divided the country of Malabār into districts, each of which had three officers, charged respectively with the duties of collecting the revenue, numbering the productive trees, and seizing and giving religious instruction to Nāirs. His orders were, that "every being in the district, without distinction, should be honoured with Islām; that the houses of such as fled to avoid that honour should be burned; that they should be traced to their lurking-places, and that all means of truth and falsehood, fraud or force, should be employed to effect their universal conversion." At the same time, Arshed Begkham, the Governor, who had administered the country so far, was dismissed from his position and thrown into prison, where he soon afterwards died of grief and disgust. The spiritual and military officers who succeeded performed their duties "with every possible precision."

Embassy from Nizām Alī.

Nizām Alī now sent an embassy proposing an indissoluble union between himself and the Sultān as being the only remaining Muhammadan power of the Deccan and the south. A splendid *Korān* was sent for Tipū's acceptance; and the return of a similar pledge was to establish the most sacred and solemn obligation of friendship and alliance. Tipū agreed but demanded as a preliminary an intermarriage in the familes, at which the pride of Nizām Alī recoiled, and the negotiations came to nothing, despite the despatch of a special embassy for the purpose.

Embassies to Constantinople and Paris, 1785.

Meanwhile embassies with ludicrous pretensions had been sent twice to Constantinople, and once to Paris. The visionary character of the Sultān's views may be gathered from the objects sought by the second of the former, which cost about rupees twenty lakhs. They were either to deliver up Mangalore in exchange for Bassora on the Persian Gulf, or to obtain permission to erect a commercial factory at Bassora with exclusive privileges; and, lastly permission to dig a canal for the purpose of bringing the waters of the Euphrates to the holy shrine of Nejef. On this last proposition being translated, the Grand Vizier, it would appear, smiled, spoke Turkish to the Reis Effendi stating (as was understood) that if the thing was proper, it would be effected without the aid of the mighty Tipū Sultān, but he had the civility to answer, through the interpreter, that the application should be made to Solimān Pāsha. the Governor of Bassora. In fact they had sounded him regarding this position while waiting in Bassora; and the Pāsha, who appears to have been a man of wit as well as courtesy, replied with suitable gravity, that the suggestion had once been made in days of yore, but had been forbidden in a dream or revelation of a saint, and that without some communication of assent from the invisible world, the project could not be resumed!

III Mysore War—May 1790 to March 1792. Attack on Travancore Lines, 1789.

The conquest of Travancore had for obvious reasons been contemplated by Haidar, and was now resolved on by Tipū. The Rāja had, however, been specially named in former treaties as the ally of the English, and any attack upon him, it had beed declared, would be considered ground for war. But a pretext was soon found. In 1759, when the Zamōrin of Calicut had overrun the territories of the Rāja of Cochin, the latter had applied for aid to Travancore; the Rāja of which, sending an army under his general, Rāma, had recovered the entire country and driven out the Zamōrin during 1760 and 1761. In return for this service, certain districts were ceded by Cochin to Travancore, across which lines for the defence of its northern boundary had been erected by the latter power, which now bought from the Dutch the forts of Jayakōta and Cranganore, situated at the extremity of the lines and essential to their security. Tipū, objecting to this step, set forth that the lines were erected on territory belonging to Cochin which was tributary to him, Cochin having submitted to Haidar in 1766 and proceeded to attack them on the 29th December, 1789. But, contrary to expectation, he was repulsed with great loss, the number of killed being estimated at about 2,000 men. Tipū was himself severely injured by falling into the ditch, into which he was forced by the rush of fugitives. He was saved with difficulty, his palanquin being removed into the ditch, his seals, rings and personal ornaments falling into the hands of the enemy as trophies. Beside himself with rage, he ordered the whole of his forces from Malabār and other parts, with battering guns from Seringapatam and Bangalore, to be sent for. At the same time, he wrote to the Governor-General stating that the attack was an unauthorized raid of his troops. But Lord Cornwallis was not to be deceived. He called upon the Government of Madras, then presided over by John Holland, to make preparations so as to be able to take the field at once in the event of any demonstration of hostility against Travancore. These orders were not obeyed. John Holland was succeeded by his brother Edward Holland. He was suspended from the service and his place was taken by Major-General Medows, who was transferred from Bombay, where he had been Governor for less than a year. General Medows was not new to Madras, for in 1783, having heard at the Cape of Good Hope that the English were being hard pressed by Haidar's forces in South India, he took upon himself the responsibility of sailing with three ships, and a large body of troops, from the Cape to Madras. He accompanied Colonel Fullarton's expedition against Mysore. But peace being suddenly concluded, he returned home.

British declare War against Tipū

Tipū renewed his attack on the lines, which he carried by storm on the 15th April 1790. The fort of Cranganore was surrendered to him on the 7th May, and he had made himself master of nearly the whole province, when having received intelligence that preparations for war were being made by the English, he caused the ramparts of the lines to be demolished, and withdrew with his army into Mysore. An English force destined for Mysore was therefore assembled at Trichinopoly, and General Medows, who arrived at Madras on 19th February, took command of it on the 24th of May. The whole army, totalled about 15,000 men and it began its march on 26th May. The Sultān—who only ten days before had written lamenting the misrepresentations that had led to the assemblage of troops, and offering to send an envoy "to remove the dust which had obscured the upright mind of the General" now hastened to Coimbatore where he received the reply that "the English, equally incapable of offering an insult as of submitting to one, had always looked upon war as declared from the moment he attacked their ally the king of Travancore."

Alliance with Mahrattas and Nizām Alī.

An alliance had meanwhile been formed by the English with the Mahrattas and Nizām Alī, and treaties were signed in July, binding them to unite against Tipū, on the basis of an equal division of conquests, with the exception of any made by the English before the others joined.

The campaign opens: occupation of forts in the south, 26th May 1790.

The plan of the campaign was for the main division of the English, after taking the forts of Coimbatore and Palghāt, to ascend to the tableland from the south by the Gajalhatti pass, while another division invaded Baramahal. Karoor, Dhārāpuram, Coimbatore, Dindigul, Erōde and other places had been taken, when in September, the Sultān, leaving stores and baggage under charge of Pūrnaiya at the summit, descended the Gajalhatti pass with about 40,000 men and a large train of artillery and attacked Floyd's detachment at Satyamangalam. Tipū cannonaded the detachment and the fire could not be effectually returned owing to the small quantity of the ammunition with the detachment. Colonel Floyd was compelled to retreat, but being again attacked at Cheyur, 19 miles south of Satyamangalam, he beat the enemy off, after a severe and well contested action. Tipū then retired, and Floyd crossing the Bhavāni without opposition, proceeded to join the force with General Medows. While the several English detachments were forming a junction, Tīpu retook Erōde and Dhārāpuram, but finding an attempt on Coimbatore to be hopeless, set off with three-fourths of his army to Baramahal, which the English had invaded on the 24th of October. Colonel Maxwell had posted himself at Kāveripatnam, and by his skilful manoeuvres foiled all the Sultān's attempts. This movement of Tipū had been so well concealed by bodies of horse that it was not known in the English camp for some days, and General Medows did not follow him until the 8th November, when he crossed the river near Erōde. He eventually joined Colonel Maxwell, by way of the Toppur Pass, at Pullanhalli, 12 miles south of Kāveripatnam, on the 17th November. After effecting the junction, General Medows endeavoured to bring the enemy to action, but Tipū eluded the attempt.

Tipū decends into the Karnātic, December 1790.

Being advised by Krishna Rao, the head of the Treasury, the only person at this period admitted to his counsels, the Sultān now resolved to carry the war into the enemy's country, in order to draw them off in pursuit of him. He accordingly descended into the Karnātic and made rapid marches to Trichinopoly, and threatening that place, plundered Srīrangam. On General Medows' approach, he decamped on the 8th December northward, burning and plundering along his route; was repulsed in an attempt to take Tyagar, but took Tiruvannāmalai and Perumukkal (23rd January 1791) and from there despatched an envoy to Pondicherry. The services of a French official (M. Leger) were there engaged as ambassador to Louis XVI, demanding the aid of 6,000 men and offering to pay all expenses. With this assistance, Tipū engaged to destroy the English army and Settlements in India and insure their possession to France. The King of France, Louis XVI, however, on receiving Tipū's message, declined the assistance applied for. The envoy, we are told, addressed himself to Bertrand de Moleville, Minister of Marine, who informed Louis XVI of Tipū's proposals. Notwithstanding their advantages and the Minister's observation that the insurrection at St. Domingo would have furnished a good pretext for the unsuspected embarkation for India of the 6,000 men demanded, the natural probity of the King's mind would not permit him to adopt the measure. "This resembles," said he, "the affair of America, which I never think of without regret. My youth was taken advantage of at that time, and we suffer for it now; the lesson is too severe to be forgotten." In the midst of his distress, the king was amused, we read in M. Bertrand's work, with the shabby finery of Tipū's miserable presents to himself and the queen, "trumpery to dress up dolls," which he desired M. Bertrand to give to his little girls. On the west coast, Tipū's army was totally defeated on the 10th December. Cannanore was taken and the whole of Malabār was in possesssion of the English.

Advances for Peace.

Tipū, in the course of the war, tried to sound General Medows for peace. He expected, as in the times of his father, that a commercial people like the English, actuated by interest only rather than continue an expensive war, would listen to overtures for accommodation when proposed in the heart of their dominions. It was thus, as Mackenzie remarks, that "Hyder dictated a peace in the vicinity of Fort St. George when the victorious Smith threatened the strong fortress of Bangalore." Tipū tried the ruse but miserably failed. On the 5th December 1790, he sent two *hircarrahs* (messengers) with a letter to General Medows, in which he suggested the restoration of friendship through the agency of two Commissioners on either side meeting at a place to be nominated by the General. He required a speedy answer for this request. The General sent without delay, a reply through Captain Macaulay, his Aid-de-camp, informing him that he has powers to enter into a Treaty with him, " but that before he does so he must have some person or place of consequence put into his hands as security for the Sultān's being in earnest, when the 1st Article will be, the unequivocal release of every English officer, known to be still in existence, and in confinement in the Mysore Country." He informed Tipū that Earl Cornwallis was about to take supreme command and that " every nerve strained in the English Empire to bring the war to an honorable conclusion," and added the admonition :—" From the assistance of our Allies, but, above all, from our own resources, and what we have seen, little is to be dreaded from the war, though from sound policy as well as humanity, we wish for peace." Tipū perceived neither the significance of the terms proposed nor the earnestness of the person dictating them. From Tiagar, Tipū tried again for peace. Replying through his Dewan, he wrote to Captain Macaulay that an ambassador of consequence would be sent to the General for personally discussing "the points which require adjustment." To this the brief reply was caused to be sent that as " he had not complied with his request of having some person or place of consequence put into his hands to ensure the Sultan's being in earnest," he could not re-open the subject, which he would leave to Earl Cornwallis to deal with, who, he added, would " act in concert with our faithful allies. " This terminated the correspondence.

Although much had been done by Major-General Medows to distress the Sultān and although many solid advantages had resulted from the campaign in the south, yet it had not been attended with either definite or brilliant results. He had no doubt decided to take that most determined measure, as he called it, of going up the ghāts to drive Tipū out of the Madras territory. His idea was that if the English were once up the ghāts, Tipū would either fight or retreat. He had even determined to go up by the Kāvēripuram Pass by the 8th December. Before that date, however, he had been compelled to be in full march in the opposite direction in consequence of Tipū's demonstrations before Trichinopoly, which threatened that most important but weak and extensive depôt. The retreat of Colonel Floyd's corps and the loss of the artillery had produced a painful impression and had even given an opportunity to Tipū to lay claim to a victory. Tipū's irruption had interrupted the collection of provisions and the loss of the magazines which had resulted from it would in its turn, it was feared, delay the English army from entering the Mysore country before the rains. Lord Cornwallis, while acknowledging "General Medows' zeal for the public good as well as his professional abilities," declared, in a minute dated 5th November 1790, that if the English army could not before the ensuing January be able to act for "the execution of offensive operation which can alone produce an honourable termination of the war," "we should," he said, "not only be under great difficulties to account for the delay to the satisfaction of our Allies, but we should also have the most serious grounds for apprehension that Tippoo would avail himself of that opportunity to turn his whole force against the Marattas and the Nizam, and endeavour either to weaken their power, or to intimidate them in a negotiation for a separate peace." He, therefore, thought that "some immediate steps should be taken which may tend to animate and encourage our Allies to persevere with firmess in the favourable disposition which they have lately shown to perform their engagements." He added:—"I conceive it to be possible that my presence in the scene of action would be considered by our Allies as a pledge of our sincerity, and of our confident hopes of success against the common enemy, and by that means operate as an encouragement to them to continue their exertions, and abide by their stipulations." He accordingly decided to proceed to Madras in December (1790) and there assume supreme command of the forces. His Council whole-heartedly agreed with him and they endorsed his decision to proceed to Madras as "a measure peculiarly called for at the present crisis." Lord Cornwallis took ship without delay and arrived at Madras on the 12th December 1790 and immediately directed General Medows to join him. The General marched from Trichinopoly accordingly by Ārni, where he left a division under Colonel Musgrave with most of the heavy guns and stores, while he himself proceeded to Vellore, near Madras, where the command was assumed by Lord Cornwallis on the 29th January 1791. On the 5th February, he marched towards Vellore, and on the 11th the army was concentrated at that place. About the middle of December reinforcements consisting of 50 European artillery men with their proportion of gun *lascars* had arrived from Bengal. Tipū on hearing of the march from Vellore, hastened up the pass of Changama to oppose the English advance. But Lord Cornwallis, by a feint of ascending by the pass of Ambur, conveyed the whole army with all its stores and baggage by the Mugli pass, near Chittoor, before there was time to opposition, and after taking Kolar on the 28th February arrived at Hoskote without firing a shot. From there he marched on rapidly to Bangalore. Tipū, dreaming of the 6,000 Frenchmen, had been outmanœuvred by the English. He was now alarmed for his *harem*, and with his whole army personally superintended their removal from Bangalore. The English encamped before it on the 5th of March, overcoming with ease the efforts of Tipū to capture their baggage. The Sultān deemed it prudent to draw off to Kengēri. On the 6th,

Lord Cornwallis assumes command, 29th January 1791.

the Cavalry brigade under Lieutenant-Colonel Floyd, charged the rear of Tipū's infantry and guns, and was entirely successful at first. But he carried the pursuit too far and as the enemy rallied, he retreated and in doing so received a wound in the face and fell from his horse. Though the casualties were heavy and the loss in horses great, the reverse did not matter, especially as Floyd's brigade soon reached Major Gowdie's brigade of infantry and guns which had advanced in support on witnessing the disaster. On the 7th, the *petta* (or fortified town) was carried by storm and Tipū astonished and indignant moved out with his whole force for its recovery. But his forces were repulsed with great slaughter from every point, and so evacuated the town. Tipū's loss was 2,000 men killed and wounded, while the English loss amounted to only 129 killed and wounded, among the former being Lieutenant-Colonel Moorhouse of the Madras Artillery, a very gallant and valuable officer, highly respected throughout the army of Tipū.

Siege of Bangalore, 6th March 1791.

The fort of Bangalore was next besieged. "Few sieges," remarks Wilks, "have ever been conducted under parallel circumstances; a place not only not invested, but regularly relieved by fresh troops; a besieging army not only not undisturbed by field operations, but incessantly threatened by the whole of the enemy's force. No day or night elapsed without some new project for frustrating the operations of the siege; and during its continuance, the whole of the besieging army was accoutred, and the cavalry saddled, every night from sunset to sunrise." A practicable breach having been made by the 20th in the curtain to the left of the projecting works of the Delhi Gate and part of the adjoining tower, Lord Cornwallis resolved to give the assault on the night of the 21st. Wilks writes:—

"It was bright moonlight—eleven was the hour appointed, and a whisper along the ranks was the signal appointed for advancing in profound silence; the ladders were nearly planted, not only to ascend the faussebray but the projecting work on the right, before the garrison took the alarm; and just as the serious struggle commenced on the breach, a narrow and circuitous way along a thin shattered wall had led a few men to the rampart on the left flank of its defenders, where they coolly halted to accumulate their numbers till sufficient to charge with the bayonet. The gallantry of the killedar, who was in an instant at his post, protracted the obstinacy of resistance until he fell; but the energy of the assailants in front and flank at length prevailed. Once established on the ramparts, the flank companies proceeded as told off, by alternate companies to the right and left where the resistance was everywhere respectable, until they met over the Mysore Gate: separate columns then descended into the body of the place; and at the expiration of an hour all opposition had ceased.

"On ascending the breach, a heavy column was observed on the left, advancing from the embankment designed to attack the assailants in flank and rear; but this also had been foreseen and provided for, and they were repulsed with great slaughter by the troops reserved for that special purpose; a similar column, lodged in the covered way on the right, had been dispersed at the commencement of the assault by a body appointed to scour it and draw off the enemy's attention from the breach; and at the moment the flank companies had met over the Mysore Gate, another column was perceived advancing along the sortie to enter and reinforce the garrison; but a few shot from the guns on the ramparts announced that the place had changed masters. The carnage had been severe but unavoidable, particularly in the pressure of the fugitives at the Mysore Gate, which at length was completely choked." (Wilks II, 190-191.)

Bangalore taken.

The Sultān had warned the garrison to expect the assault, and moving at nightfall from his camp at Jigani, had conveyed his whole army to near the Bull temple, in what is now known as Basavangudi within a mile and a half of the Mysore Gate, to support the place. But so rapidly was it carried that the fugitives crowding out of the gate gave him the first intimation of its capture. The loss on the British side was 103 killed and wounded. That of Tipū was not ascertained, but upwards of 1,000 bodies were buried by the British the day after the storm. Fears of an immediate advance on Seringapatam agitated the Sultān. He therefore despatched Krishna Rao, the treasurer, and Mir Sādak, the Dewān, to remove all the treasure and the *harem* to Chitaldrug; but his mother dissuaded from this step as betokening fear to the troops. But the obscene caricatures of the English, painted by his orders on the walls of the houses in the main streets, were effaced with whitewash; and the English boys, retained in violation of the treaty of 1784, who had been trained up to sing and dance, were strangled. His own people now began to fall away from him. Evidence of a further attempt to uproot him came to light, and Krishna Rao, with his brothers, as well as others of the Hindu ministers, were in the next few days strangled or dragged to death by elephants as mentioned below. Meanwhile, in order to form a junction with the cavalry from Nizām Alī, Lord Cornwallis moved north on the 28th. Devanhalli and Chikballapur yielded to the English, and several *palegārs* tendered their allegiance. On the 12th April, Lord Cornwallis effected a junction at Kottapalli, in the present Bellary District, about 84 miles north of Bangalore, with the Nizām's troops consisting of about 10,000 men, after which he returned to Bangalore.

British march on Seringapatam.

On the 4th May, Lord Cornwallis marched for Seringapatam. Tipū took up a position on the Channapatna road, supported by the hill forts of Ramgiri and Sivangiri, with the view of opposing it. But Lord Cornwallis, unexpectedly taking a southern route by way of

Kankanhalli, arrived without opposition at Arikere, about 9 miles from Seringapatam, on the northern bank of the Cauvery, on the 13th of May, with the intention of crossing the river there. His route had been converted into a desolate waste, all the villagers and cattle being driven into the island of Sivasamudram, and every vestige of supplies or forage destroyed. The passage of the river at Arikere being impracticable, it was resolved to move to Kannambadi, higher up; for the double purpose of fording the river there and forming a junction with General Abercromby, who, advancing through the friendly country of Coorg, had taken Periyapatna.

Tipū opposes the English at Karighatta.

Tipū had always avoided a general action with the English, but goaded on to risk a battle for the capital, he took up a strong position between Karighatta and the river, to oppose the march of the English. Lord Cornwallis planned a night attack to turn his left flank and cut off his retreat to Seringapatam, but the bursting of a tremendous thunder-storm threw the troops into confusion. All hopes of surprise were thus at an end, but Lord Cornwallis resolved to bring Tipū to action if possible, and continued his advance. Tipū, on his approach, changed front to the left, his right being covered by a deep ravine, and his left resting upon the lower spurs of the Karighatta hill. Lord Cornwallis, after crossing the ravine, which took nearly two hours, drew up his army in battle array and a general engagement ensued the next day, the 15th, in which the English were completely victorious, and Tipū's forces driven from every point, forced to take refuge on the island under the guns of Seringapatam where they could not be followed. Lord Cornwallis then moved to Kannambadi; but the incessant rain and exhausted supplies brought on so great a mortality of the cattle, and sickness in camp, as to put a stop to all operations. He resolved, therefore, to relinquish the attempt against Seringapatam for the time, and in that view burst the heavy guns, destroyed all stores for which carriage could not be found and on the 20th commenced to return towards Bangalore, there to rest until the rains were over. Abercromby was also forced to return to the coast. At Chinkurāli, the two divisions of the Mahratta army, under Hari Pant and Parasu Rām Bhāo, consisting of 40,000 horse and upwards of twenty pieces of cannon, accompanied by two Bombay battalions under Captain Little, most unexpectedly made their appearance, and the sufferings of the troops were somewhat relieved by the supplies they brought. But the destruction of the stores had nullified the advantage which Lord Cornwallis would otherwise have derived from this reinforcement. The Mahrattas had taken Dhārwār and reduced all the places north of the Tungabhadra. The army of Nizām Alī had captured Kopal (18th April 1791), Bahadūr Bandar and Ganjikota, and obtained the submission of all places in the north-east except Guramkonda, which was stormed and taken but changed hands twice again. Soon after this, the Nizām's army, computed at about 18,000 horse, under the command of Secunder Jah, a son of the Nizām, accompanied by two Madras battalions under Captain Read, marched southwards and joined Lord Cornwallis at Magadi, on the 25th January 1792.

Allies' plan of operations.

It was now arranged that the British should take possession of the hill forts and places in the east, in order to open free communication with Madras; that the Mahrattas, who obtained a loan from the Governor-General of 15 lakhs of rupees, should proceed to Sira under Parasu Rām Bhāo and operate to the north-west, Hari Pant remaining with the English camp; and that the Nizām's force should operate to the north-east against Guramkonda. Between July and January, the

English, having taken Hosur, Rayakōta and all places to the east, succeeded in capturing the hill forts of Nandidurg and Savandurg, deemed impregnable, as well as Hutridurg, Ramgiri, Sivangiri and Hulyurdurg. The Mahrattas, bent on plunder, after placing a corps in Dodballapur and one near Madgiri, and making some fruitless attempts against Chitaldrug, went off towards Bednur at the time they should, according to the plan concerted with the allies, have been marching to Seringapatam. Hole-Honnur was taken by them, and near Shimoga a battle was fought, in which Tipū's forces were worsted. But the Mahratta detachment left at Madgiri was completely routed by a force under Kammar-ud-Dīn, on which the garrison of Dodballapur withdrew to Bangalore in alarm, leaving the way open for a relief of Guramkonda. Tipū's forces sent south to act upon the communications of the English were generally unsuccessful, but Coimbatore surrendered after a long and brave defence, under Lieutenant Chalmers and Nash (3rd November), the garrison being marched off as prisoners to Seringapatam in violation of the terms of capitulation

Campaign of 1792: Siege of Seringapatam

All the arrangements for the siege of Seringapatam being now matured, communications free and supplies abundant, the English army under Lord Cornwallis marched from Huliyurdurg on the 25th of January, 1792, accompanied by the Nizām's force (about 18,000 horse) under Sikandar Jah, and a party of the Mahrattas (12,000 horse) under Hari Pant. General Abercromby, who had returned to Malabār in November, also marched from the head of the western passes on the 22nd of January.

Lord Cornwallis' march

On the 5th of February, Lord Cornwallis encamped behind the French Rocks, about 6 miles north of

Seringapatam, with the allies at some distance in the rear. The Sultān had made every effort to strengthen the defences during the preceding six months, and was now encamped on the north. He had persuaded himself that nothing decisive would be undertaken until the arrival of General Abercromby's army, now at Periyapatna. But Lord Cornwallis resolved to attack at once, on the night of the 6th. The English force was formed into three columns, without artillery, the centre being commanded by the Governor-General in person. Under a brilliant moonlight, the three columns marched in dead silence, at about 8 o'clock, towards the Sultān's fortified encampment.

This was established on the northern side of the Cauvery immediately in front of the island on which the fort stands, and occupied an elevated piece of ground enclosed by a wide hedge of prickly-pear, and other thorny plants. This space was about three miles in length, 3,000 yards in breadth at the western extremity, diminishing to about one mile in the centre, and running nearly to a point at the eastern end where it was flanked by the defences on the Karighatta hill. One large redoubt, known as the Eedgah, stood at the north-western angle close to the hedge, two redoubts were in the centre, also near the hedge, with about 600 yards between them. A second line of redoubts, *viz.*, Lally's, Mahomed's, and the Sultān's, lay behind, nearly equidistant from the bound hedge and the river. All of these were armed with heavy cannon.

Tipū's infantry, computed at 40,000 men, with 100 field pieces, was drawn up nearly midway between the lines of redoubts, with about 5,000 cavalry in the rear.

The island, somewhat more than three miles long, and about one mile and a half in breadth at the widest point, contained the fort, two palaces within walled gardens, and a pettah also surrounded by a good wall. The fort, about one mile long and 1,100 yards broad, occupied the western angle; next to it at the distance of about 500 yards, with one face resting on the northern branch of the river, was the Darya Daulat Bagh, then came the pettah (of Shahar Ganjam) at an interval of about 400 yards; the Lal Bagh, protected by lines of entrenchment and batteries, filled the eastern angle.

The guns in the fort and other parts of the island were estimated at 800.

The attack was made in three divisions, *viz.*, the right under Major-General Medows, the centre under Lord Cornwallis, with Lieutenant-Colonel Stuart as his second in command, and the left under Lieutenant-Colonel Maxwell.

The right division, consisting of 900 Europeans, and 2,400 Indians, was composed of H.M.'s 36th and 76th regiments under Lieutenant-Colonel Nesbitt, the 3rd, 13th and 26th Bengal sepoys, and the 2nd Bengal Volunteer battalion under Lieutenant-Colonel Cockerell, and the 22nd Madras battalion under Captain Oram.

The centre division, consisting of 1,400 Europeans and 2,300 Indians, was composed of H.M.'s 52nd, 71st and 74th regiments under Lieutenant-Colonel Knox, the 7th, 14th and 28th Bengal sepoys under Major Russell, and the 2nd and 21st Madras battalions under Major Langley.

The left division, consisting of 500 Europeans and 1,200 Indians, was composed of H.M.'s 72nd regiment, and the 1st, 6th and 23rd Madras battalions under Lieutenant-Colonel David Baird.

Parties of artillerymen and of pioneers were attached to each division, the former being without guns, but provided with spikes and hammers.

The right division carried the Eedgah redoubt after a severe struggle, killing about 400 of the enemy, but sustaining the loss of 11 officers and 80 men killed and wounded.

Leaving four companies of H.M.'s 36th and the 22nd Madras battalion to hold the redoubt, General Medows moved to the left to join the centre column, but missing the way he got to the Karighatta hill, and did not meet Lord Cornwallis until after daylight.

The centre division was formed into three parties. The front party under Lieutenant-Colonel Knox, composed of six flank companies of Europeans, H.M.'s 52nd and the 14th Bengal battalion, was ordered to push through the camp, and to cross the river near the north-eastern angle of the fort. The bound hedge was forced about 11 o'clock under a heavy but ill-directed fire from cannon and musketry and a battalion company of the 52nd followed by the grenadiers of the 52nd, 71st and 74th with the light company of the 52nd, all under Captain Monson, crossed the river, and took post on the southern side of the island after having dispersed several bodies of the enemy

Colonel Knox with the light companies of the 71st and 74th crossed immediately afterwards, and marched to the pettah, the gate of which was found open. Halting there he detached parties against the batteries which lined the bank of the river at that point, and as they were all open to the rear, they were carried at once without loss.

Captain Monson and Colonel Knox were soon followed by the seven battalion companies of the 52nd, and three of the 14th Bengal battalion, all under Captain Hunter, who took possession of the Daulat Bagh, but, as this position was untenable, he repassed the river and joined Lord Cornwallis.

The centre party under Colonel Stuart was composed of H. M.'s 71st, the 7th and 28th Bengal battalions, and seven companies of the 14th Bengal battalion which had separated from the front party during the confusion which followed the loss of Captain Archdeacon, the commandant, who was killed in the advance against the bound hedge.

Colonel Stuart marched against the Sultān's redoubt, and finding it abandoned he left Captain Sibbald of the 71st to hold it with two companies of that regiment, a party of sepoys, and a few artillery-men. He then proceeded towards the eastern boundary of the enclosure, and meeting the division under Colonel Maxwell which had descended from the Karighatta hill and turned the right flank of Tippū's line, he took command of the whole.

In the meantime, Lord Cornwallis, with seven companies of 74th and the 2nd and 21st Madras battalions, halted behind the Sultān's redoubt in the expectation of being joined by General Medows, who, as has been mentioned, passed towards Karighatta hill without having observed him. About two hours before day-light, the enemy advanced in great force against this party.

Fortunately, at this moment, Captain Hunter returned from the Daulat Bagh with the ten companies under his command and joined Lord Cornwallis. A desperate contest ensued, the enemy not having been finally repulsed until after several attacks. The following account of this part of the action is taken from Mackenzie's *History of the War*:—

> "The force that His Lordship had collected bore no proportion to the number by which he was attacked. It consisted of seven companies of the 74th regiment under Captain Dugald Campbell, with the 2nd, and 21st Coast battalions under Captains Vigors and Montgomery. This handful of men withstood the furious and desperate onset of many thousands for some time. Three companies of Madras sepoys that had been detached under Lieutenants Kenny and Roberts to within fifty yards of the enemy, fired by platoons with a regularity and steadiness that would stamp credit on the best troops in Europe; and on being seasonably reinforced by Captain Hunter's division, the whole body came to the bayonet, and after repeated charges proved successful. The Mysoreans, however, on this occasion discovered no want either of discipline or valour. The reinforcement which fell suddenly on their right flank

instantly received a heavy and well-directed fire from a corps that changed front for that purpose, nor did this body give way until they felt the points of the bayonets from different directions."

After the repulse of the enemy, Lord Cornwallis drew off towards the Karighatta hill, so that he might not be exposed to the fire of the fort at daylight, and he there met the column under General Medows.

The left division under Colonel Maxwell, after having carried the defences on the Karighatta hill, descended towards the enemy's camp, crossed the river Lōkapāvani and the bound hedge, and met the party under Colonel Stuart a few hundred yards further on. Colonel Stuart then assumed command and advanced to cross the Cauvery into the island, a hazardous undertaking, as the river at that point was very deep, and the passage was under the fire of the batteries on the bank near the pettah. Fortunately at this very time these were taken by the parties detached by Colonel Knox, so that, although a number of men were drowned, the column crossed with comparatively little loss.

On the morning of the 7th, Tipū's forces were still in possession of the redoubts at the western end of the camp, and in considerable force in other parts of the enclosure. Their first attempt was to retake the Sultān's redoubt, and assembling round it, they kept up a constant fire. The gorge of this work being open towards the rear, all endeavours to close it were defeated by the fire of the fort, and about 10 o'clock the enemy made an assault, but were beaten back with loss. Notwithstanding they continued their fire; and about 1 o'clock in the afternoon a second and very resolute attack was made by a body of dismounted cavalry about three hundred strong; this was also repulsed. About an hour afterwards a third attempt was made, led by the Europeans of Lally's brigade. This attack, contrary to expectation, was the least formidable of the three; for after having advanced a short distance and losing a few men, the assailants fell back in disorder. About 4 o'clock the enemy gave up the attempt and retreated into the island, thus giving the gallant defenders the opportunity to go in search of water of which there had not been a drop in the redoubt.

The reserve, which had marched in the morning from the French Rocks, was joined by two battalions detached by Lord Cornwallis, and encamped during the day behind the river Lōkapāvani, with the left on the Karighatta hill.

Colonel Stuart, shortly after crossing into the island, assembled all the troops which had entered it and took up a position in front of the Lal Bagh facing towards the pettah, and covered by the river on each flank. Soon afterwards, he was reinforced by six companies of the 36th and the 3rd Bengal battalion. With the exception of some musketry fire from the pettah in the morning, which did not continue long, Colonel Stuart remained unmolested until about 5 o'clock in the afternoon, when two brigades of infantry, with a body of dismounted troopers, entered the pettah and advanced towards the line, but retired on the advance of the 1st Madras battalion under Captain Brown which followed them into the pettah, and being joined by the 71st, the enemy were driven through the streets, and ultimately out of the place.

Information having been received that an attack during the night was meditated, Colonel Stuart's men lay on their arms until daylight, but were not disturbed.

The loss of the enemy in killed alone was computed at upwards of 4,000, that of the British was only 535 killed and wounded.

Eighty pieces of cannon were taken in the camp, and on the island; 36 of brass, the remainder of iron.

On the morning of the 8th, it was found that the enemy had withdrawn entirely from the fortified camp, upon which picquets were sent into the redoubts, and the army, exclusive of the detachment posted in the island, encamped parallel to the bound hedge at such a distance in the rear as to be out of range of fire from the fort.

The Sultān surprised.

The Sultān, at the commencement of the eventful night of the 6th May, had made his evening meal in a redoubt to the right of the spot where the centre columns had entered. On the first alarm he mounted, but before he could get news of the nature of the attack, the crowds of fugitives announced that the enemy had penetrated the camp. He fled precipitately to the ford, and barely succeeded in passing over before the advanced column of the enemy. Taking his station on an outwork of the fort which commanded the scene, he remained there till morning, issuing orders and spending one of the most anxious nights in his life. During the confusion, 10,000 Coorgs, who had been forcibly converted, made their escape to their own country; and a number of French and other Europeans, who had rendered unwilling obedience to Haidar and Tipū, seized the opportunity to gain their liberty. It so happened that a large treasure was in camp that night for the purpose of paying the troops next day. But it was all safely conveyed into the fort by the skill and ability of Pūrnaiya, although he was severely wounded.

The whole of the next day, the most vigorous attempts were made to dislodge the English from the island. The Sultān's passionate appeal, "Have I no faithful servants to retrieve my honour?" was gallantly responded to by a body of 2,000 cavalry; but being foiled at every point, all the redoubts north of the river were evacuated the same night, and promptly occupied by the English.

Efforts at negotiation.

Various efforts at negotiation had been made by Tipū since Lord Cornwallis took command of the army, but they were not calculated to succeed. He now resumed the matter, but was informed that the release of the prisoners taken at Coimbatore, including Lieutenants Chalmers and Nash, in violation of promises was indispensable as a preliminary. He therefore set free the officers and sent letters containing offers of peace by them. But—at the same time—he secretly despatched a body of horsemen in disguise to penetrate to the English camp and assassinate the Governor-General. The plot was discovered and frustrated. The peace proposal fell through as nothing definite had been proposed for Lord Cornwallis' consideration. Accordingly, preparations for the siege were commenced.

General Abercromby joins the Main Army. The Preliminary Articles signed.

General Abercromby crossed the river at Yedatore with the Bombay division and joined the main army on the 16th and encamped north-west of the fort. On the 19th, he crossed the river and took up a position south-west of the fort. A redoubt immediately in front of this position was taken the same evening after a feeble resistance and occupied as an outpost. On the 22nd, Tipū attempted to dislodge the General, but gave up the attempt after a fruitless struggle. By this time, the dispositions for the siege were rapidly pushed on. The second parallel had been completed, and the batteries in a forward condition. Negotiations at the same time continued, and on the 22nd the envoys of Tipū brought him the ultimatum of the confederates, requiring the cession to the allies, from the countries adjacent to theirs, of one-half of the dominions which he possessed before the war; the payment of three crores and thirty lakhs of rupees, one-half immediately, the remainder in three instalments of four months each; the unequivocal release of all prisoners of the four powers from the time of Haidar Alī; and the delivery of two of his eldest sons as hostages for a due performance of the treaty. On the mutual execution of these preliminary articles, hostilities were to cease and a definite treaty was to be adjusted.

Treaty of Seringpatam, 19th March 1792.

On the 23rd, Tipū assembled all the principal officers in the mosque and sought their advice. "You have heard," said he, "the conditions of peace and you have now to hear and answer my question : *Shall it be peace or war?*" They unanimously offered to lay down their lives in defence of the capital, but equally unanimously hinted with various shades of expression that the troops were disheartened and had become undeserving of confidence. After a great mental struggle, the preliminary articles, duly signed and sealed, were returned to Lord Cornwallis the same day. These were ratified on the 19th March, soon after which the army left the place accompanied by several thousands of Indians of the Karnātic given up under the Treaty with their cattle and effects. The two young princes surrendered as hostages, one aged ten and the other eight, were received in the English camp with every consideration due to their rank, and by Lord Cornwallis with all the tenderness of a father.

The Ceded territories.

The territories to be ceded formed a lengthened subject of discussion, and the claim of the English to Coorg so exasperated Tipū that the peace was on the point of being broken, when he yielded. "To which of the English possessions," he said, "is Coorg adjacent? Why do they not ask for the key of Seringapatam? They knew that I would sooner have died in the breach than consent to such a cession, and durst not bring it forward until they had treacherously obtained possession of my children and my treasure," for a crore of rupees had already arrived in Lord Cornwallis' camp. Though the cession of this province might have been unexpected by Tipū, there was nothing in the preliminary articles against the demand made for it, especially as it was not far removed from Malabār, whose cession was not objected to by him. Moreover, he had no right to expect that Lord Cornwallis had the " intention of abandoning the only ally who had performed all his obligations with fidelity, efficiency and service." The English accordingly obtained Malabār and Coorg, Dindigul and Baramahal and other places; the Mahratta boundary was extended to the Tungabhadra, their frontier in 1779, Nizām Alī recovered his possessions to the north of that river and Cuddapah to the south, which he had lost about the same time. Thus ended the third Mysore War.

Lord Cornwallis' Policy criticised.

The treaty which ended this war has been adversely criticised both by contemporary and later writers. Mackenzie, among contemporary writers, refers to those who disapproved of the Treaty and the policy underlying it and defends Lord Cornwallis against them. The idea of the critics seems to have been that Tipū had been hemmed in by victorious allies and had to choose between a desperate defence against the storm and a submissive compliance with the dictates of his opponents. Within doors also, Tipū was by no means free from danger. However faithful in their allegiance, it was natural to conceive that the multitude of peaceful people who had flocked to the capital could not relish a struggle of so little expectance, whilst their families and property remained as a hazard on the issue. His favourite officer, with a large division of his best troops, continued still at a distance; nor was there aught of hope to cheer up the drooping spirits of his disconsolate garrison, or to dissuade them from surrendering his person as the best forfeit of his intemperate attack on Travancore.

In addition to the numbers that nearly encircled his capital, the division of Parusarām Bhāo, which was hourly expected, by completing the line of circumvallation, would have entirely cut off all chance of supplies; whilst the growth, as well of Mysore, as of the surrounding kingdoms, remained for the confederates without molestation. *Brinjaris* out of number conveyed grain imported from Bengal to Madras, with every species of produce from the districts to the northward. Nizām Alī and the Mahrattas, thoroughly bent on the overthrow of their ancient scourge, neglected nothing that could tend to whet every instrument of vengeance; the indefatigable exertions of General Aberecromby, aided by the active and zealous prince of the Coorgs, from the nearness of their country, had established immense magazines close at hand to the westward; and whatsoever could be brought forward, as well from the districts conquered by Major-General Medows, as from the other countries in a southerly direction, was now advanced to Talamalai, a fort situated near the top of the Gajjalhatti pass, under an escort of fifteen hundred men, headed by Major Cuppage.

While the siege could thus have been easily turned by the Allies into an effective blockade and there was the opportunity of ridding themselves of Tipū, Lord Cornwallis, it was felt, lost it by showing kindness to one who had least deserved it. Mackenzie writing of these adverse critics says:—

> "This glorious conclusion of the war was celebrated from the centre to the utmost extremities of the British empire, with the most brilliant rejoicings; few indeed affected to disapprove of the treaty, and these were actuated by a desire of seeing the House of Hyder totally extirpated, without attending to the danger of throwing an addition of power into the hands of our northern allies. With men of judgment and experience, the peace was evidently calculated to ensure permanent as well as immediate advantages to the several European settlements in the east, for, whilst the loss of half his dominions would be fatal to his plan of conquest, the tranquillity of India would, in all human probability, be out of danger from the restless disposition of Tipoo Sultān for many years. His

resources crippled, his treasures exhausted, his troops dispersed, his artillery reduced to wreck, the most stern policy could not have demanded further reparation for the insult offered to the British nation, in the attack of her ancient and faithful ally, the inoffensive Prince of Travancore."

Wilks writes at length on this identical subject and his opinion is the more valuable, for, it is based not only on authentic materials but it is eminently characteristic of him as a critic of policy :—

"In whatever degree the wisdom of those measures may have divided public opinion, the moderation of Lord Cornwallis was eminently conspicuous, and universally acknowledged. That the desire of maintaining or establishing a balance of power had, according to the prevalent opinion, influenced his Lordship's determination, can nowhere be traced in his official correspondence. The treachery or imbecility of his allies, of whom one (the Mahrattas), had exhibited a total disregard of every obligation necessary to the success of combined measures; and the other, an incapacity to take any effective part in their execution, had undoubtedly rendered him long anxious for an early termination of the war, but constituted no part of the question at issue at the date of the preliminary treaty, when he had only to determine, whether he should be satisfied with anything short of the extinction of the House of Hyder, which, according to every information and appearance, would have followed the capture of the capital. The approach of Mahdajee Sindea to Poona, with views inimical to the English, might constitute a very important object of future consideration, but did not affect the question, limited to ten or fifteen days, of urging the siege to extremity, or consenting to a smaller sacrifice. Without, therefore, seeking altogether to exclude the influence of these considerations, they are certainly more doubtful than those which remain to be described.

"General opinion in England was averse to all war in India and would censure with peculiar asperity any result which might be tortured into evidence of premeditated conquest. The expediency of the earliest practicable termination of the contest, a proposition self-evident in every war, disputable with reference to conditions alone, and never to the abstract principle, had been strongly impressed on his Lordship's attention by the most recent despatches from the Court of Directors and the minister for Indian affairs; and the great national importance of being prepared to take any part that the exigency of events might require in those agitations which were about to convulse the whole European world, was too obvious to be absent from the mind of any statesman. But leaving, as is most candid in every practicable case, the author of a measure to assign his own motives, the decision itself, and the more immediate grounds on which it was formed, are stated with the greatest clearness and simplicity in his official despatches, before the negotiation, and during its progress. In the first of these documents he declares, "that to allow Tippoo to retain even a considerable portion of his present power and possessions at the conclusion of the war, would only, instead of real peace, given us an armed truce, and he should immediately reject any proposition of this nature: but that if such concessions were offered as would put it out of the enemy's power to disturb the peace of India in future, his Lordship would suffer no prospects, however brilliant, to postpone for an hour that most desirable event, a general peace." (Abstract of Lord Cornwallis' correspondence with the Government of Madras, given in their General Letter to England, dated 21st February 1792). In the second document, describing the nature of the measure in progress, he states his opinion "that it would be more beneficial to the public than the capture of Seringapatam, and render the final settlement with the allies much more easy;" a most important consideration, which has been overlooked or undervalued in all the discussions on the subject. Those (his Lordship adds—General letter, dated 15th March 1792), whose passions were heated, and who were not responsible for consequences, would probably exclaim against leaving the tyrant an inch of territory, but that it was his duty to consult the real interest of the Company and the nation.

" Although in the sequel of his communications with the Sultaun, after the conclusion of the peace, his Lordship's natural courtesy disposed him to the most conciliatory conduct and even to language indicating the direct hope of cordial amity, it is neither just nor necessary, to infer so superficial an estimate of human nature, as should really calculate on friendship as the fruit of deep mortification. No adequate ground had intervened for changing the opinion delivered by his Lordship, in the official letter accompanying the definitive treaty, which describes Tippoo "as a faithless and violent character, on whom no dependence could be placed." It is necessary, therefore, to revert to his Lordship's professed determination to exact "such conditions as should put it out of the Sultan's power to disturb the peace of India"; and it only remains to decide, whether this legitimate purpose, of which the English General had been the acknowledged master, was or was not effectually attained. The evidence of subsequent events will probably be deemed to amount to a negative answer; but candour cannot fail to add, that if, under the political circumstances of the moment, the entire extinction of the Mysorean power were really inexpedient, no farther reduction of that power could have been attempted without the imminent risk of being forced into the extreme alternative."

Among modern writers, Lewin B. Bowring takes a view not wholly dissimilar to that of Wilks, though he has a word of defence for the soldier-statesman and the conditions under which he was acting. He observes:—

"In estimating Lord Cornwallis' policy, it must be remembered that soldiers are ordinarily more generous than other negotiators to a conquered foe and that he deprecated a further conflict which would entail a great sacrifice of life. Moreover, he was probably fettered by restrictions placed upon him by the E. I. Company, who, while unwitingly founding an empire, were still walking in commercial leading-strings. Tipū was undoubtedly an usurper, as his father had been before him; the lawful Mysore Rāja, though a captive, was still alive: and Tipū had not hesitated to avow himself the implacable enemy of the English. The Sultān was hemmed in on all sides, and Seringapatam must inevitably have fallen had the siege been prosecuted. It must be confessed, moreover, that it was a dubious policy to restore to power a bitter foe, thus enabling him to resume an hostile attitude which eventually compelled Lord Mornington to crush for ever the despot's arrogance.

"Cornwallis was of opinion that he had effectually curbed Tipū's power of disturbing the peace of India, a mistaken idea of which subsequent events showed the fallacy. The restoration of the lawful Mysore dynasty does not appear to have been contemplated nor would the captive Rāja have been able to maintain his rule unsupported by British troops. The territory held by his predecessors at the time of Haidar Alī's usurpation formed but a portion of the Mysore dominions in 1792. These considerations were probably factors in inducing Lord Cornwallis to refrain from the extreme measure of dethroning Tipū Sultān."

Sir Vincent Smith, the latest writer on this subject, admits that subsequent events proved that Lord Cornwallis' policy cost another war, which could well have been avoided by a more drastic treatment of an implacable enemy. He refers to General Medows' view, which proposed the dethronement of Tipū and the restoration of the country to its Hindu rulers, the policy finally adopted by the Marquess of Wellesly, but does not enlarge on it. Adopting the opinion that the annexation of the whole of Mysore would have displeased both the Nizām and Mahrattas, he says it would have also offended public and official opinion at home and contravened the policy of the Act of 1784. The partial annexation effected was approved by the Ministry of the time and Lord Cornwallis was promoted to the rank of Marquess. Subsequent events proved that both Cornwallis and the Ministry had under-estimated not only the capacity of the enemy but also the possibilities of a settlement based on the Mysore Treaty of 1782 which was ultimately adopted by Wellesley. General Medows, who was conversant with this treaty and had been in close touch with its negotiators and who was amongst the first to conceive the idea of bearding the lion in his own den by carrying the war into the heart of the enemy's country and had actually followed Colonel Fullarton in his march on Mysore by the Gajjalhatti Pass on the eve of the Treaty of Mangalore, was nearer the mark, when he suggested the restoration of the ancient Hindu Royal Family. Such a step, in his opinion, would not only have satisfied the altogether theoretical contention in favour of the balance of power but also done fair justice to the agreement of 1782, which, though to some extent based on expected ephemeral advantages which did not altogether materialise, was essentially fair as between the Company and the king of Mysore. The story has been told of the attempted suicide of General Medows, on the eve of the Treaty of Seringapatam, because it was a premature one, in the sense that it did not *follow* the capture of Seringapatam, but *preceded* it, thus countenancing the continuance of Tipū's authority in Mysore and postponing the Restoration of Hindu Rāj. (See *Mysore Pradhans*). Neither Mackenzie nor Dirom refers to this story; nor is it referred to in Wilks, who uniformly writes appreciatively of Medows. Kirmani, however, gives a circumstantial account of it in his *History of the Reign of Tipū Sultān*, which is worthy of note in this connection. After mentioning that the siege, which had just commenced, seemed to require "the sacrifice of multitudes of lives," the Allies knowing "the fortitude and courage of the Sultān," sought the means of making peace, while the Sultān sent ambassadors to them with the same view, he writes:—

> "On this day, General Medows on returning to his tent, loaded a pistol and fired it off on himself; the ball, however, did not wound him mortally, but passed through the skin of his abdomen, and he had taken up another pistol (to put an end to himself), when Colonel Malcolm, the Adjutant-General, hearing the report, rushed into the tent, siezed the pistol and despatched an account of what had happened to the Commander-in-Chief. Lord Cornwallis immediately visited the General in his tent, and taking him by the hand returned thanks to God that he was safe, and after consoling and comforting him with kind words, said,—"at this precise period, peace is our best policy, for although taking the fort and

making the Sultān a prisoner be easy, and allowing both the Sultān and fort fall into our hands, still, I am not satisfied respecting our confederates, who are sharers with us in all things; for in such a case, what good will result to the Company's Government?—Indeed, after mature reflection, I am convinced this is the proper time to make peace," and the General now agreed to the truth of these words. (Col. Miles' Translation, 155–156.)

If the above story is true, it could only mean that General Medows and Lord Cornwallis fundamentally disagreed on the policy adopted by Lord Cornwallis to which General Medows gave only reluctant adherence, after making known his positive dislike for it.

Fourth attempt at Restoration.

During the progress of the war, just about the time that Bangalore was taken, a fresh attempt appears to have been made by the Loyalists for the restoration of the ancient Royal family. The oppression and cruelty which Tipū exercised, especially his mad attempt at forcibly converting his own Hindu subjects, especially the highest classes amongst them, had driven them to seek desperate remedies to put a final end to his rule. The discontent among the dispossessed *Pālegārs* was so great that they became willing partners in a well organized attempt to uproot the usurpation. The highest officers serving under Tipū, too, had grown weary of his exactions and tortures and religious frenzy and Hindu and Moslem seem to have made up their minds that the time was ripe for ending the unbearable tyranny. Whether the Maharāni lent any support to the idea and if so, to what extent, is not by any means clear. The authorities—both Wilks and Kirmāni, whose accounts are based on contemporary information gathered within a short period of the final fall of Tipū—are wholly silent on the matter. From the general testimony borne by these authorities, it might be inferred that this latest attempt, unlike its predecessors, was one in which officials, subjects and dispossessed *pālegārs* played a predominant part. The Intelligence Department organized by Lord Cornwallis, under Captain William Macleod, aided the Loyalist leaders to an extent that it is difficult to conceive at this distance of time. Colonel Alexander Read, who commanded at Ambur, and afterwards became famous as the preceptor of Munro in Revenue matters, proved highly active in winning over the discontented *Pālegārs*, who kept close connection through *hircarrahs* with the Loyalist leaders at the capital and elsewhere. The British Intelligence Department was not only efficient; it had also unlimited command of means for obtaining the best possible information at the most moderate expense. Kirmāni thus writes of Read's work :—

> "Colonel Read, the Darogha of the Intelligence Department, who was appointed to the command of Amboor Gurh, with great address, and by the liberal distribution of money, sweet words, and kind actions, brought over to his side the whole of the Poligars of the Balaghaut, who from the oppression and cruelty of the late Nawab, and the tyrannical character of the Sultān had abandoned their own country, and had sought refuge in the towns of the Karnatic Peyanghaut; such as the Poligar of Gungoodi Pala (Kangundi Koppam); the sons of Bhyreh Koor, the Poligar of Chuk Balapoor ; Pud Nair, the Poligar of Vinkut Giri Kote, who was residing at Charkul; Shunk Rayel, or Rawul, the Chief of Punganoor and besides these, the Poligars of Khut Koomnir ; Mudunpalli, Anikul, Oonkus Giri, Cheel Naik, etc., all being dispossessed of their lands, received written assurances of protection, and were despatched to their own districts on condition they should collect and forward supplies of forage and provisions to the English army ; and they also received authority to retake or recover (by any means) their own districts and Talookas; and, notwithstanding the severe restrictions in the Balaghaut, where without passes from the heads of districts, a man was not permitted to go from one town to another, he, Colonel Read, obtained maps of the whole of the country, by sending

clever spies and able *moonshis* at great expense, dressed as merchants into that country, and by their agency or mediation, also, several chiefs and officers of the Sirkar Khodadad, having been brought over to his interest, he sat waiting the arrival of the Governor-General, and although a certain Syud Imam, previously private intelligencer to Colonel Read, who was residing at the capital (Puttun) had obtained employment—in the Sultān's service; still, he wrote and despatched correct intelligence on all subjects, continually to Colonel Read and he also had assembled a number of traitors to his aid; when all at once the dish of his detection and shame appeared from beneath the blanket (in allusion to some Persian custom, or game, apparently), for his treachery by reason of some correction he had given to a boy, his servant, or slave, was published to the world; and at length certain of the Sultān's faithful servants seized him and his boy and brought them before the presence, and detailed all the circumstances of his treachery; this doomed man, therefore, fell under the heavy displeasure of the Sultān, and he was asked by him, what have you been doing? "If you tell the truth you may by that means save your life for a time." In these difficulties this foolish man made up a story with truth and falsehood intermixed, and wrote the names of several officers who had leagued with him in his treachery, and presented them to the Sultān, and according to this list of names, fifteen persons, such as Lalla Khan Bukhshi of Punganoor, Mir Nuzzur Ali, Mokkubdar, and his brother, and Ismael Khan Risaldar, etc., were seized and given over in charge to the executioner, and after the proof or establishment of the secret intelligence of writer's guilt (Islam Khan's), the Sultān asked him, "how he who had eaten his salt could have acted so treacherously, and what punishment he thought such conduct deserved?" The culprit, however, returned no answer, and the Sultān then said, "send this gentleman with the rest of his companions;" and he was also put to death.

"Another person also, named Imam Uddin, a newswriter, who had been employed in the same work and who resided at Kolar and Nundi Gurh, hearing this news at night, fled from that place to Kurumpaut, depending on Sauthgurh. Still, however, notwithstanding the disclosure of all this treachery, and the execution of his hired dependants, Colonel Read did not abstain from his intrigues and projects."

At Seringapatam, suspicion fell on Krishna Rao (the Kishen Row of Wilks). Krishna Rao from all accounts was one of the ablest and highly trusted officers of Tipū. He had served under Haidar as well and had risen from the ranks. He was, it would appear, a Mahratta Brahman, good at accounts and revenue matters and with an uncommon head for offering sound advice in matters military at the most critical situations. He had combined with Pūrnaiya in making easy the succession of Tipū on the death of his father. He was one of the two who kept secret Haidar's death and controlled the army until Tipū's arrival and taking over charge of the same. He had followed Tipū in his expeditions. He was present at the taking of Perumukkal, where, as head of the Treasury, he settled the ransom due from the people and collected on the spot a large sum of money from the people who had sought refuge in the fort. He it was that offered advice to Tipū to try a diversion on Trichinopoly to draw off General Medows from his design of invading Mysore from the Kaveripuram Pass, a ruse that was wholly successful. He was present at Bangalore when it was taken by Cornwallis and so far enjoyed the confidence of Tipū as to be deputed by him, on the eve of its fall, to go into the fort and bring away all the property in it, including guns and treasure, the *harem* and the families of his officers—the uniform pledge he exacted from them—a task which Krishna Rao executed with the promptitude that usually characterised his actions. Their removal effected, he arranged for their safe despatch to Seringapatam, where they arrived without accident. Such was the man who was suspected by Tipū of treachery towards himself, on the mere accusation of a discontented relation (of Tipū), whose defalcations he had made public. No wonder Wilks stigmatises in strong language what he calls "the mean and merciless character" of Tipū as disclosed in actions of this nature. The story of how this able functionary was done to death is told by Wilks (*History* II, 198-99) in a passage which deserves to be quoted, both as illustrating certain aspects of the character of Tipū and the extent of the discontent that had resulted from his ill-judged and cruel measures:—

> "One of his emissaries was unfortunately detected at this period, with a letter in the Canarese language, concealed in his hollow bamboo or walking stick. The Sultaun, as we shall hereafter perceive, in reviewing the measures of his reign, had reasonable cause for distrusting all Bramins, and such were all his secretaries for the languages of the south. A relation of his own (the brother-in-law of Seyed Saheb) who read the Canarese language, was entrusted with the examination of the letter, and the writer was seized; formerly a bramin, but forcibly circumcised, and now named Mohammed Abbas. The name of Sheshgere Row, brother of the treasurer Kishen Row, was implicated, and before he could be seized, he had heard of the accusation, and fled to his brother at Seringapatam; the treason seemed alarming and extensive, and Tipu ordered the writer of the letter to be brought into his presence; Abbas perceived his death to be inevitable, and he resolved that it should be exemplary; he denied no part of his own imputed guilt, but boldly declared that no torture should compel him to implicate others. "And how long," said Tipu, "have you been a traitor?" "From the period," replied he "that you began to circumcise bramins and destroy their temples." He was put to death, by being publicly dragged round the camp, at the foot of an elephant; but the treasurer, Kishen Row, with three brothers, including Sheshgere Row, were privately tortured and despatched. With whatever mystery these affairs were conducted, the acknowledged execution of one of the most able and intelligent officers of the State, could not but excite very general observation, and one-half of the community continues under the impression, that as the letter was never submitted to the inspection of a bramin, the imputed participation of Kishen Row in any act of treachery, was a calumny invented by Seyed Saheb, in revenge for retrenchments made some years before, in the accounts of Dindigul."

Wilks adds:

> I could never get Pūrnaiya, his colleague, to give an opinion. He kept aloof from enquiry; and of course from interposition, from the natural dread of consequences; and professed to have had no opportunity of forming a judgment.

No wonder that Pūrnaiya kept away from the inquiry. If he had interested himself, he would have been implicated and what that meant is known from the fate that befell Krishna Rao himself. Later, but wholly untrustworthy, accounts have suggested that Pūrnaiya was jealous of Krishna Rao and left him to his fate without even putting a word of intercession on his behalf from entirely selfish motives, if he did not indeed connive at his unnatural despatch. There is no evidence whatever to support this belief still current in the land. Pūrnaiya had nothing to gain from the disappearance of Krishna Rao; both were equals in the service; and if anything, Pūrnaiya stood even higher than Krishna Rao in the esteem of Tipū and his mother, to whose word the son paid great respect. There being no motive for such unfriendliness, the charge laid against Pūrnaiya cannot but be dismissed as both unjustified and groundless. Accounts current to this day state that Krishna Rao was really innocent of the designs of the Loyalists and that his death was compassed by his enemies, who were many. The manner in which he was actually put to death is not mentioned by Wilks but tradition states that he was bodily lifted by jetties and thrown into a boiling cauldron of oil, in which he perished. The executions took place at Seringapatam before the departure of Lord Carnwallis from Bangalore.

Kīrmāni's account.

Kīrmāni, in his account of the affair, sets out the reasons that impelled Tipū to take extreme measures against Krishna Rao. His version suggests that he was in league with the invading English army, to whom he supplied information. Though baseless, this version indicates what was popularly believed at the time both by Tipū and his informants. Kīrmāni thus writes detailing Tipū's arrangements for the defence of Bangalore fort:—

> "It was, therefore, determined by the advice of certain of the Sultān's counsellors, that the defence of the fort, should be left to Monsieur Lally, and that Kumruddin Khan and Syud Sahib with a strong force should be appointed to make a demonstration against the English army, while the Sultān himself should march to arrest the progress of the Moghuls, the Nizam's troops and the Mahrattas. In pursuance of this arrangement, the French officer (Lally) actually marched, and had arrived at the tank or reservoir (Basavangudi) of the canal, when Kishn Rao, and some other traitors becoming acquainted with this plan gave a hint to the English Harkaras, who were always about them habited as their own servants, and they immediately apprised the guards in the trenches that now the time had arrived to make an assault and take the fort. Kishn Rao after this left the fort, and at the bank of the tank above mentioned, meeting Monsieur Lally, took him by the hand and kept him in conversation about trifles, while the officers in the trenches as soon as they received the information mentioned before, immediately got their troops in readiness and a little after midnight, all at once made their attack. Syud Humid the Sipahdar and the Killadars (commanders of the garrison) according to the directions of the traitor Kishn Rao, had allowed their men who were all prepared to defend the fort, to go to their quarters and cook their victuals, and, therefore, except a few sentinels, no one remained at their posts, but notwithstanding their helpless condition, they boldly advanced to repel their assailants, and drove them back from the chain of the gate. The Europeans, however, having been quickly supplied with the wine, (or rather spirituous liquor), which inspires courage, returned to the charge, and by the time the brave garrison had assembled, they had stormed and mounted the walls and towers. The Syud being without his men and seeing he could not maintain his ground, escaped and joined the army. The

> two Killadars with forty or fifty of their men planting their feet manfully at the gate were there slain, as was Shaikh Boodhun Risaladar, after giving manifold proofs of his courage and fidelity. Shaikh Oonsur Sipahdar and the Naikwars (the Nairs or Hindu chiefs) and soldiers of the fort were taken prisoners. The fort, therefore, was captured and the garrison with their women and children, and their money and property of all kinds fell into the possession of the English soldiers."

After the loss of Bangalore, Kīramāni states Tipū lost his balance and ordered the indiscriminate execution of several of his officers. Among these were Jogiah Pandit, the nephew of Achanna Pundit, better known as Rāja Beerbul and Rāja Rāmachandra Phadak, the soubadar of Arcot, who was the Sheristedar of Bangalore and adjacent taluks who was also suspected of leaguing with the British ; the Pālegērs of Rayadurg and Harpanhalli, "because" we are told by Kīramāni, "the fire of the Sultān's wrath burned fiercely, at the bare mention of the name of Poligars." At about this time, Krishna Rao was, we are told, sent by Tipū "to take charge of the capital (Seringapatam), and to despatch money for the payment of the troops, while the Sultān himself with army and its departments marched in pursuit of the English army at Balapoor Khoord."

What followed may be told in Kīrmāni's own words:—

> "The brave and powerful Sultān with his victorious army had at this time turned the head of his generous steed towards the English army with the intention to attack it, when a jasoos, or spy dressed in a suit of mourning arrived, sent by his mother from Seringaputtun, and this man in private informed the Sultān that the villain Kishn Rao conspiring with some other traitors, had so concerted and arranged that probably by this time a sedition had broken out in the capital, or would soon break out, the repression of which it would not be very easy to accomplish,—he having followed the path of the rejected Khundi Rao, and had sent for a large body of English troops from Bombay, and that the Queen, (the

Sultān's wife), had given up all hope or care of her life,—at hearing this intelligence the Sultān despatched Syud Sahib with a body of troops to provide for the security and order of his capital."

Kīrmāni proceeds to relate:—

"When Syud Sahib received orders to depart, he proceeded forthwith by the route of the Makri Jungul and Rai Droog, and arrived at the capital of the Sultān, Seringaputtun, at midnight, and placed his encampment on this side of the river, while he himself with a few friends, and four or five hundred horse advanced to the gate of the fort, and before the appearance of the first light of the morning, called out to the guard at the gate to open it. As it happened, that Assud Khan Risaldar and other loyal subjects of the Sultān have been appointed to the charge of this gate, they, pleased at the arrival of the Syud, opened the wickets, and he entered; and having stationed parties of his horse over different departments of the state, he proceeded to pay his respects to the Sultān's mother, and she seated herself in the Hall of audience. At this time, the commander of the troops at the capital, who was deeply implicated in the treason of the Brahman, finding his secret disclosed to the world, immediately repaired to the Syud, and boasting of his own fidelity and loyalty, and condemning the folly and treason of the Brahman, persisted in demanding that he should be imprisoned. The Syud, therefore, despatched a Chobedar to summon Kishen Rao, to the Hall of audience or Durbar, and, as he being aware of his danger, returned for answer, that it was unusual and unreasonable the Syud should send him orders, that he had nothing to do with him,—his answer confirming the suspicion before entertained of his treachery, the Syud ordered the persons present to proceed to his house and seize him, and they forcing their way into his house and breaking open the door of his apartment, which he had bolted, or secured in the inside, they with their swords and muskets put him to death, and threw his body into the drain of the bazar, and his house was plundered, and the property found in it carried to the treasury. During the last moments, however, of this fiend, he said,—"I have lighted up a fire, which as long as the Sultān lives will not be extinguished,"—this, alas, was but too true."

Krishna Rao's wife, a beautiful, faithful and virtuous lady, was, according to one version, adds Kīrmāni "tyrannically forced," after her husband's death, into the Sultan's own seraglio.

It is hardly necessary to invite attention to the radical difference that exists between versions of Wilks and Kīrmāni in regard to the connection of Krishna Rao with the ever-active Loyalist group—necessarily described as "traitors" to Tipū—and to the different verdicts they pass on him. While Wilks holds him innocent, Kīrmāni holds him guilty of walking in the footsteps of Khande Rao and leaguing with the English at Madras and at Bombay. Whether Krishna Rao was in the attempt or not, it is clear that the moral basis—if any—had been sapped to its foundations by Tipū's own unbridled acts and people were not only tired of him but also actively against him. If only Lord Cornwallis had pressed his terms hard, he could have ended the tyranny at once and thus saved the people of Mysore and the Company another War. But as stated already, he was too noble, too generous, too high-minded and too much tied down by the Company's injunctions and by the barren theory of balance of power, rejected by so good an authority as Sir John Malcolm, to seem exacting with even such an unfaithful neighbour as Tipū.

Payment of the war indemnity.

After the departure of the confederates, the Sultān, brooding over the heavy losses he had sustained and the deep wounds that had been inflicted on his pride, shut himself up for several days in an agony of despair. His first public act was to make arrangements regarding the money due under the treaty. It was resolved that one crore and ten lakhs of the total amount should be paid from the treasury, that sixty lakhs should be contributed by the army, and one crore and sixty lakhs by the civil officers and inhabitants at large under the head of *nazarana*. The oppression of the population in levying the last drove great numbers to seek an asylum in Baramahal and other neighbouring districts, though there was a large balance standing in the accounts for several years afterwards.

Prize-money and gratuities.

The prize-money realized from the sale of property captured during this war amounted £ 93,584, made up as follows:—

	£
First campaign, 1790	19,804
Second campaign, 31st July 1791 ...	52,618
Third campaign, 1st August 1791 to 24th February 1792	21,162

Lord Cornwallis added a gratuity from the sum paid by Tipū; and the Court of Directors made a similar grant and both Lord Cornwallis and General Medows magnanimously gave up their claims. In the result, the share of a Colonel amounted to £ 1,161, that of a Sergeant £ 29 and that of other ranks £ 14. As regards Indian troops, a Subadar got £ 27, a Havaldar £ 11 and other ranks £ 5.

The Sultān's innovations.

The Sultān's caprice, fanaticism and spirit of innovation increased with his misfortunes, and were carried to the verge of insanity. "The professed and formal regulations for the conduct of affairs had commenced before his departure from Mangalore, with the aid of his great innovator Zain-ul-Abidin; and embraced either directly or incidentally, every department in the science of government. Regulations military, naval, commercial and fiscal; police, judicature, and ethics; were embraced by the code of this modern Minos, and his reformation of calendar and of the system of weights and measures, was to class him with those philosophical statesmen and sovereigns of whose useful labours the Secretary (Zain-ul-Abidin) had obtained some obscure intelligence. It may be briefly stated regarding the whole, that the *name* of every object was changed; of cycles, years, and months, weights, measures, coins; forts, towns; offices, military and civil, the official designations of all persons and things without one exception"—a singular parody of what was transpiring at the time in France. It was "a system of subversion," adds Wilks, "as sweeping and indiscriminate, as if the axiom were familiarly established that everything is wrong because it exists." The administration itself was named the *Sarkar Khodadad*, or God-given Government. Obsolete Persian was introduced for all English or French words of command in the military regulations, and the same language used for the revenue accounts in preference to that of the country. His reformation of the army ended in the increasing and improving of his infantry and artillery at the expense of the cavalry and this change became "the most decided source of inferiority in his contest with the English power." The construction of a navy to vie with that of England was proposed. The absurdity was not perceived of seeking to create a warlike fleet without a commercial navy. An improvement of the fortifications of Seringapatam was also commenced, and labourers impressed from all parts of the country for the work.

Commercial arrangements.

The commercial regulations were founded on the basis of making the Sovereign, if not the sole, the chief merchant of the dominions. Commerce with Europeans, especially with the English, was considered pregnant with danger in every direction. With this view, he prohibited the cultivation of pepper-vine in the maritime districts, and reserved those of inland growth to trade with the true believers from Arabia. Monopolies were numerous, those of tobacco, sandal-wood, pepper and the precious metals being the most lucrative. Exports and imports were prohibited for the protection of domestic trade; and the interdiction of the growth of poppy-seeds, with the abolition of liquor-shops to check intoxication. A board of trade of nine Commissioners was also organized, with seventeen foreign and thirty home factories in the several districts, with a new code for its guidance; and it was in contemplation to have established something like a bank, while the State itself monopolized the profits of money-changers. When the person in charge of the bank reported that the dealers were keeping aloof from it, that the expenses far exceeded the profits and that it was necessary either to abandon the plan or to enlarge it, so as to embrace not only regular banking establishments, but commercial speculations necessary for their prosperity, he got the reply; "There is no regulation issued by us, that does not cost us, in the framing of it, the deliberation of five hundred years—do as you are ordered."

Changes in Civil and Military affairs.

Hindus were displaced by Muhammadans in the offices both at headquarters and in the taluks, and the order went forth that all accounts should be submitted in the Persian language. As these new officials, as Kīrmāni plaintively puts it, "could scarce read or write," corruption increased all round. At this time, Tipū developed "a great aversion to Brahmans, Hindus and other tribes," and "he did not consider any but the people of Islām his friends, and therefore, on all accounts, his chief object was to promote and provide for them." Kīrmāni adds: "When, therefore, for the sake of his religion, the Sultān withheld his hand from the duties of Government, and conquest, and ceased to inquire into the actions and conduct of his agents and servants, every one in his place did as he pleased fearlessly, and without restraint. The old Khans and faithful servants of the

State were now cast down from confidence and power and low men without abilities were raised to high offices and dignities............From this cause, however, it was that disorder and disaffection forced their way into the very foundations of the State, and at once the nobles and Khans being alarmed and suspicious, became the instigators of treachery and rebellion." So unsettled did he become of the loyalty of those surrounding him that he organized a corps called Kerbeela at first and afterwards Zumra, to act as his body-guard, and prescribed an appropriate dress for it. Wilks in his brief comment tellingly sums up the position: "No human being was ever worse served, or more easily deceived," despite the oath of fidelity solemnly administered to each of them by the partaking of rice and milk with himself.

Fiscal and Revenue arrangements.

Lands and money allowances granted to Hindu pagodas, as well as the service ināms of patels, were confiscated; and an income was raised by dividing the houses in the fort of Seringapatam into separate wards for different classes, and putting prices upon them, the owners being ordered to shift for themselves outside, no compensation being paid to them. The revenue regulations of Chikka-Dēva-Rāja, however, remained unaltered; but they were republished as the ordinances of the Sultān himself. He strove, in short, to obliterate every trace of the previous rulers. For this purpose, even the fine irrigation works, centuries old, of the Hindu Rājas were to be destroyed and reconstructed in his own name.

His administrative and other blunders.

As regards selections for offices, the Sultān fancied that he could discover by mere look the capacity of a person, which naturally resulted in the most absurd blunders. All candidates for every department were ordered to be admitted and drawn up in line before him, when, looking steadfastly at them, he would as if actuated by inspiration call out in a solemn voice, "Let the third from the left be Asoph of such a district; he with the yellow drawers understands naval affairs, let him be *Mir-e-Yem*, Lord of the Admiralty; he with the long beard and he with the red turban are but Amils, let them be promoted." (Wilks, II, 289). The manner in which complaints were heard and disposed of may be illustrated by a single example. A number of raiyats appeared on a certain occasion before their sovereign to complain of exaction. Mīr Sadak, the Dewan, admitted the fact and said it was made on account of *nazarana*, which silenced the Sultān at once. The Dewān, however, holding out to the raiyats a hope of future immunity, succeeded in inducing them to agree to pay thirty-seven and a half per cent additional, and this circumstance being brought to the notice of Tipū as demonstrating the falsehood of their former complaint, the patel or head man was hung on the spot, and the increase extended to the whole of the Mysore dominions.

The return of the hostages.

By 1794, the money due under the treaty was paid, and the hostages were returned to the Sultān at Devanhalli, re-named Yusufabad.

Death of Chāmarāja Wodeyar; Palace again plundered, 1796.

In 1796, Chāmarāja Wodeyar, the reigning Rāja, died of smallpox. The practice of his annually holding formal court at the Dasara had been kept up, but now Tipū considered the appointment of a successor unnecessary, removed the family to a mean dwelling and plundered the palace of everything, including the personal ornaments of individuals. Krishnarāja Wodeyar III, who was then two years old, cried bitterly at the attempt to take away his little golden bracelets and there was, writes Wilks "sufficient feeling among the instruments of tyranny to be touched at the distress of the child and to abstain from this last violation." Among the losses sustained on this occasion was the valuable Mss. Library of the Palace in which lay by curious good luck *Nagar Pootia's History of Mysore* up to 1712, apparently compiled at the instance of Chikka-Dēva Rāja Wodeyar, on which, to some extent, Wilks' work is based.

IV Mysore War: Tipū's designs on the English.

Tipū next strained every nerve to form a coalition for the expulsion of the English from India. Embassies were despatched at various times to the Ottoman Porte and to the court of Kabul; letters were exchanged with Arabia, Persia, and Muscat; and agents employed at Delhi, Oudh, Haidarabad and Poona, the object sought in the two last-named courts being two-fold, namely, an alliance with the sovereigns themselves, and the seduction of their officers from them. Even the princes of Jōdhpur, Jeypur and Kashmīr did not escape an invitation to join this mighty coalition. The French in particular were repeatedly applied to.

His mission to Mauritius.

At last, in the early part of 1797, stress of weather drove a French privateer to the coast of Mangalore, having on board an obscure individual by name Ripaud. This person represented himself to be the second in command at the Isle of France, and being sent to Seringapatam by Ghulām Alī, the former envoy to the court of France, was honoured with several interviews with the Sultān. In the course of these, he took occasion to extol the power and magnify the resources of his countrymen, and added that a considerable force was assembled at the Isle of France waiting for the Sultān's summons. Tipū took the hint, commissioned Ripaud to proceed to Mauritius, conveying with him two servants as ambassadors to the Government of that island, with letters. The embassy left Seringapatam in the month of April 1797, but did not embark till October.

Its failure.

The embassy reached the Isle of France in January 1798, and, in spite of the obvious necessity for secrecy, was openly received by Malartic, the French Governor, with distinguished marks of respect. The *kurreetahs* were read with all solemnity in a council, and were found to contain a proposal for a coalition to expel the English. To the great disappointment of the ambassadors, there was not a single soldier available , but to make amends, the Governor sent the Directory at home a duplicate of the Sultān's *kurreetah*, and deputed two officers, by name Chapuis and Dubuc, to reside at the court of Seringapatam. At the same time, he issued a public proclamation, dated the 30th January, 1798, inviting the people of the island to join the Sultān's standard. The result of these measures was that the embassy, which was intended to have conveyed an armament sufficient to have swept the English off the face of India, returned with ninety-four men, the refuse of the Isle of France, burning with a zeal for "liberty and equality." A Jacobin club was formed in Seringapatam, a tree of liberty set up crowned with the cap of liberty, and the Sultān, who looked upon the general denunciation of kings and rulers as directed against the English alone, enrolled as *Citizen Tipū Sultān.* At the same time, M. Dubuc himself was sent in July 1798 with two Muhammadan envoys to the French Directory. Buonaparte's sudden invasion of Egypt now took place, encouraging the hope of immediate French intervention; and Dubuc, who did not actually sail till the 7th of February, assured Tipū that they must have already embarked on the Red Sea for his assistance.

Lord Mornington's preparations: Tripartite Treaty of 1790 restored.

But Lord Mornington (better known as Marquess Wellesley), then Governor-General, was fully aware of these hostile preparations; and when a copy of Malartic's proclamation reached his hands, deemed it high time to put a check on the Sultān's designs. The French force at Haidarabad was dismissed by a masterstroke of policy on 21st October 1798, and the Nizām and Pēshwa united in stronger bonds of alliance with the British.

This being effected, the Governor-General determined on definite action against Tipū with a view to establish a permanent restraint upon his future means of offence. In a Minute dated 12th August 1798, he thus expounded his views on this matter:—

Lord Mornington's view.

"*The rights of States, applicable to every case of contest with foreign powers, are created and limited by the necessity of preserving the public safety*; this necessity is the foundation of the reciprocal claim of all nations, to explanation of suspicious or ambiguous conduct, to reparation for injuries done, and to security against injuries intended.

"In any of these cases, when just satisfaction has been denied, or from the evident nature of circumstances, cannot otherwise be obtained, it is the undoubted right of the injured party, to resort to arms for the vindication of the public safety; and in such a conjuncture, the right of the State becomes the duty of the Government, unless some material consideration of the public interest should forbid the attempt.

"If the conduct of Tippoo Sultaun had been of a nature which could be termed ambiguous or suspicious; if he had merely increased his force beyond his ordinary establishment, or had stationed it in some position on our confines, or on those of our allies, which might justify jealousy or alarm; if he had renewed his secret intrigues at the courts of Hyderabad, Poona, and Cabul; or even if he had entered into any negotiation with France, of which the object was at all obscure; it might be our duty to resort in the first instance to his construction of proceedings, which being of a doubtful character, might admit of a satisfactory explanation. *But where there is no doubt, there can be no matter for explanation.* The act of Tippoo's ambassadors, ratified by himself, and accompanied by the landing of a French force in his country, is a public, unqualified, and unambiguous declaration of war, aggravated by an avowal, that the object of the war is neither explanation, reparation, nor security, but the total destruction of the British Government in India.

"To affect to misunderstand an injury or insult of such a complexion, would argue a consciousness either of weakness or of fear. No State in India can misconstrue the conduct of Tippoo; the correspondence of our residents at Hyderabad and Poona, sufficiently manifests the construction which it bears at both those courts, and in so clear and plain a case, our demand of explanation would be justly attributed either to a defect of spirit or of power. The result of such a demand would therefore be, the disgrace of our character and the diminution of our influence and consideration in the eyes of our allies and of every power in India. If the moment should appear favourable to the execution of Tippoo's declared design, he would answer such a demand by an immediate attack; if on the other hand, his preparations should not be sufficiently advanced, he would deny the existence of his engagements with France, would persist in his denial until he had reaped the full benefit of them, and finally, after having completed the improvement of his own army, and received the accession of an additional French force, he would turn the combined strength of both against our possessions, with an alacrity and confidence inspired by our inaction, and with advantages redoubled by our delay. In the present case, the idea, therefore, of demanding explanation must be rejected, as being disgraceful in its principle, and frivolous in its object.

"The demand of reparation, in the strict sense of the term, cannot properly be applied to cases of intended injury, excepting in those instances where the nature of the reparation demanded may be essentially connected with security against the injurious intention.

"Where a State has unjustly seized the property, or invaded the territory, or violated the rights of another, reparation may be made, by restoring what has been unjustly taken, or by a subsequent acknowledgment of the right which has been infringed; but the cause of our complaint against Tippoo Sultān, is not that he has seized a portion of our property which he might restore, or invaded a part of our territory which he might again cede, or violated a right which he might hereafter acknowledge; we complain, that, professing the most amicable disposition, bound by subsisting treaties of

> peace and friendship, and unprovoked by any offence on our part, he has manifested a design to effect our total destruction; he has prepared the means and instruments of a war of extermination against us; he has solicited and received the aid of our inveterate enemy for the declared purpose of annihilating our empire; and he only waits the arrival of a more effectual succour to strike a blow against our existence.
>
> "That he has not yet received the effectual succour which he has solicited, may be ascribed, either to the weakness of the Government of Mauritius, or to their want of zeal in his cause or to the rashness and imbecility of his own councils; but neither the measure of his hostility, nor of our right to restrain it, nor of our danger from it, are to be estimated by the amount of the force which he has actually obtained; for we know that his demands of military assistance were unlimited; we know that they were addressed, not merely to the Government of Mauritius but to that of France, and we cannot ascertain how soon they may be satisfied to the full extent of his acknowledged expectations. This, therefore, is not merely the case of an injury to be repaired, but of the public safety to be secured against the present and future designs of an irreconcilable, desparate, and treacherous enemy. Against an enemy of this description, no effectual security can be obtained, otherwise than by such a reduction of his power, as shall not only defeat his actual preparations, but establish a permanent restraint upon his future means of offence."

His admonition to Tipū.

In consonance with his above views, Lord Mornington wrote to the Sultān on the 8th November 1798, giving expression for the first time to the feelings awakened by his late proceedings in gentle and cautious language, informing him that certain precautions had been adopted for self-defence, offering to depute Major Doveton on the part of the three Allies to explain the means by which a good understanding might be finally established, and desiring Tipū to state when he intended to receive him, To this letter Tipū had the temerity to answer that the existing treaties were a sufficient security and that he could imagine no other means more effectual; thereby distinctly declining the reception of the envoy. The state of Tipū's mind at this time appears to have been one of resignation to his fate. "If his destruction was pre-ordained, let it come; the sooner the better." Every discussion was terminated by the professedly pious remark; "After all, whatever is the will of God, that will be accomplished." This state of passive contemplation, although materially disturbed, was not permanently changed, even by the receipt of the letter from Lord Mornington, dated the 8th of November.

His arrival at Madras.

On the 10th of December, Lord Mornington wrote again, calling the Sultān's attention to the above mentioned letter, and requesting to be favoured with a reply at Madras, whither the Earl of Mornington was about to proceed as being nearer the scene of action. On reaching Madras on the last day of the month, the Governor-General found a reply waiting for him, dated the 25th. This letter opened with the intimation of Tipū's joy at the brilliant naval victory of the Nile over the French, of which he had been advised by the Governor-General, and a wish for greater success. He explained away the embassy to the Isle of France as being simply the trip of a merchantman that conveyed rice and brought back some forty artificers, an incident which, it was alleged, had been distorted by the French. The Sultān added also that he had never swerved from the path of friendship, and could not see (as before mentioned) more effectual measures for establishing it than those that already existed.

His exposure of Tipū's real designs: War declared.

The Governor-General replied on the 9th of January, 1799, exposing the whole affair of the mission to the Isle of France, which had rendered the demand of further security necessary; expressing a wish still to listen to negotiations, and allowing one day's time for a reply, with a significant warning that "dangerous consequences result from the delay of arduous affairs." This letter was accompanied by a copy of the manifesto issued by the Ottoman Porte, declaring war against the French. Tipū though roused from his stupor, was still not master of himself. The Governor-General's letter made him see the immediate pressure of the danger and even in a certain degree the folly which had produced it. The gratuitous folly of receiving a military contingent of ninety-nine Frenchmen was just dawning on him, but he still went on with "the procrastination naturally belonging to an impalatable resolve, hesitating from day to day to execute the determination of the last; and the lingering indecision of the fatalist, suggested the hope that, if at the last moment no favourable chance should arise, he might still be in time to submit to an alternative short of absolute destruction. At this very period, there were constant assurances to him from the French in his service that troops in aid of him should have actually embarked on the Red Sea and might be daily expected. Projects of resistance or submission held their alternate empire, as reason or passion prevailed; and it is believed by those who had the best opportunities of judging that the confident assurances of the French officers were the efficient cause of diverting Tipū's mind from the only wise resolution it was then in his power to form, and produced his ultimate destruction." How far these assurances were or could be reliable, he did not stop to enquire. It is certain that they could only have originated in vague inferences regarding the ultimate objects of the Egyptian expedition, and in an entire ignorance of the actual facts. After the destruction of the French fleet on the 1st of August 1798, Buonaparte could not have contemplated distant detachments; it was as much as he could do to preserve his first conquest.

But there is hardly any doubt that that General's letter to Tipū (written in February 1799 and beginning with the famous words "you have already been informed of my arrival on the borders of the Red Sea") professing the intention of liberating him from the iron yoke of England distinctly shows the intended execution of that design to be distant, which seems natural when we remember that he desires the despatch of a secret envoy to meet him at Cairo and the exactly contemporaneous character of the sieges of Acre and Seringapatam. After a lapse of more than a month, or on the 13th of February 1799, Tipū replied to the Governor-General's letter of the 9th of January, with utter disregard, that he was proceeding on a hunting excursion, and desired that Major Doveton might be sent "slightly attended." The Governor-General, interpreting this as contempt and as an effort to gain time, ordered at once the march of the troops, informing the Sultān of the same on the 22nd February. Intelligence of the invasion of Egypt by the French having reached the Governor-General on the 18th October 1798, he ordered the Madras Government to advance the army to some convenient place near the Mysore frontier, and advised them of the intended despatch from Calcutta of three battalions of Indian Volunteers. Instructions were sent to Bombay at the same time for the assembly of a body of troops in Malabār for the purpose of co-operating in the siege of Seringapatam should hostilities become unavoidable.

British Army marches for Mysore.

An army, consisting of nearly 21,000 men of all arms, had been assembled near Vellore under the command of General Harris, the Commander-in-Chief, and it marched for the frontier on the 14th February. On the 20th, when near Amboor, it was joined by the troops from Hyderabad, amounting in all to about 16,000 men. On the 23rd, Major-General Floyd was sent in advance, with a strong body of cavalry, and the left wing of the army, in order to cover the passes of the Baramahal. General Harris followed, and on the 28th he joined the leading division at Karimangalam.

Colonel Wellesley in Command of Nizām's Contingent.

Immediately before entering the Mysore territory, General Harris considered it expedient to add a regiment of European infantry to the Nizām's Contingent, and H. M.'s 33rd was the one selected. This arrangement placed the Honourable Colonel Arthur Wellesley in command of the division, much to the dissatisfaction of Major-General Baird who believed himself entitled thereto; but the nomination of Colonel Wellesley was justified partly on political grounds, and partly because the Contingent was a Colonel's command.

Surrender of forts on the way.

The army arrived at Rayakōta on the 1st March, and on the 5th idem a detachment, under Major John Cuppage, 1st Battalion 6th Regiment, took possession of the small hill forts of Nildrug and Anchittydrug which lay on the route. Two or three days afterwards, the forts of Udaiyadurg and Ratnagiri surrendered; the former to the 2nd Battalion 3rd Regiment under Lieutenant-Colonel Oliver, and the latter to Six Companies 2nd Battalion 4th Regiment under Captain Irton of that corps.

The force from Bombay: action at Seedaseer.

The force from Bombay, assembled in Malabār under Lieutenant-General Stuart, had received instructions to ascend the ghāts into the province of Coorg, and to remain there until further orders. It marched from Cannanore accordingly on the 21st February, and on the2nd March, the right brigade under Lieutenant-Colonel Montresor encamped at Seedaseer (Siddēsvara) on the Coorg frontier, about seven miles from the town of Periapatam, on the high road to Seringapatam, the main body remaining about eight miles in the rear. Tīpu, having received intelligence of these movements, determined to attempt to cut off the column, and on the morning of the 3rd he hastened from Maddur, where he left a detachment under Pūrnaiya and Saiyid Sahib to oppose the Karnātic army and on the 6th suddenly attacked Colonel Montresor with a select corps of about 11,800 men. On the 5th, the romantic Rāja of Coorg discerned from the summit of the Siddēsvara hill, the plain near Periyapatna dotted with tents, including a green one and flew to the English with the news. But the dawn following, Tipū's force was in motion. A fog and the dense jungle screened its approach till the advanced British line was attacked both in front and rear. The brigade, although completely surrounded, behaved with great resolution, and maintained the position until about 3 o'clock in the afternoon, when General Stuart coming up with the flank companies of the 75th, and the whole of the 77th, the enemy retreated in all directions with the loss of about 1,500 killed and wounded. The casualties on the British side only amounted to 143, killed, wounded, and missing.

On the 9th March, the army encamped at Kelamangalam, and on the next day Lieutenant-Colonel Read, who had joined General Harris shortly before, was detached in order to protect the frontier of the Baramahal, to collect provisions, and ultimately to co-operate with a force under Colonel Brown, which had been assembled near Trichinopoly, and was about to march for Seringapatam by Karoor, Erode, and Kaveripuram.

General Harris' March.

After making the arrangements for Colonel Read's detachment, General Harris marched on the 10th, Colonel Wellesley's division moving at a considerable distance on the right flank of the army for the protection of the baggage and stores.

Soon after leaving Kilamangalam, the columns were harassed by bodies of the enemy's horse, one of which succeeded in cutting up the light company 1st Battalion 11th Regiment which formed part of the rear guard of the Nizām's Contingent. Twenty men were killed. Lieutenant Reynolds and thirty-six men were wounded.

Action at Malvalli.

Nothing of moment occurred until the arrival of the army near Malvalli, where an action took place on the 27th, thus described by General Harris:—

"On the 27th March, the army reached Mallvelly, to the westward of which place, but at a considerable distance, the army of Tippoo Sultān appeared, formed on a very commanding ground to oppose our further progress. I had previously arranged the march of the army so as to preserve the right wing and cavalry free from the incumbrance of baggage, and ready to act as occasion might require in conjunction with Colonel Wellesley's division, which, lightly equipped, moved at some distance on our left flank, the left wing under Major-General Popham being allotted to protect our baggage, provisions, and stores, in the event of an action, which although it was not my object to seek, I had determined not to avoid by any movement which might lead the enemy to suppose I could entertain a doubt of the event.

"Judging from the distance of the enemy that they did not intend an attack, I directed the ground to be marked out as usual for the encampment of the army, but at 10 o'clock guns were opened from the distant heights on the cavalry and the corps advanced for picquets on our right. The shot falling on the line, I ordered the picquets to be supported by H.M.'s 25th Dragoons and the 2nd Regiment of native cavalry, the three brigades of infantry to form line on the left of the picquets, and the whole to advance on the enemy's left and front, while Colonel Wellesley's division was directed to move towards the right flank of the enemy's line.

"The picquets under Colonel Sherbrooke, assisted by H. M.'s 25th Dragoons, were opposed to a large body of the enemy's cavalry, who hovered on the right flank of our troops during the advance which was too rapid to admit of the field pieces attached to corps keeping their position in the line. Encouraged by this circumstance, a small corps of the enemy's cavalry hazarded a resolute charge on the European brigade commanded by Major-General Baird, but found it impossible to make any impression on H.M.'s 12th, and the Scotch Brigade, who received them with the greatest steadiness, and by a continued, close and well directed fire, repulsed them with considerable loss.

"This corps was accompanied in its precipitate retreat by a large body of horse, led, as we have since learnt, by the Sultān in person, which had been prepared to sustain the attack if successful; and by a brigade of infantry that for some time had maintained a heavy fire of musketry, principally directed, and not without effect, at H.M.'s 74th Regiment.

"Nearly at the same time that their cavalry charged our right, a large division of the enemy's infantry had advanced on our left to attack the force commanded by Colonel Wellesley, and was broken by H.M.'s 33rd Regiment which led his column.

"At this critical moment, H.M.'s 19th Dragoons and two regiments of native cavalry, commanded by Major-General Floyd, charged this retreating corps, and nearly destroyed it.

"The army continued to advance in a well-connected line, while that of the enemy retreated before it in the utmost confusion. Their cannon were drawn off, and after a short pursuit, the want of water not permitting to encamp upon the field of battle, the army returned to the vicinity of Mallavelly.

"The 19th Dragoons, the 12th, 33rd, 74th and the Scotch Brigade, which alone of H.M.'s corps were engaged, were equally distinguished by their steadiness and gallantry. The 25th Dragoons, although prevented by their remote situation from joining in the charge of the cavalry, was most eminently useful with the picquets under Colonel Sherbrooke in checking the advance of the large corps of the enemy's horse which menaced the right flank of the army till the conclusion of the action."

It was afterwards ascertained that Tipū's loss amounted to about 2,000 men killed and wounded. British casualties were trifling, *viz.*, 66 men, and 48 horses, killed, wounded, and missing.

Siege of Seringapatam.

Immediately after the action at Malvalli, General Harris determined to cross the Cauvery. Tipū, however, anticipating that the British army would take the same route to the capital which had been taken in 1792, had destroyed all the forage in that direction, but General Harris defeated his project by crossing the Cauvery at Sosile on the 29th and 30th March and resumed his march on the 1st April. When the intelligence of this skilful movement reached the ears of the Sultān, he was deeply dejected. Assembling a council of his principal officers at Bannur, "We have," he observed with great emotion, "now arrived at our last stage," intimating that there was no hope. "What is your determination?" "To die with you," was the universal reply, and the meeting broke up bathed in tears, as if convened for the last time. In accordance with the deliberation of this assembly, the Sultān hastened to the southern point of the island, and took up his position at the village of Chandagal; but General Harris again thwarted his plans, and making a circuit to the left, safely reached the ground towards the west, occupied by General Abercromby in 1792, and sat down before the capital on the 5th April, about 2 miles from the south-west face of the fort, or exactly in the space of a month from the date of his crossing the frontier.

The defences of Seringapatam.

Since the year 1792 a new line of intrenchments had been constructed on this side of the fort, from the Daulat Bagh to the Periyapatam bridge, within six or seven hundred yards from the fort, thus avoiding the fault of the redoubts in 1792, which were too distant to be supported by the guns of the fort. The Sultān's infantry was now encamped between these works and the river, and on the same evening on which the British army took up its position, a portion was attacked by Colonel Arthur Wellesley, the future hero of Waterloo. Although this first attempt failed, success was achieved on the following morning, and strong advanced posts were established within 1,800 yards of the fort, with their left on the river and their right at Sultānpet. These two attacks are thus described by General Harris.—

The siege described: General Harris' despatch.

"His Majesty's 12th Regiment, and two battalions Madras sepoys under Lieutenant-Colonel Shawe, attacked a post occupied by the enemy in a ruined village about 2,000 yards from the fort, and in front of our left.

"Colonel Wellesley, with H.M.'s 33rd Regiment, and two Bengal battalions, advanced soon after to scour, and occupy a wood near the village of Sultanpett about a mile to the right of the post attacked by Colonel Shawe, with which it was connected by a large water course then nearly dry, having a high strong bank, which winding round, and through, the wood, afforded perfect cover to a large body of the enemy's troops. The attack under Lieutenant-Colonel Shawe was successful, but that on the wood failed from the intricacy of the position, and the darkness of the night. (Colonel Wellesley advancing at the head of his regiment, the 33rd, into the tope, was instantly attacked, in the darkness of the night, on every side by a tremendous fire of musketry and rockets. The men gave way, were dispersed, and retreated in disorder. Several were killed, and twelve grenadiers (these men were all murdered a day or two before the storm) were taken prisoners. (*Life of Sir David Baird*, Vol. I, page 191.)

"The enemy therefore continued to occupy the water course, whence, with musketry and rockets, they severely galled the troops posted in the village seized by Lieutenant-Colonel Shawe, during the whole of that night, and part of the succeeding day."

The attack on Sultānpet was renewed on the morning of the 6th by the same troops, strengthened by the Scotch Brigade and two Madras Battalions under Lieutenant-Colonels Bowser and Haliburton, the whole under

Colonel Wellesley as before. Lieutenant-Colonel Shawe, at the same time, pushed forward to the water course in his front with the 12th Regiment, supported by the flank companies of the 74th, and four companies of sepoys under Lieutenant-Colonel Wallace, which moved from the left of the camp along the water course, and turned the flank of the enemy. These attacks were successful and placed the British in possession of a strong line of posts in their front along the water course, extending from the river Cauvery on the left, to the village of Sultanpet on the right, a distance of about two miles.

While the attention of the enemy was occupied in the defence of these outposts, Major-General Floyd marched off from the rear of the camp towards Periyapatam with a strong detachment in order to meet the army from Bombay. He effected this on the 9th, and returned to Seringapatam on the 14th accompanied by that army. Major-General Stuart crossed to the northern bank of the Cauvery on the 16th, and took up a position with his right on the river, and his left on the rocks near the ruins of the Eedgah redoubt. The next day he detached Colonel Hart, with H.M.'s 75th Regiment, and two battalions of sepoys, to dislodge the enemy from a village near the bank of the river where it was intended to establish a battery to enfilade the south-western face of the fort, distant about 900 yards. From this day (17th April) the regular siege may be said to date. It was ultimately decided to storm at the western angle, across the river.

Colonel Hart having been joined by H.M.'s 74th, and a battalion of Madras sepoys sent across by General Harris, made his attack about sunset, and carried the village.

The position thus gained was called "Hart's Post," and was armed on the 18th with a battery of six 18 pounders, and two howitzers.

Simultaneously with Colonel Hart's attack, Major Macdonald, with the 2nd Battalion 12th Regiment Madras

Infantry, advanced from Shawe's post to drive the enemy from a stream about 700 yards in front, which running from the Cauvery some 1,200 yards above the fort, and nearly parallel to the works, afforded cover for an extent of about 600 yards near an entrenchment which the enemy had thrown up at the ruins of a powder mill on an island formed by the Cauvery, and the stream in question. This service was ably executed, and the position, which became of importance, was named "Macdonald's Post." On the next day, it was connected with "Shawe's Post" by a trench.

An examination of the provisions in camp having been made on the 15th, much anxiety was caused by the discovery that the supply of rice would not suffice for more than eighteen days' consumption at the rate of half allowance to each fighting man. It was therefore determined to detach Major-General Floyd towards Kaveripuram to meet, and bring on the detachment under Colonel Read which was escorting supplies. The General marched accordingly on the 19th, with all the regular cavalry, and the 3rd Infantry Brigade under Major Gowdie.

On the evening of the 20th, Tipū's entrenchment at the powder mill in front of Macdonald's Post was attacked and carried by H.M.'s 73rd, and a battalion of Bengal sepoys.

This detachment, under the general direction of Colonel Sherbrooke, was divided into three parties, one under Lieutenant-Colonel Moneypenny of the 73rd, another under the Honourable Lieutenant-Colonel St. John of the same regiment, and the third under Lieutenant-Colonel Gardiner of the Bengal army. During the night, this post was connected by a parallel with the works already established on the south attack.

Tipū's negotiations for peace.

Tipū, in order to open communications, had written to General Harris on the 9th, affecting ignorance of the cause of hostilities; on which he was referred to the

Governor-General's letters. He now on the 20th proposed a conference, and was furnished in reply with the draft of a preliminary treaty, to be executed in twenty-four hours, the principal conditions of which were—the cession of half of his remaining territories, the payment of two crores of rupees in two instalments, and the delivery of four of his sons and four of his principal officers as hostages. But the time passed without his accepting it.

Before daylight on the 22nd, the advanced posts of the Bombay army were attacked by the besieged in force, but they were repulsed with loss. Many of the French troops, which led the assault on this occasion, were killed.

About 6 o'clock the same morning, fire was opened from a battery of four 18-pounders, and two howitzers which had been constructed at the powder mill. This fire was aided by that of some field pieces placed near the banks of the river to the left of Shawe's post, which dislodged the enemy from the positions from which they galled the Bombay troops in Hart's post.

On the 23rd, five 18-pounders from the battery at Hart's post enfiladed the works of the south-west face of the fort with great effect. On the same day, a small battery for two 12-pounders was erected about 400 yards in front of Shawe's post.

On the 24th and 25th, the battery at the powder mill was increased to 8 guns, and the approaches were considerably advanced, and further strengthened by a new battery for four guns, which commenced to fire on the morning of the 26th. The rest of the operations may be described in the words of General Harris' Report to the Commander-in-Chief in India:—

> "It now became necessary to drive the enemy from their advanced works in order to establish the breaching batteries on the spot they covered within 380 yards of the walls of the fort, upon the bank of the southern branch of the Cauvery, along which they extended nearly parallel to the south-west face of

the fort of Seringapatam, each flank strengthened by a kind of stockaded redoubt, that on their right placed on the angle formed by the separation of the river to embrace the island of Seringapatam, that on their left being a circular work nearly communicating with another a short distance in its front, built to defend a stone bridge over the rivulet which formed the island on which our works were placed.

"The enemy's attention was engaged by a well directed and continued fire from the batteries at Hart's post, and all those on the south attack which could bear on their entrenchments, or the works which commanded them, until the moment of attack. As the sun set, the troops, arranged in two columns, advanced from the trenches. That on the left consisting of four companies of the Scotch Brigade, and four of Bengal sepoys, was commanded by Major Skelly, and assaulted the right of the enemy's position. The right column commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Moneypenny of H. M.'s 73rd Regiment consisting of 4 companies of that Regiment and an equal number of Bengal Sepoys drew them from a great part of the works on their left. The success of these attacks enabled Lieutenant-Colonel Moneypenny's division to occupy a water course, which running along the front of the enemy's entrenchment, afforded some cover to the troops, while that of Major Skelly took post at the work near the small bridge which was afterwards distinguished by his name.

"The enemy however still possessing the circular redoubt on the left of their late posts from which they galled our troops in the newly acquired position, by a constant fire of musketry, Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell of the 74th, who had just arrived from camp to relieve the corps on duty in the trenches, advanced rapidly with a small party of Europeans, attacked and routed the enemy, pursuing them over the great bridge across the Cauvery, penetrating a work raised for its defence, and spreading a general alarm. Profiting by the confusion occasioned by his advance, he retired with little loss within our posts.

"Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell's conduct on this occasion merited the highest praise; the small party which he led consisted of the Light company of the 74th and a company of the Swiss regiment DeMeuron, a corps whose gallantry and zeal, on this, and every other occasion during the siege, are fully equal to that of our national troops.

"Although every possible exertion had been made during the night to profit by the comparative quiet enjoyed by our posts after Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell's attack, and a double detail of troops was employed on this duty, they were, on the morning of the 27th, still exposed to a very destructive fire principally from the circular work, which, under the protection of the fort, was again occupied by a large body of the enemy's infantry. Lieutenant-Colonel Wallace, with three companies of H. M.'s 74th regiment, was ordered to dislodge them. This service he performed with that gallantry by which he has ever been distinguished, and kept possession by securing his men behind the parapet of his post, which from this time bore his name. In the course of the succeeding night, the approaches were deepened, and Wallace's and Skelly's posts made perfectly tenable.

"On the 28th and 29th April, a battery for six 18-pounders was erected on the left of our most advanced trench, to bear on the western angle of the fort, from which it was distant 360 yards. The difficulty of conveying guns across the water course deferred its opening till the 30th in the morning when its fire commenced with effect. Before the close of the day, the outer wall was breached, and the main rampart of the angle bastion extremely shattered. During the night, another battery for five guns was erected rather to the right and front of that which had opened in the morning. A position for six howitzers was cleared in the trenches near the battery, and the nature of the bed of the Cauvery was ascertained by Lieutenant Farquhar of H. M.'s 74th, and Lieutenant Halor of H. M.'s 73rd Regiment who, attended by a small party of Europeans employed as pioneers, requested to be charged with this important and hazardous service.

"On the 1st May, a small battery of two 18-pounders to take off the defences of some low works which bore obliquely on the right of those already erected to breach, was constructed in their rear.

"The embrasures of the six gun battery were altered so as to concentrate the whole breaching fire on the curtain a short distance to the right of the western angle, and in front of a large cavalier which it was also intended to destroy. A new battery was likewise commenced at Hart's post to increase the enfilading fire which had uniformly been kept up from the batteries there with the best effect, in order to favour the assault on the breach when practicable.

"On the 2nd May, the breaching batteries were opened early in the morning with admirable effect, and before the evening, the outer wall was perfectly breached, and the principal rampart considerably damaged.

"A magazine of rockets in the fort was, during the day, set on fire by a shot from the battery at Hart's post, which with all the other batteries, kept up an incessant, and extremely well directed fire on every part of the works within the range of the guns. This night a communication was made from the trenches to the edge of the river opposite the breach, and a sunken battery for four 12-pounders was commenced at a favourable situation between Shawe's and Skelly's posts, intended to enfilade the works on the southern face of the fort, and bear on some cavaliers which fired from a considerable distance, but with much effect, on our batteries.

"On the evening of the 3rd May, the breach, which the enemy had attempted to repair on the night of the 2nd, appearing nearly practicable; it was determined to make the assault in the course of the ensuing day; and the night was employed in drawing from the Bombay army the detail of that force destined to share in this enterprise, in forming the plan, in arranging the troops, and in making every other necessary preparation which could tend to ensure its success."

Renewed negotiatios.

The Sultān now again attempted negotiation, and was informed that the terms previously offered would be held open until three o'clock next day, but no longer. From this time, despair seemed to brood over him. But his officers were more alive to their duty at such a crisis.

The Assault delivered.

Before daybreak on the memorable 4th of May, the assaulting party, consisting of two thousand four hundred and ninety-four Europeans, and one thousand eight hundred and eighty-seven Indians, under the command of General Baird, had taken their stand in the trenches with scaling-ladders and other implements ready. The Sultān had persuaded himself the assault would never be made by day-light. One o'clock, however, had been decided on as the hour. At that precise moment, General Baird, eager to avenge the hardships he had suffered within the walls of Seringapatam and the secret massacre of his countrymen, stepped forward from the trenches in full view of both armies, and drawing his sword, called on the soldiers in a tone which thrilled along the trenches to "follow him and prove worthy of the British name." His men rushed at once into the bed of the river. Though immediately assailed by musketry and rockets, nothing could withstand their ardour, and in less than seven minutes, the forlorn hope reached the summit of the breach, and there hoisted the British flag, which proclaimed to the world that the fate of Tipū was decided.

The following extract gives the details of the troops warned for the assault:—

> "The flank companies from the European (H.M.'s 75th and 77th, and the Bombay European regiment, 103rd Foot) corps serving in the Bombay army, under Lieutenant-Colonel Dunlop, H.M.'s 77th regiment. Four from the Scotch bridge, and regiment DeMeuron, under Colonel Sherbrooke. Ten companies of Bengal, eight of Madras and six of Bombay sepoys under Lieutenant-Colonels Gardiner, Dalrymple, and Mignan of the Company's service on these several establishments; H.M.'s 12th, 33rd, 73rd and 74th regiments, 100 artillery under Major Robert Bell of the Madras artillery, 200 of the Nizam's infantry and the corps of European and Native poineers, commanded by Captain Dowse, formed the corps ordered for the assault; consisting of nearly, 2,300 European and 2,000 Native troops, under the immediate orders of Major-General Baird, whom, from a knowledge of his perfect merits as a soldier, I had selected to command on this important service. Major-General Popham was directed to occupy the trenches during the attack, in command of the battalion companies of the Swiss regiment DeMeuron,and four battalions of Madras sepoys, forming a sustaining corps, to act if required in its support.

"On the morning of the 4th May, the batteries kept up an incessant, and well directed fire on the breach and remaining defences of the fort, which was warmly returned by the enemy till noon, when as usual their fire slackened, and their attention was in some degree turned from the principal point of attack by the fire of the new four-gun battery which opened on the cavaliers, and southern face of the fort.

* * * *

"From knowledge of the customs of the natives of India, I judged that during the heat of the day the troops of the garrison would not be apprehensive of an assault, or prepared to make that obstinate resistance which at any other time I might expect to be opposed to our attack. I therefore directed it to take place at 1 o'clock. The troops passed the rugged bed of the Cauvery, which opposite to the breach, was about 280 yards in breadth, exposed to a very heavy fire from the still numerous artillery of the fort, crossed the ditch, and ascended the breach in despite of all opposition from the enemy, many of whom rushed down the slope to meet them. The assailants divided, as they had been instructed to do, at the summit of the breach, and although obstinately resisted by the enemy posted behind a succession of traverses thrown up across the ramparts, particularly on the northern face of the fort; in two hours the whole of the works were occupied by our troops, and the British colors flying in the place.

"The utmost degree of humanity was shewn to such of the enemy as asked the protection of the troops, but the large force in the place, their perseverance in resistance, and the formidable army encamped under its walls, rendered rapidity and energy necessary to the safety of the troops, and the success of the assault. The slaughter was in consequence very considerable.

"So soon as the ramparts were occupied, a detachment was sent to secure the palace, and protect the family of the Sultan from insult. A battalion of the 8th regiment of Madras sepoys was already formed in its front, to whom Monsieur Chapuis had surrendered his colors, and many of the French party under his command. (The party of Monsieur Chapuis from the Mauritius consisted of 17 officers and 56 non-commissioned and privates. The party of Monsieur Questin, being the remains of Lally's corps, long in the service of Hyder and

Tippoo, consisted of 4 officers, and 45 non-commissioned and privates). After some communication made through Major Allan, the Deputy Quarter-master-General of the army, General Baird, with a detachment of troops, was admitted into the palace by two sons of the Sultan on his promise for their personal safety. These princes were sent to me in camp, and it was soon after discovered that Tippoo had fallen under the fire of a party of our troops who had met him at a small gate in the inner rampart on his retreat from the outer works on the northern face. His body being found in this place, amidst a heap of slain, was removed to the palace, and recognised by his family and servants." (See below).

* * * *

Right attack.

The right attack under Colonel Sherbrooke was accompanied by General Baird, and reached the eastern face of the fort in less than an hour without having met with any serious opposition except near the Mysore gate where many men were killed and wounded.

Left attack.

The left attack met with more resistance, the traverses on the northern rampart having been resolutely held until the defenders became exposed to a flanking fire from a detachment of the 12th regiment, which had got on the inner rampart, and advanced parallel with the main body of the column. With this assistance, Captain Lambton, who had assumed command, *vice* Dunlop disabled on the breach, forced the traverses one after another, and drove the enemy to the northeast angle of the fort, where having perceived the near approach of the right column, they fell into confusion, and great numbers were killed. Immediately after this, Captain Lambton joined General Baird near the eastern gate.

Sultān's military disposition.

The intermediate military conduct of Tipū may now be glanced. It furnishes some aid to a just estimation of his character. For fourteen days preceding, the Sultān, who could not be convinced that the fall of his capital was so near at hand, had taken up his quarters in the inner partition of the Kalale Diddi, a water gate through the outer rampart on the north face of the fort. The troops on duty at the several works were regularly relieved but the general charge of the angle attacked had been committed to Sayyid Sahib, his father-in-law, assisted by Sayyid Gaffur, formerly an officer in the British service, who was taken prisoner with Colonel Braithwaite and was now serving Tipū. The large cavalier behind the angle bastion was committed to the charge of Monsieur Chapuis. The eldest of the princes, with Pūrnaiya, commanded a corps intended to disturb the northern attack, and the second prince was in charge of the Mysore gate and the southern face of the fort, while Kammar-ud-dīn was absent watching Colonel Floyd. Among his own personal staff and attendants, it has been observed, that there was not one man of professional character. " He fancied, the attachment of men raised by his own favour, to be more genuine and sincere, than the support of persons possessing established character and high pretensions; and whenever a report was made of the alarming progress of the besiegers, these ignorant sycophants affected to ascribe it to fear. Seyed Ghoffar was early in the siege wounded in the hand, but did not confine himself. He saw distinctly what was to happen; " he is surrounded (said this excellent officer) by boys and flatterers, who will not even let him see with his own eyes. I do not wish to survive the result. I am going about in search of death, and cannot find it." In the forenoon of the 4th May, he saw in common with other experienced observers, that the trenches were unusually crowded, and concluded that the assault was about to be given; nothing could persuade the Sultān and his flatterers, that the enemy would dare the attempt by day-light, and the killedar, Nedeem, one of the new men, was so grossly ignorant and destitute of all reflection, as to make an issue of pay to some of the troops on duty, which caused their absence at the moment of assault; the Sultān, however, in reply to the report from Syed Ghoffar, said it was proper to be alert, but that the assault would be given at night: meanwhile that officer had satisfied himself by farther observation, than an hour would not elapse before it should commence, and in a state of rage and despair hurried towards the Sultān: "I will go (said he) and drag him to the breach, and make him see by what a set of wretches he is surrounded; I will compel him to exert himself at this last moment." He was going, and met a party of pioneers, whom he had long looked for in vain, to cut off the approach by the southern rampart, "I must first (said he) show these people the work they have to do," and in the act of giving his instructions, was killed by a cannon shot.

"In the meanwhile, Tipū, as if despairing of human aid, was seeking those delusive means of penetrating into futurity, so familiar in the history of every country, and of even engaging supernatural aid, through the incantations of the Brāhmans, from whom he had merited the most earnest prayers for his destruction. The *Jebbum* (Japam) at an enormous expense, was in progress; and the learning and sanctity of the high-priest at Cenapatam (Chennapatna), was farther propitiated by costly offerings. The Sultān, in his early youth, treated with derision the science of astrology, and various statements are given regarding the completion of the particular prediction, which made him a convert to its reality; but it must have preceded the marriage of his son to the daughter of the Bebee of Cannanore, and his discoveries at Coimbatore, in 1789, which he relates with considerable ostentation of his own proficiency in the science. Either from chance, or from right judgment respecting objects more real than those of their pretended science, the astrologers had exhibited to the Sultān a set of diagrams from which they gravely inferred, that as long as Mars should remain within a particular circle, the fort would hold out; he would touch the limit on the last day of the lunar month, the 4th of May, and on that day they dared only to recommend, that the Sultān should present the prescribed oblations, for averting a calamity; which oblations were ordered to be prepared on the 3rd of May. On the morning of the 4th, about nine o'clock, he proceeded to the palace, bathed, and presented the oblation, through the high-priest above mentioned with the customary formalities; and with the farther solemnity of attempting to ascertain the aspect of his fortunes by the form of his face reflected from the surface of a jar of oil, which constituted a part of the oblation; a result depending on mechanical causes, by which the reflection of any face may be formed to any fortune."

Having finished these ceremonies about the hour of noon, he returned to his accustomed station, and shortly afterwards ordered his usual mid-day repast, when intelligence was brought of the death of Sayyid Gaffur; he was greatly agitated at this event, but said "Seyed Ghaffar was never afraid to die," and ordered another officer to take his place. He then sat down to his repast, which he had scarcely finished when a report was made to him of the actual assault, and he hastened to the breach along the northern rampart. He mounted with a few attendants and *eunuchs*, and when within two hundred yards of the breach fired several times with his own hands at the assailants, under cover of a traverse. But, seeing that his men had either fled or lay dead, and that the assailants were advancing in great numbers, he retired along the rampart, slightly wounded, and meeting one of his favourite horses, mounted him and proceeded eastward till he came to the gateway leading into the inner fort, which he entered with a crowd of fugitives.

The Sultān's death.

A deadly volley was poured into this crowded passage by a portion of the storming party. Tipū received a second and third wound, and his horse was struck, while the faithful servant Rāja-Khan, who still clung to his master's side, was also hit. Rāja-Khān advised him to discover himself. "Are you mad? Be silent," was the prompt reply. He then made an effort to disengage his master from the saddle, but both master and servant fell in the attempt on a heap of dead and dying. Tipū's other attendants obtained a palanquin and placed him in it, but he contrived to move out of it. While he lay with the lower part of his body buried underneath the slain, the gold buckle of his belt excited the cupidity of a soldier, who attempted to seize it. Tipū snatching up a sword made a cut at him, but the grenadier shot him through the temple, and thus terminated his earthly career. He was then in his forty-seventh year and had reigned seventeen years.

The search for the Sultān

So long as the Sultān was present, a portion of his troops on the north side made efforts at resistance and his French corps persevered in it for some time longer, but they were, as noted above, soon quelled. Immediately after the assault, Colonel (afterwards Sir Alexander) Allen and General Baird hastened to the place in the hope of finding the Sultān. The inmates, including two princes who were themselves ignorant of his fate, solemnly denied his presence, but the doubts of the Colonel and the General were not satisfied. The princes were assured of protection and removed under military honours to the British camp, and the palace was thoroughly searched
exception of the *zenāna*, but all to no purpose
the General's threats extorted from the unwil
the disclosure of the secret that the Sultān
in the gate; and here after a search in th
and ghastly heap of slain, the body was

was removed to the palace in a palanquin and next day consigned with all military honours to its last resting-place at the Lal-Bagh by the side of Haidar Alī. The solemn day closed with one of the most dreadful storms that ever visited this part of the country.

Although all accounts concur in describing the resistance to the right column as having been much less vigorous than that opposed to the left attack, yet the casualties in the former somewhat exceeded those in the latter.

Strength of Tipū's forces.

Tipū's force amounted to about 21,800 men, of whom 13,750 regular infantry were in the fort, and the remainder in the entrenchments on the island. Their loss was not accurately ascertained, but has been computed at about 40 men killed and wounded per diem during the siege.

Plunder of the town.

During the night of the 4th, almost every house in the town was plundered, and it was not until the 6th that Colonel Wellesley, who had been appointed to command in the fort, reported that the plundering had been stopped, the fires extinguished, and that the inhabitants were returning to their homes. In the *interim*, several men had been executed, and a number flogged for plundering.

Captured ordnance.

Nine hundred and twenty-nine pieces of ordnance were found in the fort, of which two hundred and eighty-seven were mounted on the works. There was also a very large quantity of gunpowder, round shot, small arms, and military stores of different kinds. The artillery, however, when examined in detail, does not appear to have been of a very formidable description, as there were no fewer than 436 guns throwing balls under five pounds. Out of 373 brass guns, 202 were from Tīpu's own foundry, 77 were English, and the rest French, Dutch and Spanish; of the 466 iron guns, only 6 were from Tipū's foundry, 260 having been of foreign, and 200 of English make. Of 60 mortars and cohorns, 22 were Tipū's, the rest English and foreign The howitzers, 11 in number, had, with one exception, been cast in Seringapatam.

Surrender of Tipūs sons and officers.

A few days after the storm, the sons of Tipū, Pūrnaiya the Minister, Kammar-ud-dīn, and most of the Sultān's principal officers, came in, and surrendered.

Major-General Floyd returned to Seringapatam on the 11th, having been joined near the head of the Kavēripuram pass by the detachments under Colonels Read and Brown.

Col. Read's detachment.

Colonel Read, having delivered a large supply of provisions at the head-quarters of the army near Kilamangalam on the 8th March, returned to Rāyakōta in order to complete the equipment of his detachment. This having been effected, he proceeded to make himself master of the forts on the frontier. He took Sūlagiri by storm on the 24th March with the loss of a few men, and on the 30th the fort of Peddanaikdrug capitulated on being summoned. A few days afterwards he received orders to make his way to Kaveripuram as quickly as possible, there to meet Colonel Brown, after which the united detachments were to move on through the pass to join General Floyd who was waiting to escort the convoy to Seringapatam, a precaution deemed necessary on account of the presence in the neighbourhood of a strong force under Kammar-ud-dīn. Colonel Read arrived at Kavēripuram on the 22nd April. The fort surrendered the same day, and as there were no signs of Colonel Brown, Read marched on the 23rd and reached Marenhalli at the top of the pass on the 27th, the distance being 30 miles, and the road extremely bad.

The next few days were spent in getting the convoy up, and by the end of the month, Colonel Read joined General Floyd at Kowdahalli, a few miles further on.

Col. Brown's detachment.

Colonel Brown left Trichinopoly on the 29th March, and took possession of Karoor, Erode, and other small forts early in April. He was then directed to hasten his march to Kavēripuram, but owing to the badness of the roads, he did not reach the place until the 1st May. On the 6th, he joined General Floyd and Colonel Read at Kowdahalli, and on the 11th, the whole, together with the convoy, arrived at Seringapatam.

Lieutenant-General Stuart with the Bombay army marched for the Malabar Coast on the 13th May in order to occupy the province of Canara.

On the 17th, Colonel Read was detached to take possession of Savandrug, Kopaldrug, Bangalore, Nandidrug, and other places in the Mysore country, all of which were given up without resistance.

Colonel Brown's detachment, *minus* the Madras European regiment, left near Seringapatam, and the 1st battalion 2nd regiment ordered to join Colonel Read, returned towards the south on the 22nd, and took possession of the district of Coimbatore.

On the 25th of the same month, Lieutenant-Colonel Bowser, with part of the Hyderabad Subsidiary force, *viz.*, the 2nd battalion 2nd regiment, and the 1st battalion 11th regiment, together with a body of the Nizam's troops, was detached to occupy Gurrumkonda, Gooty, and other places which it had been determined to make over to the Nizām.

H.M.'s 33rd regiment, the Scotch brigade, the 2nd battalion 3rd, the 2nd battalion 9th, and the 2nd battalion 12th regiment N. I., with a proportion of artillery, were placed in garrison at Seringapatam, while General Harris encamped in the neighbourhood with the main body, to prepare for further operations, and to make arrangements for the settlement of the Mysore country.

Prize Money.

On the 2nd June, the Governor-General in Council directed the immediate distribution of the treasure and jewels captured in the fort (estimated at £ 1,143,216), and the reservation of the ordnance, ammunition, and military stores, until the receipt of instructions from England.

Alleged treachery of Tipū's officers.

Popular belief has long ascribed Tipū's final fall to the treachery of some of his officers. Mīr Hussain Alī Kīrmāni, who gives some colour to this belief, is not definite in his accusation, but he distinctly alleged that Sayyid Guffur was diverted from his successful and gallant defence of the Mehtab Bagh by the treachery of "the enemies of the Sultān" and that his recall from it, resulted in the English troops attacking and taking it and filling it with artillery and musketeers and run on their approaches towards the fort. Next, Kīrmāni mentions that Tipū was prevented on acting on Mons. Chapuis' advice that he and his family should quit the fort and retire to Sira or Chitaldrug and detach a body of his troops to oppose the infidels, or if he thought best he might deliver him (Mons. Chapuis) and the rest of the French up to the English, and then an accommodation might be made between the contending parties, or if he chose, he could give up the breached walls of the fort to the charge of Mons. Lally, for defence, without, however, allowing Lally to be subject to the interference or control of the Sultān's Indian officers." Tipū, it is added, refused to accept the suggestion of the surrender of Chapuis and his countrymen, "even if our kingdom should be plundered and laid waste," and as regards the remainder of Mons. Chapuis' "excellent advice," as Kīrmāni styles it, consulted his Dewan Mīr Sadak (whom he invariably calls "the villain") who, he adds, "in furtherance of his own views and projects," said :—

"It must be well known to your Highness that this people (the French) never kept faith with any one, and your

Highness may be well assured, that if you give up the fort to their care and defence, that at that very moment it will fall into the possession of the English, for both these people (the English and the French) consider themselves originally of the same tribe, and they are in one heart and language."

Tipū's mind was, we are told, by the "villain's" misrepresentations turned from "the right path." The city walls had been meanwhile battered and breached, and Tipū prepared to "quit the city with his treasure, valuables and *zenana* and also all his elephants, camels and carriages were kept in readiness to move at the shortest warning." Before acting on his resolve, Tipū, it is said, held a consultation on the subject of his departure with his Amīrs. Badruzaman Khān "inconsiderately" opposed it on the ground that it would discourage his troops and added that thereby "the bonds of union in the garrison of the capital will be broken asunder." Tipū, on hearing this, looked up—Kīrmāni states—towards the heavens, and sighing deeply said, "I am entirely resigned to the will of God, whatever it may be" and forthwith abandoned his intention of quitting the capital. The articles packed, however, still remained, ready for removal in the treasury. About this time, Ghāzikhān, the celebrated commander of Haidar's irregular infantry and cavalry was, it is said, "put to death in prison by the hands of the Sultān's executioners at the instigation of the same traitor (the Dewan)." In fact, he adds, "though the walls of the fort were battered down, still the information was withheld from the Sultān." At length, however, we are told, "on the twenty-seventh of Zi Kad, from some secret source, he (Tipū Sultān) became acquainted with the treachery of certain of his servants; and the next morning he wrote with his own hand a list of some of their names and having folded it, gave it to Mīr Moyiniuddīn; with instructions to put his orders therein contained into execution that night (that is, to put those named to death) in order to strengthen his Government." The Mīr, not knowing what it contained, opened the paper and perused it in full Durbar. A menial servant who could read and write, happened to cast his "unlucky eye" upon it and saw it contained "the name of the lying Dewan the first in the list." He immediately passed the news to the Dewan, who kept on the alert at his own quarters and at about mid-day sent for the troops stationed in the works near the breach under pretence of distributing their pay among them and having collected them near the Alī Musjid, remained looking out for what ill-luck might bring forth." Colonel Miles notes in connection with this passage that Kīrmāni "evidently supposes some secret correspondence or intelligence between the Dewan Mīr Sadik and the English General, or some of his staff." There is no confirmation of this suggestion in any other authority. Nor is there any confirmation either for the other suggestion also made by Kīrmāni, that after he heard of the death of Saiyid Gaffur, the Sultān "immediately left off eating and washed his hands, saying, 'we also shall soon depart,' and then mounted his horse and proceeded by the road of the Postern on the river, which is called in the Kinhiri (Kannada) language, Holi Vuddi, towards the flag or western battery. The Sultān's enemies, however, who were looking out for opportunities to betray him, as soon as the worthy Syud was slain, made a signal from the fort by holding out white handkerchiefs to the English soldiers, who were assembled in the river ready for the assault, informing them of that event, and accordingly at about twenty minutes after mid-day, the European and other regiments mounted the walls by the breach, and before the Sultān's troops could be collected to man the walls and bastions of that flank of the works, they with but little labour took the fort. The garrison, although they quickly came to the rescue and the repulse of their enemies, and with sword and musket, steadfastly resisted them, still as on all sides so much disorder and confusion reigned, that remedy was hopeless, they mostly threw away their shields and dispersed and left their women and wealth to the soldiers of the enemy, covering their shameless heads with the dust of cowardice and disgrace. It was about the time that the Sultān's horse and followers arrived near the flag battery, that the lying Dewan followed in the rear and shut up the Postern before mentioned, blocking it up securely, and thereby closing the road of safety to the pious Sultān, and then under pretence of bringing aid, he mounted his horse and went forth from the fort and arrived at the third gate (of the suburb) of Gunjam, where he desired the gate-keepers to shut the gate as soon as he had passed through; while, however, he was speaking, a man came forward and began to abuse and revile him, saying, "Thou accursed wretch, thou hast delivered a righteous prince up to his enemies, and art thou now saving thyself by flight? I will place the punishment of thy offence by thy side"; this man then with one cut of his sword struck the Dewan off his horse on the ground, and certain other persons present crowding round him soon despatched him, and his impure body was dragged into a place of filth and uncleanness and left there. Mīr Moyiniuddīn being wounded fell into the ditch and died there. Shere Khān Mīr Asof, also, was lost in the assault and was never after heard of,—when the Sultān, the refuge of the world, saw that the opportunity for a gallant push was lost (some copies say lost, and some not), and that his servants had evidently betrayed him, he returned to the Postern or sally port, but notwithstanding he gave repeated orders to the guards to open the gate, no one paid the slightest attention to him;—nay, more, Mīr Nudīm, the Killadār himself, with a number of foot soldiers, was standing at this time on the roof of the gate, but he also abandoned his faith and allegiance, and placing his foot in the path of disloyalty (took no notice of his master)."

Kīrmāni adds:—

> "To be concise, when the storming party firing furiously as they advanced, arrived near the Sultān, he, courageous as a lion, attacked them with the greatest bravery, and although the place (said to have been a gateway) where he stood was very narrow and confined, he still with his match-lock and his sword killed two or three of the enemy, but at length having received several mortal wounds in the face, he drank the cup of Martyrdom."

In keeping with the charge of treachery that Kīrmāni prefers against Dewan Mīr Sadik, Mir Nadim and others, is his moralization at the burial of the Sultān's body in the mausoleum of his father, on the right side of his tomb—"There rested (the body) from the treachery and malice of faithless servants and cruel enemies."

Wilks, who had easy access to all the documents of the time and had enquired of those intimate with Tipū, and had survived the final struggle, nowhere suggests treachery. As regards Mīr Sadik, he does not even mention his death, though Colonel Allan, in his account of the campaign, records the fact that he "was killed by the Sultān's troops endeavouring to make his escape." Colonel Allen writes:—"Raja Cawn (Tipū's favorite servant) is of opinion that Tippoo's object, when compelled to retreat, was to reach the Palace; and that he intended to have put an end to himself and his family, to avoid that disgrace, to which his women would have been exposed, in the fury of the storm. He had too much reason to dread the meeting of our Europeans." Similarly, in explaining the movements of Tipū after the English troops had gained the ramparts and the confusion that in consequence resulted among the besieged, which soon "became irreparable," Wilks says:—"The

Sultan had received a slight wound and mounted his horse a few minutes before this occurrence; if an attempt at flight had been his object, the water-gate was near, and his escape was more than possible; he took the direction of the body of the place through the gateway of the interior work, with intentions, which can only be conjectured, and were not perhaps distinctly formed in his own mind; the most sanguine hope could only have led to an honorable capitulation in the palace; to close the gate of the interior rampart, if practicable, would have been unavailing for the purpose of defending the inner fort; for these works were no longer defensible after General Baird had passed the point of their junction; and the rampart which he now occupied was itself a part of the interior work. Among the conjectures of those who were chiefly admitted to the Sultaun's intimacy, in the last days of his existence, was one founded on obscure hints which had escaped him, of the intention to destroy certain papers, to put to death his principal women, and to die in defence of the palace. He was destined to a fall more obscure and unnoticed." There is no smell of treachery here. But it must be remarked that Wilks habitually writes from what might be termed the "usurper's" point of view and not from that of those whom he oppressed. His justification must be that at his time there was no difference perceived between the *de facto* and *de jure* positions of the usurper and the ruling sovereign, to whom he owed allegiance and who was still in existence, though neglected and even plundered to the last degree. Whatever the truth in this charge of treachery, there is no doubt that the memory of Mīr Sadak is still held in execration and his name has become a byword for treachery and scorn among the masses of the country. So vilely, indeed, is he regarded that the mere mention of his name is enough to rouse in people the worst sentiments against him ending in a contemptuous spitting on the ground, indicative of their utmost contempt for him and his memory. His alleged faithless disregard for his master's interests appears to be the one thing remembered about him, despite the century and a quarter that has elapsed since his death.

Colonel Allan's characterisation.

Colonel Allan in a brief characterization suggests that

"It is impossible that Tippoo could have been beloved by his people. The Musselmen certainly looked up to him as the head of their faith; by them, perhaps, his death is regretted but they could not have been attached to him, by affection; or why the necessity (he asks) of that barbarous policy, which Tippoo was constrained to adopt of keeping in close confinement in the fort at Seringapatam, the families of his principal officers and of his troops in general."

He records the fact that the report of Tipū having "inhumanly" murdered the unfortunate Europeans who fell into his hands during the siege, had been confirmed. Their bodies had been actually dug up. They had, it would appear, been strangled in the Fort by Tipū's orders on the 28th April (1799), the day, perhaps the very hour, writes Colonel Allan, that Tipū was writing a letter to General Harris, prosposing to send ambassadors to camp to negotiate the peace, was this deed perpetrated! "Of the real character of this Prince," he remarks, "we hitherto have been ignorant! but now it will be placed in its true light. That he was suspicious, vindictive, cruel and hurried away by the sadder impulse of passion, to which he was subjected even without any apparent provocation, is certain and probably it will be found that he was more deficient in Military talents, and others as essential to govern an extensive kingdom than has been generally imagined."

Victory celebrated.

The capture of Seringapatam and the glorious termination of the Mysore War were celebrated with great rejoicings and a day of public thanksgiving throughout the British possessions, and the anniversary of the event was specially observed for many years after. As an indication of the progress made in communications since that time, it may be noted that the news did not reach London till the 13th of September.

Tīpū's appearance and character.

There is a popular idea that as Haidar means lion (a name of Alī, the son-in-law of Muhammad), so Tipū means tiger, but this appears to be a mistake. He was named Tipū Sultān, which was his full name, after a holy man whose shrine is at Arcot, near which Haidar was when he heard of the birth of his son at Devanhalli. The tiger, however, was adopted by Tipū as emblematic. His throne was in the form of a tiger, with the head life-size, in gold (now at Windsor Castle; also the *humā*, or bird of paradise, covered with jewels, which glittered at the top of the canopy), and tigers' heads formed the capitals of the eight pillars supporting the canopy. His own uniform and that of his soldiers was covered with the tiger stripe, and this was also engraved on his guns and other articles. Tigers were chained at the entrance to his palace, and he is declared to have said that he would rather live two days as a tiger than two centuries as a sheep.

Wilks' estimate; comparison between Haidar and Tipū.

Tipū Sultān was born in 1753, and died in 1799 in his forty-seventh year, having held supreme sway seventeen years and four months. "In person," he was, according to Wilks, "neither so tall nor so robust as his father, and had a short pursy neck; the large limbs, small eyes, aquiline nose, and fair complexion of Hyder, marked the Arabic character derived from his mother. Tippoo's singularly small and delicate hands and feet, his large and full eyes, a nose, less prominent, and a much darker complexion, were all national characteristics of the Indian form. There was in the first view of his countenance, an appearance of dignity which wore off on farther observation; and his subjects did not feel that it inspired the terror or respect, which in common with his father, he desired to command. Hyder's lapse from dignity into low and vulgar scolding was among the few points of imitation or resemblance, but in one it inspired fear, in the other ridicule. In most instances exhibiting a contrast to the character and manners of his father, he spoke in a loud and unharmonious tone of voice; he was extremely garrulous, and on superficial subjects, delivered his sentiments with plausibility. In exterior appearance, he affected the soldier; in his toilet, the distinctive habits of the Mussalman; he thought hardiness to be indicated by a plain unincumbered attire, which he equally exacted from those around him, and the long robe and trailing drawers were banished from his court. He had heard that some of the monarchs of antiquity marched on foot at the head of their armies, and he would sometimes affect a similar exhibition, with his musket on his shoulder. But he was usually mounted, and attached great importance to horsemanship, in which he was considered to excel. The conveyance in a palankeen he derided, and in a great degree prohibited, even to the aged and infirm; but in all this tendency, there was as much of avarice as of taste. He was a minute reformer in every department, to the extent of abridging, with other expenses of the palace, the fare of his own table, to the pleasures of which he was constitutionally indifferent; and even in the dress of his menial servants, he deemed respectable attire to be a mark of unnecessary extravagance.

"Of the vernacular languages, he spoke no other than Hindustani and Kanarese; but from a smattering in Persian literature, he considered himself as the first philosopher of the age. He spoke that language with fluency; but although the pen was for ever in his hand, he never attained either elegance or accuracy of style. The leading features of his character were vanity and arrogance; no human being was ever so handsome, so wise, so learned, or so brave as himself. Resting on the shallow instructions of his scanty reading, he neglected the practical study of mankind. No man had ever less penetration into character; and accordingly no prince was ever so ill-served; the army alone remained faithful, in spite of all his efforts for the subversion of discipline and allegiance. Hyder delegated to his instruments a large portion of his own power, as the best means for its preservation. Tippoo seemed to feel every exercise of delegated authority as an usurpation of his own. He would familiarly say to the soldiers, "if your officer gives you one word of abuse, return him two." The revolutionary doctrine of equality imported from France, scarcely appeared to be a novelty. No person ought to be of importance in a State but the Sovereign alone; all *other* men ought to be equal; the murder of the Sovereign was not an extraordinary incident in the history of any nation, and probably arose from laxity in command.

" From constitutional or incidental causes, he was less addicted than his father to the pleasures of the harem, which, however, contained at his death about one hundred persons.

" From sun-rise until midnight he devoted his whole time to public affairs, with the interruptions necessary for meals, and for occasional exercise, seldom imitating his father's practice of a short repose in the heat of the day. But his occupation was not business; he was engaged in the invention of new machinery never finished, while the old was suffered to decay. His application was intense and incessant; he affected to do the whole of his own business, and to write with his own hand the foul draft of almost every despatch, however unimportant; and he suffered the fate familiarly known to attach to that absurd pretension; the machine stood still, because the master would not let it work. A secret emissary had been sent to Poona, he reported, and reported, and represented that his cash was expended; after the lapse of several months, Tippoo delivered a foul draft to the Secretary—let this be despatched to A. B., at Poona. Here I am, said the emissary; he had returned for some weeks from mere necessity; he had represented himself daily at the durbar, and could never before attract notice. The Sultaun for once hung down his head.

"The ruling passion for innovation absorbed the proper hours for current business: and failures of experiment, obvious to the whole world, were the topics of his incessant boast as the highest efforts of human wisdom. Hyder was an improving monarch, and exhibited few innovations. Tippoo was an innovating monarch, and made no improvements. One had a sagacious and powerful mind; the other a feeble and unsteady intellect:—

"There was (says one of my manuscripts) nothing of permanency in his views, no solidity in his councils, and no confidence on the part of the governed; all was innovation on his part, and the fear of further novelty on the part of others; and the order of to-day was expected to be reversed by the invention of to-morrow. It may be affirmed of his principal measures however specious, that all had a direct tendency to injure the finances, undermine the Government, and oppress the people. All the world was puzzled what distinct character should be assigned to a sovereign who was never the same. He could neither be truly characterized as liberal or parsimonious; as tyrannical or benevolent; as a man of talents, or as destitute of parts. By turns, he assumed the character of each. In one object alone he appeared to be consistent, having perpetually on his tongue the projects of jehad—holy war The most intelligent and sincere well-wishers of the house concurred in the opinon of his father, that his heart and head were both defective, however covered by a plausible and imposing flow of words; and they were not always without suspicions of mental aberration."

"Tippoo, like his father, admitted no associate in his councils; but, contrary to his father, he first determined, and then discussed; and all deviation from the opinion which he announced, or was known to favour, was stigmatised as obstinacy or incapacity.

"As a statesman, Tippoo was incapable of those abstract views, and that large compass of thought, embraced by his father's mind. His talents as a soldier, exhibited the same contrast. He was unable to grasp the plan of a campaign, or the conduct of a war; although, he gave some examples of skill in marshalling a battle. Unlike his father, whose moderation was ever most conspicuous in success, whose equanimity was uniform in every aspect of fortune, and, who generally extracted some advantage from every discomfiture, Tippoo was intoxicated with success, and desponding in adversity. His mental energy failed with the decline of fortune; but it were unjust to question his physical courage. He fell in the defence of his capital; but he fell, performing the duties of a common soldier, not of a General. The improvement in his infantry and artillery, would have been considerable, had it not been marred by incessant dislocations, and unmerited promotions: but, his army, as a whole, gradually declined in efficiency, as it departed from the admirable organization received from his father. The success of the campaign of 1786, may, in part, be ascribed to the remains of that organization. His failure against the English, arose from the policy of neglecting his most efficient arm, the cavalry.

"During the life of Hyder, it was the fashion to indulge in high expectations of the qualities of the heir apparent, but it was the homage of disappointed, uninformed, and generally of unworthy men. Hyder in his life-time was stigmatized as a tyrant; comparison made him almost seem merciful; the English prisoners hailed the intelligence of Tippoo's accession; and they learned to mourn for the death of Hyder.

"The tolerant spirit of Hyder reconciled to his usurpation the members of every sect; appropriate talents regulated his choice of instruments, to the entire exclusion of religious preference; and it may be affirmed that he was served with equal zeal by men of every persuasion. Hyder was seldom wrong, and Tippoo seldom right in his estimate of character; and it is quoted as a marked example, that Hyder knew Seyed Saheb to be a tolerably good man of business, but neither a brave nor a sagacious soldier; and accordingly, never employed him in an important military trust. Tippoo in the campaign of 1790, had himself degraded him for incapacity, but in 1799, committed the post of danger, and the fate of Empire to the same incompetent hands. A dark and intolerant bigotry excluded from Tippoo's choice all but the true believers; and unlimited persecution united in detestation of his rule every Hindu in his dominions. In the Hindu, no degree of merit was a passport to favour; in the Mussalman, no crime could ensure displeasure.

"In one solitary instance, the suppression of drunkenness, he promoted morals without the merit of virtuous intention; bigotry exacted the literal version of a text generally interpreted with laxity; arrogance suggested that he was the only true commentator; and the ruling passion whispered that the measure was new. Both sovereigns were equally unprincipled; but Hyder had a clear undisturbed view of the interests of ambition; in Tippoo, that view was incessantly obscured and perverted by the meanest passions. He murdered his English prisoners, by a selection of the best, because he hated their valour; he oppressed and insulted his Hindu subjects, because he hated a religion which, if protected, would have been the best support of his throne; and he fawned, in his last extremity, on this injured people, when he vainly hoped that their incantations might influence his fate; he persecuted contrary to his interest; and hoped, in opposition to his belief. Hyder, with all his faults, might be deemed a model of toleration, by the professor of any religion. Tippoo, in an age when persecution only survived in history, renewed its worst terrors; and was the last Mohammedan prince, after a long interval of better feeling, who propagated that religion by the edge of the sword. Hyder's vices invariably promoted his political interests; Tippoo's more frequently defeated them. If Hyder's punishments were barbarous, they were at least efficient to their purpose. Tippoo's court and army was one vast scene of unpunished peculation, notorious even to himself. He was barbarous where severity was vice, and indulgent where it was virtue. If he had qualities fitted for empire, they were strangely equivocal; the disqualifications were obvious and unquestionable; and the decision of history will not be far removed from the observation almost proverbial in Mysore, "that Hyder was born to create an Empire, Tippoo to lose one."

A French view of Tipū M. Michaud's sketch.

Tipū had continuously in his service French Officers and artificers of every kind. Their help he valued and their alliance he sought at every step. A view of what a typical representative of that nation thought of him—of his military talents and political wisdom—seems necessary as a corrective to the English view set forth above. The following is a translation from the French of a sketch of Tipū's career and character, that was issued about 1816, being based on a work by M. Michaud published in Paris in 1809, entitled *Histoire des progrēs de la chute de l'empire de Mysore, sons les regnes d'Hyder-Aly et de TippooSaib.*—

"Feth-Aly-Khan, commonly called Tippoo Saib, born about 1749, was the son of the celebrated Hyder-Aly-Khan, sovereign of a powerful empire which he had usurped from the young Rajah of Mysore, of which his genius and his conquests had given him possession. On the death of his father, December 7, 1782, the young Tippoo found himself heir to a territory of twenty-seven thousand square miles, of which the revenues amounted to nearly fifty million francs, and an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men. At the news of the death of Hyder-Aly, the English, commanded by General Mathews, entered Mysore. Tippoo Saib, forced to leave the Carnatic which he had just taken, hastened to the succour of his States; surprised the English in the plains of Canara; routed them: took prisoners the whole of General Mathews' army; and avenged with the greatest ferocity the cruelties the English had committed in the town of Aumapore (Anantapur). After some other successes, he concluded a peace with England, which lasted eight years. During this time, Tippoo occupied himself in ameliorating the internal condition of his empire; and continued to cultivate the friendly relations which had long existed betwen the French and the sovereign of Mysore. But impelled by the impetuosity of his character, and by the remembrance of his former successes, he resolved to put into execution the project of his father, and to again make fresh efforts to oust the English from India. With this object in view, he sent three ambassadors to the Court of Versailles. They were received with distinction, but failed to secure the help they had solicited. On their return to India, they unceasingly vaunted the riches, the power, and the happiness of France, until Tippoo, tired of their discourse, ordered two of them to be put to death.

"A fresh war soon arose between England and Mysore. In 1790, Tippoo was beaten in a battle in Travancore, and lost many pieces of cannon, his turban, his jewels, and his palanquin. The following year the English laid siege to Bangalore, and took possession of that place, where the general of the Sultan perished in the assault. Cornwallis marched against Seringapatam; but famine, floods and contagious diseases forced the English to raise the siege. The third compaign in this war was yet more disastrous to the Sultan. The Mahrattas and the Soubah of the Deccan joined forces with the English.

Many forts in the Bangalore country had been taken, when the loss of the fortress of Savendroog, until then deemed impregnable, completed the discomfiture of the Mysore army. In the month of January, 1792, the united forces of the allies marched a second time against Seringapatam. Tippoo was forced to make peace, with most stringent conditions. He gave up to the English the half of his States; undertook to pay them about seventy-five million francs; and gave them two of the sons as hostages, as a guarantee of the faithful execution of the treaty. Embittered by these reverses, Tippoo Saib banished the pleasures of his court, formerly so brilliant, and occupied himself solely in discovering means to avenge the indignity of his defeat. The old allies of his father had become the auxiliaries of the English. He sent many ambassadors to Zeman-Shah, Sovereign of the Empire of the Abdallis, to try and make him adopt his plans. Not succeeding on this side, he sent Hassan-Ali and Shaik-Ibrahim to the Isle-de-France, in order to open fresh negotiations with the French Republic. The feeble help he obtained only hastened his fall. The Marquis Wellesley, Governor-General of India, knowing the Sultan's preparations for war, assembled an army of seventy-five thousand men, commanded by General Harris. Tippoo only wished to temporise; counting upon the help which he expected from France, he tried to postpone war, and had put off under various pretexts the envoys of the Marquis Wellesley. But as soon as he learnt of the approach of so formidable an army, he only thought of defending his kingdom, and left at the head of sixty thousand men. He was defeated at Sedesear, and at Malaveli, and imprudently shut himself up in his capital. He wished to open negotiations with the English; but the conditions with which peace could only be obtained appeared so harsh to the haughty mind of the Sultan, that he determined to die, or to bury himself under the ruins of Seringapatam. This town was defended with the greatest courage. Tippoo during the whole of the siege, commanded the troops in person, betaking himself wherever danger appeared imminent. On the 21st April, 1799, the English began to make a breach, and on the 4th May the town was carried by storm. The French in the service of the Sultan disputed every inch of the ground, and several times they managed to rally the troops of Mysore. A large number of them were killed whilst fighting bravely. The unhappy Tippoo displayed on this day all the valour of the bravest soldier. Driven to the foot of the ramparts, he leapt on his horse, and tried to reach his palace ; but, struck by shot, he fell, and his body was discovered under a heap of corpses.

" Thus died," says M. Michaud, " Tippoo Saib at the age of forty-five. The beginning of his military career had covered him with very great glory throughout Hindustan ; fortune had favoured him in allowing him without opposition to sit on the throne of Hyder-Aly ; and she also did something for him on this occasion in not leaving him to survive the downfall of his empire. His height was five feet eight inches (English): he had a thick short neck ; his shoulders, square and massive ; his limbs were small, particularly his feet and hands ; his eyes large, and his eye-brows arched ; he had an aquiline nose, and a brown complexion. Tippoo Saib was a cultured man ; he was master of several European languages ; he possessed a deep knowledge of the sciences studied in India ; but he had not that power of perception, that farseeing and active intuition, which prepares for contingencies, or that wisdom which puts them to profit. Possessed of a boldness which braves all dangers, he had not the prudence which avoids them ; endowed with an impetuous and irascible spirit, he nearly always preferred violent to slow and prudent measures. In short, it can be said of this Prince, that he occupied himself too much with the means for displaying his power, and not enough with those for preserving and strengthening it."

Kīrmānī's sketch of Tipū's character.

For a contemporary Muhammadan opinion, we may take, by way of contrast, the sketch of Kīrmāni, which while not being extravagant is fair. He writes in the last chapter of his work :—

In his courts the splendour of kingly magnificence and majesty were well sustained. He had profitted to a considerable extent in all the sciences. He wrote and composed with ease and elegance, and indeed had a genius for literary acquirement, had a great talent for business ; and, therefore, he was not obliged to rely on the aid or guidance of others in the management of public affairs. He had a pleasing address and manner, was very discriminating in his estimation of the character of men of learning, and laboured sedulously in the encouragement and instruction of the people of Islam. He had, however, a great dislike to, or rather an abhorrence of, the people of other religions. He never saluted (or returned a salute to) any one. He held his Durbars from the morning until midnight, and after the morning prayers, he was used to employ some time in reading the *Kuran*, and he was to be seen at all times with his Tusbih or rosary in his hand, having performed his ablutionary duties. He made only two meals a day, and all his Amirs and the princes dined with him. But from the day on which peace was made between him and Lord Cornwallis, Buhadur, (to the day of his death) he abandoned his bed and bed-stead and slept or took a few hours rest on certain pieces of a course kind of canvas called Khaddi, (used for making tents) spread upon the ground. He was accustomed on most occasions to speak Persian, and while he was eating his dinner, two hours were devoted by him to the perusal (from standard historical works), of the actions of the Kings of Persia and Arabia, religious works, traditions and biography. He also heard appropriate stories and anecdotes related by his courtiers. Jests and ribaldry, however, from the repetition of which the religion of Islam might suffer disparagement, or injury, were never allowed in the courts or assemblies of that most religious prince. For the sake of recreation (. . . . . . .) as is the custom of men of high rank, he sometimes witnessed dancing (or was present at the performance of Bayaderes). He was not, however, lavish or expensive in any of his habits or amusements, not even in his dress, and contrary to his former custom, he latterly avoided the use of coloured garments. On his journeys and expeditions, however, he wore a coat of gold, or of the red tiger stripe embroidered with gold. He was also accustomed to tie a white handkershief over his turban and under his chin, and no one was allowed to tie on, or wear, a white handkershief in that manner, except himself.

Towards the end of his reign, he wore a green turban Shumlehdar, (twisted apparently) after the fashion of the Arabs, having one embroidered end pendant on the sides of his head. He conferred honours on all Professors of the Arts, and in the observance of his prayers, fasts and other religious duties, he was very strict, and in that respect the instructor, or example of the people of Islam. Contrary to the custom of the deceased Nawab, he the Sultān retained the hair of his eyebrows, eye lashes, and moustaches. His beard, however, which was chiefly on his chin, he shaved thinking it not becoming to him. In delicacy or modesty of feeling, he was the most particular man in the world so much so that from the days of his childhood to that of his death, no one ever saw any part of his person except his ankle and wrist, and even in the bath he always covered himself from head to foot.

In courage and hardihood, the Sultān took precedence of all his contemporaries, and in the management of a horse and the spear, he had no equal in the world as will appear after an attentive perusal of this work. He was fond of introducing novelty and invention in all matters, (and in all departments) as for instance, the year called Muhammadi, an account of which has been before given, also the name of the solar months..................

Besides these inventions, his workmen cast guns of a very wonderful description, lion-mouthed; also, muskets with two or three barrels, scissors, penknives, clocks, daggers called sufdura,—also, a kind of shield woven and formed so as to resist a musket ball.

Besides these, he also instituted manufactories for the fabrication or imitation of the cloths of all countries, such as shawls, velvet, Kimkhub, (cloth of gold,) broad cloth (European), and he expended thousands of pounds in these undertakings.

His chief aim and object was, however, the encouragement and protection of the Muhammadan religion, and the religious maxims or rules of the Soonni sect,—and he not only himself abstained from all forbidden practices, but he strictly prohibited his servants from their commission.

He also formed regulations on every subject and for every department depending on his government, every article of which was separately written with his own hand. If, however, he dismissed any one from his office for any fault, or neglect, he after correction and punishment, was accustomed to re-appoint him to the same office again, and from this cause it was that during his reign, treachery gained head so far as to cast his kingdom and power gratuitously to the winds.

On the top of his firmans or public papers, he was accustomed to write the words—"In the name of God"—in the Toghra character in his own hand, and at the end, his signature.

The particular form of signature mentioned by Kīrmāni is really a device or cryptogram, meaning "*Nabbi Mulik*" or the *Prophet is Master.* Lewin Bowring in his monograph on *Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan* mentions an order bearing this cryptogram on it. Other orders are known containing not only the same signatures but also a square seal with his impression *Tipu Sultan.* The Moghul Emperor Shāh Ālam is known to have bestowed on him the title of *Fatah Alī Khān,* but he does not appear to have made use of it in his official correspondence. The French writer, M. Michaud, mentions this name in his account of Tipū. On his coins, Tipū does not recognize the great Moghul. Indeed he ordered the *Khutbah,* or daily prayer, to be read in the mosques in his own name, instead of the Moghul Emperor.

Later European views : Lewin Bowring's delineation.

Later European views of Tipū Sultān's character have been a little more sympathetic. Though by no means countenancing his cruelties or atrocities, the view has been suggested, that he should be judged as a product of his age. Lewin Bowring, writing nearly a century after the fall of Seringapatam, gives different instances, based on Tipū's own correspondence, to illustrate his "ferocious character" and then says :—

> But enough has been said to show the character of a ruler, who urged on by religious bigotry, innate cruelty, and despotism, thought little of sacrificing thousands of lives to his ardent zeal and revengeful feelings. These darker shades in his disposition are not relieved by any evidence of princely generosity, such as Haidar Alī occasionally showed. Tipū would grumble at the expense of clothing his troops or even at the number of wax-candles needed for ship-stores. He once

rebuked an officer who complained of being supplied with old and black rice, by telling him not to engage in improper altercation.

Whatever indignation may be excited by the Sultān's vindictive character, it is enhanced by the miserable state of the prisoners who fell into his hands. Haidar indeed put his captives in irons, fed them sparingly, and treated them badly, but he rarely put an end to their lives deliberately. Tipū, on the other hand, had no compunction in cutting their throats, or strangling and poisoning them; while, as has been stated, numbers of them were sent to die of malaria and starvation on the fatal mountain of Kabāldrug. The English prisoners were specially selected as victims of his vengeance, not omitting officers of rank such as General Matthews; while, in direct contravention of the treaty made at Mangalore in 1784, he did not scruple to retain in captivity considerable numbers of Europeans. Many of these, particularly young and good-looking boys, were forcibly circumcised, married haphazard to girls who had been captured in the Coromandal districts, and drafted into the ranks of the army, or compelled to sing and dance for the amusement of the sovereign.

It must be admitted that the times were barbarous, and that the most atrocious punishments were frequently inflicted on malefactors. Even impaling was occasionally resorted to, and it would be unjust to attribute to Tipū alone the commission of crimes which were characteristic of the period. It has been mentioned that those who conspired against him were put in a cage. This was an imitation of Haidar's treatment of Khande Rao. The unhappy victims were allowed half a pound of rice a day, with salt, but no water so they soon expired under this frightful ordeal. There were other punishments nearly equally dreadful, such as making men bestride a wooden horse on a saddle studded with sharp spikes. On a spring being touched, the horse of torture reared, and the spikes penetrated the unfortunate wretches. A more common mode of punishment was to bind tightly the hands and feet of condemned men, and then to attach them by a rope to the foot of an elephant, which, being urged forwards, dragged them after it on the rough ground and painfully terminated their existence. Some again were ruthlessly thrown into the dens of tigers to be devoured, and it is said that three of Tipū's high officials met with this fate.

Cutting off of ears and noses was a general practice, and was frequently inflicted on defaulters, thieves, and peccant subordinates. . . . . . .

So many instances have been given of the atrocities which he committed in the name of religion, that it would be superfluous to add to them. In this respect, he rivalled Mahmud of Ghaznī, Nādir Shāh, and Alā-ud-dīn, the Pathān Emperor of Delhi surnamed the Khūni, or the Bloody, all of whom were famous for the number of infidels slaughtered by their orders. For this very zeal for the faith, notwithstanding the cruelties which attended his persecutions, the name of Tipū Sultān was long held in reverence by his co-religionists in Southern India—a proof how readily crimes that cry to Heaven are condoned when the perpetrator of them is supposed to have been animated by a sincere desire to propagate the faith which he professed. On his tomb at Seringapatam, it is recorded, in phrases which, as in the case of Haidar Alī, commemorate by the *Abjad* system the year of his death, that the 'Haidarī Sultān' died for the faith. The words are '*Nur Islam wa din z ' dunyā raft*,' *i.e.*, 'The light of Islam and the faith left the world;' '*Tipū ba wajah din Muhammad Shahīd shud*,' *i.e.*, 'Tipū on account of the faith of Muhammad was a martyr,' '*Shamshēr gūm shud*,' *i.e.*, 'The sword was lost; '*Nasal Haidar shahīd akbar shud*,' *i.e.*, 'The offspring of Haidar was a great martyr,' all these phrases being supposed to represent the year 1923 Hijri, corresponding with A.D. 1799. The inscription was composed by Mir Hussēn Alī, and was written by one Abd-ul-Kādir.

Dr. J. R. Henderson's estimate.

A more recent estimate is not only appreciative of certain of the much criticised aspects of Tipū's character, especially certain of his innovations, but also pleads for a closer study of his life for a juster appraising of his character. Dr. John R. Henderson, C.I.E., who, it should be remembered, wrote during the time the Great European War was in progress, in his monograph on the *Coins of Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan* observes:—

"It is difficult to form an accurate estimate of the character of Tipu Sultan, because the views of contemporary writers, whether English or Muhammadan, are obviously biassed. His cruelty and religious bigotry are undoubted and he perpetrated many atrocities in the name of religion; he has been justly censured for his excesses in war, though they never perhaps exceeded a standard set elsewhere in more modern times. That he was a brave man cannot be doubted, and while on several occasions he showed considerable military ability, he fell far short of his father in this respect. Unlike Haidar, he was a man of education and the changes which he introduced into the calendar, the names of his forts, of Civil and Military offices, and of weights and measures, certainly display a considerable amount of ingenuity, though by more than one writer they have been held to afford evidence of his insanity. Nowhere else is Tipu's love of innovation better seen than in his coinage. It has been left to an English writer of fiction to give, in the words of one of his characters, the most favourable account of Tipu Sultan that I have been able to discover, and while no doubt reproducing contemporary Muhammadan opinion, it is perhaps nearer the truth than are some of the accounts which have been written in an entirely opposite direction. This imperfect notice may fittingly conclude with the extract in question.

" 'He was a great man—such as one as Hind will never see again. He had great ambition, wonderful ability, perseverance, and the art of leading men's hearts more than they were aware of, or cared to acknowledge; he had patient application, and nothing was done without his sanction, even to the meanest affairs, and the business of his dominions was vast. You will allow he was brave, and died like a soldier. He was kind and considerate to his servants, and a steady friend to those he loved. Mashalla, he was a great man'—(Meadows Taylor, *Tippoo Sultan,* p. 450)."

It must be acknowledged that Tipū has been groundlessly charged with what has been termed "a spirit of restless innovation." Almost the only innovation which has won the appreciation of Wilks is his attempt to put down the drink evil. His reform of the coinage, under French influence, has not received the praise it deserves. (See *Numismatics, Chapter III* above). Nor have his certain other reforms received the examination they have certainly required for a just appreciation of their utility. It seems a singular misfortune that the darker side of Tipū's life and character should have so completely overshadowed the better and more enlightened side of it as to give a totally distorted view of it.

An analysis of Tipū's character: his defects and merits.

In judging of the character of Tipū, we should not only remember the points against him but also those in his favour. His ardent love for the French, for the aid he at one time freely got from them and for what more he expected from them was the cause of his ultimate ruin. He never for a moment had the political wisdom to see that the French were at the time the mortal foes of the British and that the British would treat the allies of the French as their own enemies. As Wilks has pointed out, Tipū inherited his friendship for the French from his father, who disappointed with the English at Madras, went over to the French at Pondicherry, and with them formed the design of driving the English out of India. Tipū's life-time was spent in the realization of this vain hope. He spared neither money nor opportunity to attain this object. His desire for foreign alliances and his despatch of embassies to foreign Courts had this sole aim in view. This hatred for the English led him to extreme measures against British prisoners. His barbarous cruelty towards them and towards his own subjects are blots on his character, which, from any point of view, are wholly indefensible. The above quoted European writer has tried to justify the atrocious cruelties of Tipū from the cruelties practised during the last World War. This view, however, cannot be accepted, for the convincing reason that cruelty, whether new or old, is cruelty and it is cruelty whether it is practised by an European or an Indian. One wrong cannot right another. Tipū's systematic breach of the terms of capitulations entered into by him with those who surrendered to him and of solemn treaty engagements is equally repugnant to higher political and moral instincts. His religious fanaticism and the excesses he committed in the name of religion--both in Mysore and in the provinces, especially in Malabar and in Coorg in particular—stand condemned for all time. There is hardly any other aspect of his character that deserves greater castigation than this one. His bigotry, indeed, was so great that it precluded all idea of toleration to other's feelings in religious or social matters. He kept up intercourse with the Sringēri *Guru* but it was more for the political benefits he expected to derive from it than for allowing him unmolested the free exercise of his own religion. History records no instance of a like kind during any age. Equally cruel was Tipū's treatment of the *de jure* ruler of the State, whose professed servants he and his father long pretended to be. His repeated plunders of the Royal House and the indignities to which its members were subjected by him indicate a weakening of the moral fibre in him that is hardly compatible with the royalty and state he himself assumed. The infamous character of this particular crime so worked itself into the people that they made several attempts, time and again, to throw off his dreaded yoke. It must be acknowledged that Muhammadans were as much to the fore in these attempts as the Hindus and the entire collapse of his cause after his death shows Tipū had no hold either on his co-religionists or on the Hindus, whom he so much oppressed. Tipū held his kingdom by instilling fear in the minds of his subjects; he kept them down by the severity of his rule; and never felt bound by any ties of moral responsibility to his subjects. The people never felt, on their part, they owed any obedience to him. The tie of sovereign and subject was non-existent between him and his people. On the one side, Tipū never thought he owed any responsibility to his subjects, whom he involved in repeated wars and the unbearable miseries resulting from them, whom he individually plundered as he desired, and whom he, without reason or justice, subjected to indignities so far unknown in the land. On the other hand, the people felt that they owed no allegiance to him for they failed to see any moral right attaching to his position, which, founded in usurpation, had been supported by open injustice, extortion and cruelty. This was the primary reason why on his death, the deposition of his family proved so easy. None—not even among the Muhammadans—was found to support the revival of the rule of his family in his descendants. As a matter of fact, as has been already stated, the generality of the Muhammadans were against his rule and some of them even took part in the several attempts made to dethrone him. Marquess Wellesley, the great Statesman that he was, perceived this cardinal fact in the situation immediately after the fall of Seringapatam and based his policy of after-war settlement of the country primarily on it. (See below). Another weakness in Tipū's character was his want of stability in administrative matters. His suspecion of his Generals, his lack of understanding of human nature, and his imperfect political wisdom were other radical defects in his character which wholly disabled him from grasping the essential facts of a situation. He was thus misled into adopting measures which disrupt an Empire which, had he exercised ordinary prudence and calmness of judgment, he could have easily conserved and added to even. His vanity, his boastfulness and his unpreparedness at a moment of crisis were other traits in his character which deserve mention. His conduct of the last war, which ended in his destruction showed how, in the midst of plenty, he was unprepared for the event. He did not lack men; he did not lack war materials; and he did not lack Generals; yet his preparations for checkmating the enemy's advance were, as we have seen, hopelessly faulty, in that he gave no real thought to them, with consequences the most disastrous to himself. The enemy had literally a walk over, which one Persian historian describes in language which borders on the farcical. So downcast had he become after the loss of half of his territories and the exacting of his sons as hostages, that while he was endeavouring for strong measures against the British, he was not girding up his loins to the work in a truly military spirit. There are those who maintain that he got unhinged from that time forward and that he delivered himself into the hands of his Fate. His own actions in the height of the crisis not only confirm this surrender but also betray traces of a regret at his past conduct. His lack of military talents—despite the fact that he was a good soldier and died a real soldier's death fighting with sword in hand—disabled him to see the faults of his own generalship. Cornwallis was deeply disappointed at his lack of military prudence; while Colonel Allan frequently notes in his *Journal* how his want of foresight as evidenced in the dispositions of his forces and in the utterly disorganized manner in which the opposition to the advance was offered by him. He expresses his surprise again and again that a wiser Generalship would have opposed the British advance at various points and disputed every inch of the ground; even where he did offer some resistance, it was so weak that it made no impression on the enemy. While he was not himself equal to the task, he would not leave it to others; far worse, he attributed the effects of his own bad generalship to his officers, which, added to the suspicion with which he usually treated them, took the heart out of their service. The worst, however, of Tipū's faults was his want of regard for truth. While he meant one thing, he was doing another. His duplicity towards the English and his treatment of Nargund are illustrative of this trait in his character. It was a radical defect, it stamped him as unfaithful as an ally, unreliable as a neighbour and unbelievable in warfare. If he had any regard for the treaty engagements he had entered into in 1792, he would have been less prevaricating with Marquess Wellesley in 1798-1799; if he had kept his word with his Pālegār chiefs, they would not have welcomed the enemy with open arms when the advance commenced; if he had not deceived those who had capitulated and broken the terms under which they had surrendered, his reputation with the British for honesty would not have been so low as it actually was in 1799.

His redeeming features.

But though the defects of character from which Tipū laboured were many and some of them wholly incurable, there were redeeming features in it, which made it less unloveable than it might easily have been but for their presence. The first among these was his habitual energy, which especially, before the losses of 1792, kept him restlessly marching from conquest to conquest and from battlefield to battlefield. His march to Karnātic from Malabar at the time of his father's death and from the Karnātic to Mangalore are good examples of this trait, while his general restless disposition shows that normally, under more favourable conditions, he might have proved himself an undoubtedly energetic ruler and leader. He did not allow himself a chance to make a good use of the boundless energy he displayed. If he had been a little more true to himself and true to others, his countrymen and opponents alike, he would have fared the better for the physical and mental energy he was endowed with by a bounteous nature. His soldier-like bearing, his personal bravery, and his absolute refusal to discover himself to the British at the time he was about to be felled down, show him in a character which wins our goodwill for him. His constancy to those whom he considered his friends was another loveable trait in his character. His haughty refusal to deliver Mons. Chapuis and the handful of French soldiers with him, at the siege of 1799, when by so doing he could have saved himself, brings out in bold relief this particular characteristic of his. His zeal for his religion needs a word of commendation, though it over-stepped the bounds of reasonable restraint, especially as applied to conquered countries like Malabar and Coorg. His ardent desire for reform, which was real, was a prominent feature of his rule. It extended from the army to weights and measures, and in some respects (especially as to suppression of drink and coinage) was much in advance of his times. The admiration to be extended to this well-meant zeal should, however, be qualified with the observation that he often displayed a sad lack of human understanding in putting some of them through. While, for instance, his adoption of a stronger artillery arm to his army should be praised, his depreciation of the cavalry, led to the ruin of his Army and to his own final destruction. His powers of assimilation were great —whether in adopting European training or European methods of warfare—but he often did not realize the limits beyond which it would be impossible. His veneration for his mother was a leading trait in his character. Her advice he never disregarded even when it went against his own cherished views. He had, however, no tender feeling for women generally. Women, indeed, he classed with "other rubbish" in one of his admonitory epistles addressed to Burhan-ud-dīn. Though he had thirteen sons and an equal number of daughters, he was not susceptible, as Bowring remarks, to the charms of the fair sex. His strict, abstemions life, bordering on the puritanical, his devotion to the duties of a good Moslem, even to the detail of counting the rosary, reminds one of Aurangzīb, who is said to have earned the money required for his private expenses by multiplying copies of the *Koran* from his own hand. Though Tipū did not go to this length, still there is no doubt that he was both a devoted and zealous Moslem. His eagerness to spread the religion he professed cost him dearly but it is to be feared that he was wholly unconscious of the price he was paying for it until the last moment. Even the repeated warnings of his mother, whose influence over him was manifestly great, proved unavailing in this respect. A valued public servant like Pūrnaiya did not escape his attentions in this respect, though he avoided extreme measures in his case, because of the solemn reproof administered to him by his mother in this connection. Praise is due to Tipū for his business-like habits, of which there is ample evidence in his correspondence. He was, it would appear, fond of reading, though he had no true literary instincts in him. The history that goes by his name was written, at least in part, to his dictation, and is in a style which has not won much appreciation from competent critics. It is, in some instances, devoted to the falsification of what actually took place. Despite this defect, it is worthy of attention because of the light it sheds on the state of his mind at the time of its composition. Considering the defects of his character and his bringing up—he was educated under a Maulvi who instilled more religion than culture into him—it cannot be denied that a kindly Fate permitted him to die fighting on the walls of the fort he knew so well and loved so greatly, without allowing him to fall into the hands of the enemy whose prisoners he had so ruthlessly and so mercilessly beheaded, even while he was fighting for his own life, for them to make him taste a little of that human misery that he, like his far-famed contemporary and would-be ally Napolean, for so long had despised.

Criticism of Tipū's conduct of the war.

Opinion seems unanimous that Tipū showed an entire lack of generalship in the war. It was in keeping with his conduct of the previous war which ended with the first siege of Seringapatam. Lord Cornwallis, ascribing to him firmness and decision, had apprehended that he would leave the defence of the Capital to a trusty Officer and ample garrison, and keeping aloof with a light and effective army, act on the communications of the besiegers, and dislodge them by the mere force of their own members. These apprehensions received additional force from the absence of the only branch of the confederacy—that under Parasuram Bhao—from which Lord Cornwallis expected efficient aid. But the actual presence of Tipū's army dissipated all alarms on that account, and enabled Lord Cornwallis to realize his best hopes of striking a decisive blow before the commencement of siege. The very same mistake of locking himself up in his fortress in the face of the advancing enemy was repeated by Tipū on the present occasion, with worse results. The curious reader will find in Colonel Allan's *Journal* of the march of the British army that it reached within sight of Bangalore, a distance of nearly 150 miles, from Vellore, from which it started, practically without firing a shot. Kelamangalam was the first place where the advancing army fell in with parties of Tipū's horse. Though some showed themselves daringly, they did not molest the British forces, but simply destroyed the forage round about the British Camp and retired, desiring that there was no need "to fire on them" as they had not been "ordered by the Sultaun" to do no more. At Garadipalli, they could have easily taken the Adjutant-General (Colonel Close) a prisoner, if Tipū's troops had only been a little active. He crossed them "at the distance of a few yards." While Tipū's troops were expecting the British troops at Bangalore, the latter evaded them by proceeding by way of Ānekal, within 9 miles of Bangalore, and then striking into the road leading to Kankanhalli, they crossed the rugged high grounds which run from Bangalore to the Cauvery and encamped at Kaglipuram;

still there was no sign of any activity on the part of Tipū's troops. Almost the only thing so far done by a small party (about 60 horses) of the latter was to watch the motions of the advancing army and send daily intelligence of its progress. A few others were told off to breach the tanks or poison them—as in the previous war—by throwing quantities of milk-hedge into them. The advancing army was well prepared for it, expecting this mode of annoyance and rapidly repaired the tanks or removed the poisoning shrubs. At Maddur river, the British army was wholly disappointed in not being opposed. They had seen Tipū's forces encamping in the neighbourhood and Syed Ghaffar, one of his generals, was also there. Tipū had lately opened the road from this place to Kankanhalli and it is natural to suppose that it was his intention to oppose the advancing British forces there before they advanced any further. "That he did not at the Maddur river," records Colonel Allan, "is unaccountable. The ground was particularly favourable for him and had he sacrificed a few guns, which he might have placed to great advantage on the heights in our front, which command the passage of the river he might have given us a great deal of annoyance, killed and wounded a number of men and when pressed by our troops, as the country was quite open in his rear, he might have drawn off, in perfect security. He must have been aware of these and from all our information, it was supposed, he would have availed himself of them. Tippoo was advised by Mons. Chapuis to oppose our army at this place, and at the time had resolved to do so, but on the approach of our army he retired towards Mallavally (Malvalli). That he did not, can only be attributed to want of confidence in his troops; occasioned probably by the repulse he met at Sedaseer (about 20 days before). Hitherto we have met with scarce any opposition from the enemy, when he ought to have harassed us every day on the march, and by retarding us, have gained time, which should be his principal object." That is cogent criticism of Tīpū's inactivity at the supreme hour of his peril; it was due to want of confidence in his own generals, whom he never trusted; to indifference to sound advice by them; and to the malevolent influence of a consuming vanity which made him think that he was the best judge of what should be done. On the other hand, the British General was guided by a carefully prepared plan of action and the policy underlying it had been worked by the best available talent, Civil and Military, and it was strictly adhered to, except when the occasion required any alteration. At this very spot, orders for march had been given on the 24th March but on the morrow, they were countermanded by General Harris. He found that he was too near Tipū to be moving in separate divisions, and it would have been the height of imprudence to have left the artillery park stores and provisions in the rear. "Our object," as Col. Allan records in his *Journal*, "is to protect our equipment and to take up a position before Seringapatam as expeditiously as possible, not to seek an action. In our present almost crippled state for want of carriage, it would but add to our embarassments, to have to carry perhaps two or three hundred wounded men . . . . . At the same time, an action should not be avoided. I have more than once mentioned the conduct of Marquis Cornwallis, on the day we took up our ground before Bangalore in the face of the whole of Tippoo's army. Although we did not return one shot, it was one of the most brilliant days during the war." Tipū thus lost a great opportunity, with disastrous consequences to himself and to his power. It were futile to speculate what Haidar would have done under identical circumstances. It is certain, in any case, he would never have risked the enemy's advance against the capital in the singularly inept manner in which his son, lost in his fatalistic notions, did at the most critical moment of his life-time.

Kīrmāni indeed charges the Officers of Tipū not only of incapacity but also of treachery in not foiling the British advance. He thus transfers the blame from Tipū's shoulders to those of his commanders. How far this is justified is evident from his own narrative. He mentions the fact that when he got information of the arrival of the British army at Ambur and Tirupattūr, he detached some of his Mīr Mīrans, among them Pūrnaiya, to check its advance, while he himself gave orders to assemble his Amīrs and the remainder of his army. Except Pūrnaiya, there was no veteran of acknowledged ability or fame among those told off for turning back the invading hosts. At Rayakota, Tipū's forces attacked the British army "in a scattered and confused manner," and apparently failed of its purpose, despite the aid that it received from the cavalry. Kīrmāni is so disgusted with the weakness displayed by those appointed to check the advance, that he openly suggests that it should have been due to treachery. "It appeared, therefore," he says, "to every one, after this that the intention of their Officers was to avoid fighting and consequently displayed no more zeal or enterprise, and more like an escort or safeguard quietly preceded and followed the troops of the enemy as they marched along." Colonel Allan's *Journal* leaves no doubt that it was not treachery that prevented the onward march of the British army as the want of generalship, of a carefully thought plan of operations, of military policy, in a word, on the part of Tipū. If he had not given up hope in advance and utilized the talents available to him, he could have easily despatched suitable detachments to check the advance. This he failed to do throughout this campaign, and the blame attaching to it can only be borne by him. He not only failed to plan in advance how he should checkmate the British advance; he was hopelessly weak in his intelligence branch. He knew not what way the British marched; in fact, he got wrong, if not, false news of their movements. The march of the British troops by way of Kankanhalli and their crossing the Cauvery at Sosile, both against his expectations, are quite conclusive of this defect in his arrangements. At Malvalli, there were not lacking opportunities for Tipū to turn the tide in his favour but he utterly failed to perceive the moment. Several British brigades, even single columns, at that action, were advancing towards Tipū's forces so rapidly and in such unconnected fashion as to have left their guns behind. If at this period, Tipū's Horse had done its duty, it would have prevented the British gaining any advantage. On the other hand, it retired to the next rising ground, and the British brought up some of their field pieces and two brass 18 pounders to a commanding spot and fired with effect over the Right Wing as it advanced. At the same time, they took care to cover the field-pieces which had been left behind. Not only that, they pushed a cavalry regiment forward to within two hundred yards of Tipū's *howdah* elephant, and but for the order of retreat—unwillingly—given by General Harris for this particular regiment, the day at Malvalli would perhaps have ended with the capture, alive or dead, of Tipū himself. At Sosile, the British "did not see a horseman on the march"—so unexpected was the route and so ill provided with news was Tipū. The advance from Sosile, *via* Rangasamudram, Harohalli, Ankanahalli, Nava Shahe, and thence to Seringapatam, within 4000 yards its south-west face, was reached without any obstruction, except for a few occasional pickets thrown by Tipū's troops. If they had been properly prepared for it, they could have not only obstructed, but also made the enemy lose time, with the result that the siege would be delayed, if not made infructuous, through the advance of the season. At Rangasamudra, the Nizām's troops were in front and so near were Tipū's forces to it, that if they should have chosen to attack, those troops would have fallen on the main British line and created the greatest confusion. At Harohalli, the march proved so tedious, the troops having to cross several times a dry *nullah* with high banks and that with a heavy park of artillery, that it is hard to conceive what an attack at this spot by Tipū's forces might have meant. Similarly on the march of the British forces to Nava Shahi, a very large body of Tipū's regular cavalry showed themselves in front near the Chendgal fort, but made no attempt whatever to annoy the advancing hosts. The junction of the Bombay army with the main army was equally without incident *via* Periapatna, Kattemalavadi, and Belagula. This rapid review of the advance shows that Tipū allowed himself to be hopelessly out-generalled and out-manouvered, with the consequence that he allowed the British forces to sit down before his walls well in advance of the monsoon, and batter them down.

Prize Property at Seringapatam.

The prize property seized at Seringapatam immediately after its fall was estimated at 40,30,300 star pagōdas, equivalant to £1,600,000. This property was thus made up:—

	Star pagodas
Actually counted and valued—	
In specie	16,00,000
In jewels	6,50,000
Not valued but estimated by Prize Agents—	
In jewels	4,50,000
Grain	3,00,000
Clothes, etc.	10,00,000
The Throne	30,000
Total Star pagodas	40,30,000

The jewels were subsequently estimated at 9 lakhs. Apart from this property, the military stores seized were valued at 10 lakhs. The total number of ordnance captured was 929, including guns, mortars and howitzers, 176 of which were twelve pounders and over. The booty in the Palace included a magnificent throne, a superb howdah, curious and richly-jewelled match-locks and swords, solid gold and silver plate, costly carpets and china ware, a profusion of fine gems and a very valuable Library. The Library was at first ordered to be given to the Court of Directors for the foundation of their Eastern Literature, the duplicate copies being sent to the Asiatic Society at Calcutta. But subsequently, except one precious copy of the *Koran*, referred to below, the greater part of it was transferred to the newly founded College at Fort William, Calcutta. A diamond star and ornaments were presented by the British Army to Marquess Wellesley. Tipū's war turban, one of his swords, and a sword of Morari Rao, the famous Mahratta ruler of Gooty, were sent to Marquess Cornwallis. A sword found in Tipū's bed-chamber was publicly presented by General Harris to General Baird, who had led the assault. The sword of Tipū, *i.e.*, the one he usually used and reckoned distinctively his own, being one usually placed in his Musnud, was presented, on behalf of the British Army, by Major Allan, Deputy Quarter-Master-General in person, at Madras, to Marquess Wellesley. Major Allan was the first to visit Marquess Wellesley after the conquest of Seringapatam. (Seringapatam fell on 4th May and he visited the Governor-General at Madras on 30th May). He was made Honorary Aide-de-camp to the Governor-General in recognition of his meritorious services. On the handle of the sword presented by him to Marquess Wellesley was the following inscription:—

"My victorious sabre is lightning for the destruction of the unbelievers. Haidar, the Lord of the Faith, is victorious for my advantage. And, moreover, he destroyed the wicked race who were unbelievers. Praise be to him, who is the Lord of the Worlds! Thou art our Lord, support us against the people who are unbelievers. He to whom the Lord giveth victory prevails over all (mankind). Oh Lord, make him victorious, who promoteth the faith of Muhammad. Confound him, who refuseth the faith of Muhammad; and withhold us from those who are so inclined. The Lord is predominant over his own works. Victory and conquest are from the Almighty. Bring happy tidings, Oh Muhammad, to the faithful; for God is the kind protector and is the most merciful of the merciful. If God assists thee, thou wilt prosper. May the Lord God assist thee, Oh Muhammad, with mighty victory."

On most of the *furzees* and blunderbusses found in the palace of Tipū, the following inscription in Persian, was seen :—

"This is incomparable piece, belonging to the Sultan of the East, which has no equal but in the most vivid lightning, will annihilate the enemy that it strikes, although Fate should otherwise have ordained him to live."

On some gold medals, also found in the palace, the following legend, in Persian, was seen on one side :—" Of God the bestower of Blessings" and on the other, " Victory and conquest are from the Almighty." Apparently they were struck in commemoration of some victory—probably after the war of 1780. The following is a translation of an inscription on the stone found at Seringapatam, which was to have been set up in a conspicuous place in the Fort :—

" Oh Almighty God! dispose the whole body of infidels! Scatter their tribe, cause their feet to stagger! Overthrow their councils! change their state! destroy their very root! Cause Death to be near them, cut off from them the means of sustenance! shorten their days! be their bodies the constant object of their cares (*i.e.* infest them with diseases), deprive their eyes of sight, make black their faces (*i.e.* bring shame and disgrace on them), destroy in them the organs of speech! Slay them as Shedaud (*i.e.* the Prince who presumptuously aimed at establishing a Paradise for himself and was slain by command of God); drown them as Pharoah was drowned; and visit them with the severity of thy wrath. Oh Avenger! Oh Universal Father! I am depressed and overpowered, grant me thy assistance."

This inscription should have been engraved after the conclusion of the Cornwallis Treaty. It shows Tipū's inveterate rancour and determined enmity to the English, of which there are numberless proofs. On this occasion, one might suppose that he had taken a leaf out of Ernunphus' book of Curses.

The Throne which formed part of the booty was a newly made one. Its principal ornament was a tiger's head of life-size, wrought in gold, which served as the support of the throne. The bas-reliefs of the throne, which was approached by silver steps, were decorated with tigers' heads worked in gold and adorned with precious stones. Over it was suspended a *humā* or bird of Paradise, whose brilliant wings, encrusted with diamonds, rubies and emeralds, hovered over the Sultān. The *humā* formed the apex of a canopy, fringed with pearls, which was attached to a gilt pillar seven feet high. At Windsor Castle are preserved the royal footstool of Tipū and the richly-jewelled bird, the *humā* above mentioned. Among other relics of Tipū, there are portions of his tent with silver holes, ivory chairs, elephant and horse trappings, a *palankeen,* two richly ornamented field-pieces, and various weapons including the sword and shield which were found with his body after the siege. In the Library of the Castle is a copy of the *Koran* formerly belonging to the Emperor Aurangazīb, which was found in Tipū Sultān's Library. It is said to have cost Rs. 9,000, and is beautifully written in the *Naksh* character, with elegant ornamentations. The rest of

Tipū's Library contained many curious and interesting manuscripts, of which the following is a summary:—

"Koran, 44 volumes; Commentaries on Koran, 41; Prayers, 35; Traditions, 46; Theology 46; Sufism, 115; Ethics, 24; Jurisprudence, 95; Arts and sciences, 19; Philosophy, 54; Astromomy, 20; Mathematics, 7; Physics, 62; Philology, 45; Lexicography, 29; History, 118; Letters 53; Poetry 190; Hindi and Dekhani poetry, 23; Hindi and Dekhani prose, 4; Turkish prose, 2; Fables, 18."

Some of these manuscripts belonged to the Kings of Bijāpur and Gōlkonda, but the majority were acquired by plunder at Chittoor, Savanur, and Cuddapah.

The town plundered: order restored.

The town suffered plunder for a day, and at last guards having been placed over the houses of the respectable persons, and four of the plunderers executed, by order of the Provost Martial in the most conspicuous place in the fort, the soldiery was effectually restrained, and tranquillity restored. Colonel Arther Wellesley, who had meanwhile been appointed to command in the Fort, was mainly responsible for this restoration of order.

Submission of Tipū's officers.

This was followed by the surrender of Fatteh Haidar, the eldest of the sons of Tipū, and of Pūrnaiya, Kamar-ud-dīn Khan and other officers, on the following day. Circular orders were issued by General Harris, accompanied by communications from the Meer Soodoor, to the officers in charge of the different forts in the territories, to deliver their charges to the British authorities, and giving them general assurance of favour and protection. By these means, the country submitted, the ryots returned to their peaceful occupations, and the land had rest from the incessant warfare of the past fifty years.

Submission criticised by Kirmāni.

The submission of Tipū's sons and officers has been severely criticised by Kīrmāni, who probably reflects current Muhammadan opinion in this matter. He states that when Futteh Haidar "saw the symptoms of fear, distress and despair, prevailing among his followers, and at the same time heard the consolatory and conciliatory language used by the English General and others of his officers, included in which were hints or hopes held out of his being placed on the throne" he "abandoned all intention of fighting or further opposition, although several of his bravest officers, such as Mullik Jehan Khan, (better known as Dhoondia Waugh) who after the death of the Sultān had been released (by the British troops) and had presented himself to the service of Futteh Hydar Sultān, also Syud Nasir Ali Mir Miran and other Asofs dissuaded him from peace, and strenuously urged him to continue the war. They represented to him that the Sultān had devoted his life only to the will of God, but that his dominions, his strong cities and forts were still in the possession of his servants, and that his army with all its artillery and stores was present. That if there were any intention to reconqueror the country, or if any spirit or courage remained, now was the time (for exertion), and that they were ready and willing to devote their lives to his service. This descendant of Hydar, however, notwithstanding his constitutional or hereditary bravery, ...

. . . .

at once rejected the prayers of his well wishers, and consequently washing his hands of kingly power and dominion, he proceeded to meet and confer with General Harris."

Partition Treaty Arrangement.

The glorious and decisive victory over Tipū Sultān placed the whole kingdom of Mysore, with all its resources, at the disposal of the British. The only power in India, to which the French could look for assistance, or which could be deemed formidable to British interests, was deprived of all vigour, if not entirely extinct.

All this was achieved within four months from the date of the arrival of the Marquis of Wellesley at Fort St. George and within two months from the period of the British army's entrance into Mysore. Wellesley was thus neither deficient in alacrity nor diligence in the prosecution of the war against Tipū Sultān. The success was not only due to his quickness of perception of the realities of the situation but also to the ample manner in which he invested General Harris when he took the field with the most efficient and extensive powers which it was possible for him to delegate. Harris, indeed, carried with him, as Wellesley intimated the Court of Directors, to the gates of Seringapatam, the full vigour and energy of the Company's Supreme Government in India. To the judicious exercise of this ample authority combined with the liberal supplies which had been provided for the army, may be ascribed, in a great measure, the unparalleled rapidity and promptitude of its operations and the great signal victory they ended in. The problems that the conquest presented were, however, of a character entirely different from those that confronted Wellesley at the time he declared war against Tipū. Previous to General Harris' departure from the Karnātic, he had appointed a Commission to assist him in all matters relating to political negotiations and had furnished them with instructions applicable to every contingency he could then foresee. Though the Commission had, under General Harris' orders, given him complete satisfaction, the circumstances created by the victory seemed to call for his immediate presence at Seringapatam "for adjusting," as he said, "the affairs of the kingdom of Mysore on such a foundation as shall permanently establish the tranquillity" of the Company's possessions in the South of India. He accordingly intimated General Harris that he was proceeding to Seringapatam *via* Royakottah and asked him to send a detachment of his army to meet him at that place as soon as he could prudently spare it. In the meantime, he directed Henry Wellesley, his brother and Private Secretary, and Lieut.-Col. Kirkpatrick, his Military Secretary, to proceed direct to Seringapatam, with requisite orders for the guidance of General Harris. This was on the 12th May 1799. On the 13th May, General Harris wrote to Wellesley that Pūrnaiya had seen him and had suggested to him an arrangement, the adoption of which, in his opinion, would restore immediate order and tranquillity. The outline of his plan was (1) that one of the family of Tipū should be placed at the head of the Government to be established in the country; (2) that he should pay to the English such tribute as should be agreed upon; and (3) that the English troops should garrison such forts as they might deem necessary for the security of the country. Pūrnaiya proposed that the prince chosen should be Futteh Haidar, while he, as Dewan, should be charged with the administration of the revenues of the new Government. It should be added that this arrangement was proposed by Pūrnaiya as he seems to have felt that "under any other plan," the troops, which had not yet been disbanded, "would become a lawless banditti pillaging the country and only to be quelled by force, which would under this (arrangement) remain quiet, in the hope of future employment in the service." He also seems to have suggested that by this means "the family of Tippoo Sultān would be preserved in a respectable rank and the power of the English established by an arrangement, the moderation of which would do honour to the National character." General Harris promised to communicate the proposals to the Marquis of Wellesley and in the meantime informed Pūrnaiya that Futteh Haidar should repair to Seringapatam and that he should arrange, on certain conditions, to disperse the troops to their homes. In communicating Pūrnaiya's suggestions to the Marquis of Wellesley, General Harris intimated that he had suggested in the course of the conversation the possibility of an arrangement for "the establishment of a Hindu Government in favour of the ancient family of Mysore, but Pūrnaiya cautiously evaded entertaining this idea, in the slightest degree." General Harris indicated Pūrnaiya's reasoning for this "evasion" thus:—

> "The Muhammadan interest is so intimately blended with every Department of the State in this country, that no plan by which it is set aside in favour of an Hindu Prince would produce the very desirable effect of restoring tranquillity, and reconciling the troops and most powerful class of the inhabitants to the change of Government."

The Marquis of Wellesley, however, was against the restoration of any one of a family which had had a hand in the establishing of a French alliance. He, therefore, desired on 20th May 1799 that enquiries should be made of "the state of the family of the ancient Rajahs of Mysore, and the character and disposition of the persons composing it." He preferred that mode of settlement which would have "united the most speedy restoration of peace and order with the greatest practicable security for the continuance of both." For this purpose, he would not only conciliate the interests of the Company, but also of those of the Nizām, the Mahrattas and of the leading chieftains in Mysore. Among other objectives aimed at by him were that the military power of Mysore should be "absolutely identified with that of the Company," Seringapatam must in effect be a British Garrison, and Malabar and Coimbatore, with the heads of the passes on the table-land, should be in the Company's hands. By 4th June 1799, Wellesley had made up his mind in favour of a settlement which included the restoration of the ancient family of Mysore. He wrote to the Commissioners of Mysore on that date:—

> "The restoration of a representative of the ancient family

of the Rajahs of Mysore, accompanied by a partition of territory between the allies in which the interests of the Mahrattas should be conciliated, appeared to me, under all the circumstances of the case, to be the most admirable basis on which any new settlement of the country can be rested. I have resolved to frame, without delay, a plan founded on these principles; and I hope, in the course of to-morrow to forward to you the articles of a Treaty with proper instructions annexed, for the purpose of carrying the above mentioned plan into effect."

In order to facilitate the intended arrangement, he asked the Commissioners to induce Kummer-ud-dīn to leave for Gurramkonda, which he obtained for him, with the aid of Meer Allum and the Nizām; to conciliate Tipū's Sirdars on the basis of their being employed and provided by the Allies and the Maharaja of Mysore collectively; the Killedars to be paid off their arrears with liberal gratuities for the purpose of conciliation; the devising of necessary measures for removing Tipū's family to Vellore, the details of which "painful but indispensable measure" he left to Col. Arthur Wellesley.

Disposal of conquered territories: Restoration of Mysore Dynasty resolved on by Marquess Wellesley.

Marquess Wellesley had by this time—4th June 1799—resolved upon making over a portion of the conquered territory to a descendant of the ancient royal house of Mysore, and to divide the remainder between the Company, the Nizām, and the Peishwa. For this purpose, he appointed a Commission of five officers—General Harris, the Hon. Colonel Arthur Wellesley, the Hon. Henry Wellesley, Lieut. Col. Kirkpatrick, and Lieut.-Cl. Barry Close, with Captains Malcolm and Munro as Secretaries and Edward Golding as Assistant Secretary—to conduct the details of the arrangement and to conclude the treaty with the Nizām. They were styled Commissioners for the Affairs of Mysore, were bound to secrecy and vested with full powers to negotiate and conclude, in the Governor-General's name, "all such treaties, and to make and issue all such temporary and provisional regulations, for the ordering and management of the civil and military Government and of the revenues of the said (conquered) territories as may be necessary for the immediate administration and settlement thereof." The result was the Partition Treaty of Mysore concluded on the 22nd June 1799, and ratified by the Nizām on the 13th July of the same year. The basis of this Treaty was explained by Marquess Wellesley himself in a letter dated 5th June 1799 which is worth noting. Kirkpatrick had proposed a complete cession of all the conquered territories to the Royal House of Mysore, to which they belonged, and suggested the cession from him again of certain of them to the allies who had helped in his Restoration. Wellesley, however, thought it more advantageous to put the arrangement on a different footing. "I think," he wrote back to Kirkpatrick, "the whole transaction would be more conveniently thrown into a different form, from that which you have given to it. I do not see any necessity for ceding the whole country in the first instance to the Rajah of Mysore, and accepting again as a cession under his authority, such districts as must be retained by the allies. I think it will be more convenient and less liable to future embarassment, to rest the whole settlement upon the basis of our right of conquest, and thus render our cession the source of the Rajah's Dominion. (This was the view of Col. Arthur Wellesley, afterwards Duke of Wellington, who wrote from Seringapatam, on 8th May 1799, to the Marquess Wellesley, stating that his view was "to take it all as a conquest," subject to certain "restrictions," which he mentioned in that letter. How far the Marquess was influenced by his distinguished brother's views, it is difficult to determine). For this purpose, the proceeding should commence with a Treaty between the Nizām and the Company, with power to the

Peishwa to accede under certain conditions. The next step should be a Treaty with the Rajah, containing all that relates to his connection with the Company and to his interior Government. The Rajah after his accession made a party to the general guarantee contained in my draft accompanying this letter (This was substantially the Partition Treaty of Mysore as finally concluded)." Marquess Wellesley also objected to Kirkpatrick's plan of holding a number of fortresses in absolute sovereignty in the Mysore territories. He limited that demand to the fortress of Seringapatam which, he said, he would not "consent to part with." His view was that the possession of Seringapatam and the Subsidiary Treaty with His Highness the Rajah would give the Company "a sufficient command over them." It is worthy of remark that the Marquess Wellesley was moved not only by high considerations of policy in the settlement he determined upon but also by the essential justice of the claims of the Mysore Royal House. He thus explained his exact motives in this connection to the Rt. Hon. Henry Dundas, in a letter dated 7th June 1799:—

Motives underlying his policy of Restoration.

> "To have divided the whole territory equally between the Company and the Nizam, while it would have afforded strong grounds for jealousy to the Mahrattas, would have aggrandised the Nizam's power beyond the bounds of discretion and would have left in our hands a Territory so extensive, as it might have been difficult to manage, especially in the present state of the Company's service at the Presidency. To have divided the Territory into three equal portions allowing the Mahrattas who had taken no part in the expense or hazard of the war, an equal share in the advantages of the peace, would neither have been just towards the Nizam, politic in the way of example to our other allies, nor prudent in respect of aggrandisement of the Maharatta Empire. To have given the Mahrattas no larger a Territory than is now proposed, while the Company and the Nizam divided the whole of the remainder to the

exclusion of any central power would have been liable nearly to the same objection as that stated against a total exclusion of the Mahrattas from all participation. The establishment, therefore, of a central and separate power in the ancient territories of Mysore appeared to be the best expedient for reconciling the interests of all parties."

Moral justification of the Restoration.

After dismissing the claims of Tipū's sons to be the "Central power" suggested by him, on the ground of the hereditary connection of their family with the French and the probable dangers of a renewed combination on their part against British interests in India, Marquess Wellesley wrote:—

> "In the exercise of this right (of conquest), if I were to look to moral considerations alone, I should certainly on every principle of justice and humanity, as well as of attention to the welfare of the people have been led to restore the heir of the ancient Rajah of Mysore to that rank and dignity which were wrested from his ancestors by the usurpation of Hyder Ali.
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> "The long and cruel imprisonment which several branches of his family have suffered, the persecution and murder of many of their adherents, both by Hyder and Tippoo, and the state of degradation and misery in which it has been the policy of both these usurpers to retain the surviving descendants of their lawful sovereign would have entitled the representative of the ancient family of Mysore to every degree of practicable consideration; but it is also evident that every motive must concur to attach the heir of the Mysore family, if placed on the throne, to our interests, through which alone he can hope to maintain himself against the family of Tippoo."

Nor did Marquess Wellesley anticipate any the least opposition to the restoration of the ancient Royal House of Mysore, for the jealous policy of Tipū and the brilliant and rapid success of war had dissipated such fears. Accordingly on the 8th June 1799, he wrote to the Commissioners to proceed with the conclusion of both the Tripartite and the Subsidiary Treaties on the lines sketched out by him and he added:—

> "I authorise you to place the Rajah formally upon the Musnad, and to appoint, in the Rajah's name, Purniah to be his Dewan."

He also directed that they should fix up the "fortress of Mysore" as "the most acceptable seat of the Rajah's residence."

Finally, he wound up by asking them, in the event of their placing the Rajah upon the Musnud, to appoint in his name, Lieut. Col. Close to the office of the Resident in Mysore. The intentions of Marquess Wellesley were made known to the Royal House and the Commissioners waited on His Highness the Rajah to pay their "personal respects" to him and to his family on 26th June. Mahārāni Lakshmi Ammanni, called the Rāna in the correspondence of the period, received them with becoming grace and expressed to them, through one of her attendants, "the lively sense" which she entertained of the Marquess' clemency and added that the "generosity of the Company in having restored the ancient rights of her House in the person of her grandson, had opened to her a prospect of passing the remnant of her days in peace." The Commissioners also saw the youthful Rajah, of whom they wrote to the Marquess Wellesley that he was of "a delicate habit; his complexion rather fair than otherwise and his countenance is very expressive." The Treaty and elevation of the Rajah were also proclaimed the same day. The captive sons of Tipū were provided with liberal allowances and they were, on 18th June 1799, removed under military escort with their families, from Seringapatam to the fort at Vellore, which had been, under the orders of the Marquess Wellesley, prepared for their reception. The principal officers of Tipū were pensioned. Mir Kamar-ud-dīn received two Jaghirs, one from the Company and another from the

Nizām and he was permitted to reside at Gurramkonda. The principal officers were pensioned according to their ranks. It was resolved upon to appoint Pūrnaiya, to the post of Dewan in view of the knowledge he possessed of the finance and resources of the country, in preference to Tirumala Rao, the Agent of Mahārāni Lakshmi-Ammanni already referred to. It would appear from certain despatches of Marquess Wellesley that Tirumala Rao was known to the latter from a time prior to the fall of Seringapatam. (See *Wellesley Despatches*, I, 442-448, letter dated 22nd February 1799). There can be no question that he had been, as Henry Wellesley remarked, "the channel of communication in all the most secret transactions of that family (Mysore Royal family) with the British Government." (Letter of Henry Wellesley to Col. Arthur Wellesley, dated 7th August 1801). Soon after the conquest of Seringapatam, he was allowed by the Madras Government to proceed to Seringapatam but "he arrived in the British camp two days after the Commissioners had communicated to the different members of the Mysore family the intensions of the British Government in their favour." The declared object of his journey was "to obtain the situation of confidence in the new Government which the Commissioners had alloted to Pūrniah. He had several interviews with the Commissioners, in all of which he deprecated the idea of Pūrniah being appointed Dewan to the new Government," describing him in rather vivid colours and as unwelcome to Mahārāni Lakshmi Ammanni. (*Ibid*). The Commissioners had, however, already made their choice and Tirumala Rao, for one thing, was too late in urging his claims on them. Apart from that fact, Henry Wellesley has definitely left on record that "it had always been determined to place him (Pūrnaiya) at the head of affairs—a circumstance of which he was well aware," (*ibid*) and so it did not require any special effort on his part to win the good-will of the Commissioners so far as his nomination was concerned. Col. Arthur Wellesley has hinted in some of his letters his dislike of people connected with Madras. (See letters dated 8th July 1801 and 10th October 1801). He has expressly stated that the introduction of Tirumala Rao would have meant the introduction of "*dubashery* corruption (management through *dubashes* or agents) into this (Mysore) country, with a scene of desparate confusion." And he described one of the Madras officials interested in such enterprize as "a most notorious jobber" and as one who would not fail to endeavour, if an opportunity offered itself, to distrub the arrangements arrived at, "if any fellow will give him half a crown for doing so." (Letter dated 10th October 1801). While the official referred to might have fully merited the stinging rebuke applied to him by Col. Wellesley, there is scarcely any doubt whatever, that apart from the single error of describihg his competitor in adverse terms, Tirumala Rao was anything other than an honorable, upright and self-sacrificing person, who had, against tremendous odds, done much to advance the interests of the Mysore Royal House. It is worthy of remark that his services were recognized by the British Government after the Restoration. Marquess Wellesley directed that he should be placed, so far as allowances were concerned, on a footing of equality "with the officers of the late (Tipū's) Government, distinguished by the title of *Mir Meeran* (*Mīr Amīr or Lord of Lords*) and that his allowance be secured by the Company." In addition to the recognition and the monthly stipend which he was to receive from the Company, the Court of Directors directed the presentation of 4,000 Pagodas to him as a compensation for all his demands on the Company and as a recompense for his past exertions and services. (Letter dated 11th November 1801, from Madras Government to Tirumala Rao. See *Records* *of Fort St. Gerge, Country Correspondence*, Political Department, letter No. 59). He retired to Madras and there died in 1815.

(iii) PERIOD OF RESTORATION, 1799—1831.

Installation of His Highness Krishna-rāja Wodeyar, III.

The Brāhmans having fixed upon the 30th June as the most auspicious day for placing His Highness Krishna-Rāja-Wodeyar on the *musnad* of Mysore, the ceremony was accordingly performed at the ancient town of Mysore, where special preparations were made for the function. An open *pandal* was erected and a numerous concourse of people gathered at the place to witness the ceremony. General Harris specially rode from camp attended by his suite and an escort of European cavalry to assist in person on the occasion. The Commissioners accompanied by Mīr Alam proceeded to the spot—not far away from the Palace—preceded by His Majesty's 12th regiment of foot, and there General Harris, the senior member of the Commission, placed His Highness Krishna-Rāja-Wodeyar on the *musnad*, about noon, under three volleys of musketry from the troops on the spot and a royal salute from the guns of Seringapatam. General Harris, sometime after, delivered to His Highness the seal and signet of the Rāj. "The deportment of the young prince," reported the Commissioners to the Marquess Wellesley, "during the ceremony was remarkably decorous." In justifying the restoration of the ancient Royal House of Mysore, Marquess Wellesley wrote to the Court of Directors about a month later, on 3rd August 1799, a long despatch from which the following deserves to be quoted:—

Marquess Wellesley's vindication of the claim of the Mysore Royal House.

> "Between the British Government and this family an intercourse of friendship and kindness had subsisted; in the most desperate crisis of their adverse fortune, they had formed no connection with your enemies. Their elevation would be

the spontaneous act of your generosity, and from your support alone could they ever hope to be maintained upon the Throne, either against the family of Tippoo Sultan, or against any other claimant. They must naturally view with an eye of jealousy, all the friends of the usurping family and consequently be adverse to the French or any State connected with that Family, in the hereditary hatred of the British Government. The heir of the Rajahs of Mysore, if placed on the throne, must feel that his continuance in that state depended on the stability of the new settlement in all its parts ; his interest must, therefore, be to unite with cordiality and zeal in every effort necessary to its harmony, efficiency and vigour. The effect of such arrangement of the affairs of Mysore would not be limited to the mere distribution of hostile power which meanced our safety ; in the place of that power, would be substituted one, whose interests and resources might be absolutely identified with our own, and the kingdom of Mysore, so long the source of calamity and alarm to the Carnatic, might become a new barrier of our defence and might supply fresh means of wealth and strength to the Company, their subjects and allies."

Every object above mentioned was realised, as will be shown below, in the next twenty-five-years when the Mahratta and Pindari wars were fought. Marquess Wellesley concluded thus :—

"In addition to these motives of policy, moral considerations and sentiments of generosity and humanity favoured the restoration of the ancient family of Mysore. Their high birth, the antiquity of their legitimate title and their long and unmerited sufferings, rendered them peculiar objects of compassion and respect, nor could it be doubted that their Government would be both more acceptable and more indulgent than that of the Mahomedan usurpers, to the mass of the inhabitants of the country composed almost entirely of Hindus.

Appointment of Pūrnaiya as Dewan and Col. Barry Close as Resident.

Soon after the enthronement of His Highness Krisnha-Rāja-Wodeyar, Pūrnaiya was appointed by the Commissioners to be His Highness' Dewan, while Lieut.-Col. (afterwards Sir Barry) Close became, under the orders of the Governor-General, Resident at the Court of His Highness, immediately after the Subsidiary Treaty of Seringapatam was signed. The Mysore Commission itself was then dissolved on the 3rd July 1799.

Division of Territories.

Under the Partition Treaty of Mysore, dated 22nd June 1799, the Province of Canara and the districts of Coimbatore and Wynaad, the annual revenue of which was estimated at Pagodas, 7,77,170 fell to the share of the Company, subject to a deduction of Pagodas 2,00,000 per annum on account of the maintenance of the families of Haidar and Tipū, leaving a balance of Pagodas 5,37,170.

The revenue of Gooty and other places assigned to the Nizām estimated at Pagodas 6,07,332 was charged with an annuity of Pagodas 70,000 payable to Kumur-ud-dīn, leaving a balance of Pagodas 5,37,332.

The revenues of the districts in Mysore granted to His Highness Krishna-Rāja-Wodeyar were estimated at Pagodas 13,74,076 per annum. The Mahrattas not having taken any active part in the campaign, the share offered to the Peishwa was comparatively small, *viz.*, the districts of Harpanahalli (included in the present Bellary district), Soonda, Harihar, etc., yielding an annual revenue of Pagodas 2,63,957.

Under the Subsidiary Treaty, concluded on 8th July 1799, with His Highness Krishna-Rāja-Wodeyar, the Company bound themselves to maintain a force for the protection of the dominions of His Highness, in consideration of an annual subsidy of seven lakhs of Star Pagodas.

Marquess Wellesley's reaffirmation of the principles underlying his Policy of Restoration.

In his Despatch of 3rd August 1799, which has been above referred to, the Marquess Wellesley estimated the clear increase to the revenues of the Company at £459,056 per annum as the result of his settlement.

He wound up this Despatch in words which reiterate the sound moral and political principles on which he based his arrangements:—

> "I entertain a confident expectation, that the recent settlement of the Dominions of Tippoo Sultan will prove not less durable than I trust, will be found, equitable in its fundamental principles, beneficial in its general operation, and conformable, in every point of view, to the liberal character of the English East India Company, and to the just and moderate policy prescribed by Parliament, for the Government of the British Empire in the East."

This enunciation of the principles which guided the Marquess Wellesley not only indicate the far-seeing statesmanship that he displayed in working them out but also the deep sense of justice that actuated his policy and dominated every act of his in this connection. In giving effect to them, he over-ruled, as only he could do, the views of many others, including among them of Col. (after Sir Thomas) Munro which, read to-day, show how even gifted men could go wrong and help to buttress their preconceived views by a reference to the history of the country of which they had little or no real knowledge.

Krishna-Rāja Wodeyar, 30th June 1799—27th June 1868.

His Highness Krishna-Rāja-Wodeyar III thus commenced his reign under the most inspiring auspices with Pūrnaiya as Dewan and Col. Close as Resident at his Court. His Highness' actual reign extended up to 19th October 1831, though he lived up to the 27th June 1868, on which date he died universally lamented by his subjects. During the first period of 12 years from 1799 to 1811, Pūrnaiya was both Regent and Dewan. From 1811 to 1831 His Highness ruled with the aid of Dewans referred to below. From 1831 to 1867,. the British Commission administered the State. In 1867, fully a year before His Highness' death, his adoption of His

Highness Srī-Chāmarājēndra-Wodeyar was recognized by His Majesty's Government, and on the death of His Highness Krishna-Rāja Wodeyar III on 27th March 1868, he was acknowledged by the Government of India as his successor and as Mahārāja of the Mysore territories.

During the first twelve years of His Highness' reign, Pūrnaiya, as Regent and Dewan, was in charge of the administration of the State. He was guided by the friendly counsel of successive British Residents, of whom the first was, as above stated, Col. Close. Till about the beginning of 1805, he had also the helpful advice of Col. Arthur Wellesley, who commanded the division, with head-quarters at Seringapatam.

Memorandum of Instructions to Col. Close.

Marquess Wellesley appears to have realized the conditions under which the administration could be rendered successful. Immediately after appointing Col. Close to the office of Resident, he caused to be forwarded to him a memorandum of instructions for the regulation of his conduct in that position. This memorandum laid down the fundamental principles on which he was to act and to guide the administration of the new ruler and his Dewan. He desired him to know that the first object of his duty was the effectual protection of His Highness' Territories. The strength of the Subsidiary Force not being fixed, he was to note that the military strength of the two Governments should be considered as common and as mutually applicable at all times (as far as may be judged proper and practicable) to the service of each other. To attain this unity of force, he empowered the Government of Fort St. George to send, according to exigencies, reinforcements from the Karnātic into Mysore or *vice versa.* Agreeably to this principle, Col. Close was allowed to augment the force in Mysore as might be required from time to time by writing to the Government of Fort St. George. Though he was thus placed under the immediate authority of the Government of Fort St. George, Marquess Wellesley reserved to himself the right nevertheless occasionally to send him direct orders, transmitting copies of the same to the Government of Fort St. George for their information. In such cases, he was to obey all such orders without further reference to that Government beyond intimating the receipt of such orders. For securing the tranquillity of His Highness' Territories, he was to distribute the forces in Mysore as circumstances might require. He was to have respectable British garrisons in Seringapatam, Chitaldrug and if necessary at Bednore, Sira and Nagar while the rest of the troops were to be kept together in some general camp or cantonment. Subject to this provision, the mode of garrisoning was left to be carried out by him in consultation with the Commanding Officer, but without any further reference to the Government of Fort St. George, except that in regard to demolition or repair of any forts, he was to act with their previous approval. The second object he was to bear in mind was the realization of the Subsidy stipulated in the second article of the Treaty of Seringapatam and the payment of the stipends provided for in its 11th article. Of the latter, the Company was, for the time being, to bear an equal share, as His Highness' Government could not bear the full burden in the first year. As regards the Subsidy, Marquess Wellesley was equally sympathetic in view of the finances of His Highness' Government. He was content to limit the demand in this respect to 7 lakhs of Kantirāi instead of 7 lakhs of Star Pagodas, and directed the collection of a similar or a proportionately less amount for the second year also if he was satisfied such remission was fully requisite in the interests of the State's finances. The third point to be attended to was the general administration, *i.e.*, the conduct and management of His

Highness' Dewan. Col. Close was directed to constantly superintend with the utmost diligence and vigilance the Dewan's administration "with a view not only to the punctual realization of the Subsidy and the improvement of the resources of the country but also the prevention of any necessity on the part of the Company to assume charge of the country, an extremity to which it is on many accounts to be wished they may be never reduced." The branches of the Government which was to claim the most immediate and strict attention were those relating to the revenues and commerce of the country. Closely and necessarily connected with these was, in his opinion, such an administration of justice as shall be calculated to encourage industry and thereby promote population. To provide for a suitable system of revenue administration, he was to study the local conditions and to transmit to the Government of Fort St. George full information about the existing system of revenue, of the products of the country and of the genius and usages of its inhabitants, with his own suggestions for improvements or alterations. In the meantime, he was to restrain the officers of His Highness' Government from abuse of authority and to correct any erroneous or corrupt practices endangering the resources of the country and the happiness of the people. In regard to Pālegars, he gave the specific instruction that they were "on no account to be put in possession of the countries they lay claim to, whatever other concession in the form of pensions or otherwise may be made to them." Information was also to be furnished about the state of the manufactures of the country, its exports and imports, with the measures required to improve both its external and internal trade. The expediency of abolishing the *rahadāri* duties throughout the State, was to be urgently considered, especially those which were felt to be a burden on the necessaries of life or which, at the time, obstructed the transmission of articles which entered into the Company's investment. He was further to report on the system of judicial administration prevailing and the state of the Police, with his own suggestions, for improving them. He was to insist on due economy in expenditure and to prevent alienation of lands for religious purposes. Muhammadan religious endowments were to be protected, the personal respect due to His Highness and his relations from the Dewan was to be secured, arrangements were to be made for His Highness' household establishment, detailed statements of the probable annual expenditure of His Highness' Government according to the most economical arrangements were to be drawn in consultation with the Dewan, the 7th Article of the Treaty of Seringapatam in regard to vagrant Europeans was to be strictly observed, a good understanding with the Rāj of Coorg was to be cultivated, correspondence with Poona and Haiderabad was to be maintained, and a survey of the State was to be undertaken, Captain (later Colonel) Mackenzie (of Mss. fame) being deputed for the purpose.

Their comprehensive character.

Such, in brief, were the instructions issued by Marquess Wellesley to Col. Close when he entered on his duties. They were not only comprehensive but also circumspect to a degree. The administration of Pūrnaiya was generally based on the principles enunciated by Wellesley in the above instructions to Close and the success it attained was as much due to Wellesley as to Pūrnaiya who translated them into action in a manner which won appreciation from every quarter. Only one other point mentioned in the Wellesley Memorandum of Instructions deserves to be noted in this connection. Acting on the recommendations of the Commissioners for the Affairs of Mysore, he authorized Pūrnaiya as Dewan to His Highness the Mahārāja to receive a commission of one half per cent upon the net revenue of His Highness' Territories, besides a fixed allowance of 500 Kantirāi Pagodas per month.

No sooner the restored Government of His Highness Krishna-Rāja-Wodeyar III began to function than it was troubled by insurrection and wars. Among these were the following in chronological order:—

1799. Dhoondia Waugh's Insurrection.

1800-1802. Insurrection in Bullum (Manjarābād) created by the Rāja of Bullum (called also the Aigur Chief).

1802. Insurrection in Wynaad.

1803. The Mahratta War.

1804. Supression of free-booters at Munkassir in which the Mysore Horse took part.

1805. Rebellion of the Chittoor Poligars, which was suppressed with the aid of the Mysore Horse.

1806. Mutiny at Vellore and the attempt to restore Muhammadan sovereignty in the South.

1809. Mutiny of European officers, which spread to Mysore and was put down by the use of the Mysore Horse.

To contend against these, there was the Subsidiary Force under Col. Arthur Wellesley and the cavalry and the infantry raised by Pūrnaiya for maintaining internal tranquillity. These insurrections and wars are briefly referred to below, in so far as they relate to Mysore or to the services rendered on the field by the Mysore troops.

Operations against Dhoondiah, 1799-1800.

The territory acquired by the conquest of the kingdom of Mysore was taken possession of without opposition with the exception of the districts of Nagar and Balam (also written Bullum) in Mysore, Wynaad and Cotiote in Malabār, the fort of Jamalabad in South Kanara, and the fort at Gooty, situated in what were afterwards known as the Ceded Districts.

During the confusion attending the storm of Seringapatam, Dhoondiah Waugh, a notorious free-booter who had been imprisoned by Tipū, managed to escape, and having collected a body of horse, about 5,000 strong, and proclaimed himself "King of the two Worlds," he took possession of Shimoga and other forts in Nagar, and having thus provided himself with artillery, ammunition, and money, he increased his force, and asserted his right to the sovereignty of the province. Dhoondiah was a Mahratta by descent, and not a Pathān as supposed by some. He was a native of Channagiri. From 1780 he served as a horseman in Haidar's army, but during the invasion of Lord Cornwallis decamped with a few followers and as much booty as they could get hold of to Dhārwār, where he lived by plundering. In 1794 he was induced to come to Seringapatam with the prospect of being received into Tipū's service with all his followers, consisting of 200 horse. But refusing to embrace Islam, he was forcibly converted and thrust into prison. The story of his subsequent career may be told in the words of Mīr Hussain Alī Khān Kīrmāni:—

"Nevertheless, the favour of the Sultān towards that worthy man still continued to increase, as for instance he was allowed ten *fanams* Sultāni a day, which sum amounts to three rupees, and a teacher was appointed to instruct him, (in the Muhammadan customs and religion) but, although after a time, a *kutcheri* or brigade was named after him, and orders were issued for his release, it was to no purpose, for the Dewan like a scorpion still continued to strike at him with his venomous sting, making a representation to the Sultān to the following effect:—" King of the World, find another man equally insolent, enterprising and brave, as he (Dhondajee) and then let him go. For it is known to all that when he was weak and of no account, he then beat the troops of Hyderabad, Poona, and the servants of the Sultān, and, therefore, after this to make him an officer of high rank in your army and independent, is far from good policy, for with his power and rank it is possible he might raise such a disturbance that the hand of redress might not be able to quell, or remedy." The opinion of this fool was, therefore, accepted by the Sultān and that faithful servant and well-wisher was left in prison. At first he was named Shaik Ahmud, but latterly at his own desire be was entitled Mullik Juhan Khan."

At the capture of Seringapatam, he was found chained to the wall like a wild beast, and the British soldiers out of pity at once released him. (Colonel Beatson says that Doondiah was released by the inconsiderate humanity of the British Troops.) He then escaped to the Maharatta country, and collecting a large force committed many depredations in the north-west.

Many designs were attributed to Dhoondiah. One was to carry off, through the agency of a special gang employed for the purpose, Colonel Arthur Wellesley, who was then commanding at Seringapatam, while he was out hunting. Though Wellesley scoffed at the idea, and stigmatized it as a "bazaar" report, he kept a close watch on those alleged to be engaged in its carrying out. This gang was supposed to have "some designs upon Mysore" as well. But "as nothing could be more unpleasant than any accident to the family at Mysore," Colonel Wellesley informed the Officer in Command at Mysore of the information. It was also given out at the time that another gang of these men was working to murder Pūrnaiya, the Dewan. Though Colonel Wellesley took all this information with a good deal of suspicion, he made adequate arrangements to deal with the conspirators. Apart from these alarms and rumours, Wellesley was distinctly of the opinion that Dhoondiah's success would mean the disturbance of the peace either of the Mysore territory or of the Company's territories. He was accordingly for prompt and effective action against him.

Occupation of Chitaldrug.

Two field detachments were immediately equipped against him. One, under Colonel Pater, composed of the 4th cavalry, the 1st battalion 1st, and the 1st battalion

8th N. I., advanced to the fort at Hassan in order to check any possible incursion from Nagar, and to act according to circumstances. The other, under Lieutenant-Colonel James Dalrymple, who had succeeded to the command of the Hyderabad Subsidiary Force after the capture of Seringapatam, was composed of the 1st cavalry, the 2nd battalion 7th, the 2nd battalion 11th, and a party of Bengal Artillery. This detachment obtained possession of the hill forts at Chitaldrug on the 6th July 1799 without opposition. Colonel Dalrymple gave a minute description of the place in his report to the Adjutant-General, from which the following is an extract:—

> "The lower fort is very extensive, and contains within it several other smaller forts, and a great number of inhabitants. Some parts of the old Hindoo fortifications are still remaining in the upper and lower forts, but by far the greatest part of the works are all done in the modern style of solid masonry, and built under the inspection of our unfortunate prisoners during their confinement at this place."

A few days after the occupation of Chitaldrug, Colonel Dalrymple was joined by the 2nd cavalry, and both battalions of the 10th regiment of Bengal Sepoys. On the 14th, he marched with the two regiments of cavalry and 400 grenadier sepoys in pursuit of a body of Dhoondiah's men who had been plundering the country. He came up with them on the 15th, about tewenty miles from Chitaldrug, and having halted his infantry and guns, he attacked with the cavalry, and destroyed nearly the whole party, the number of which was estimated at about 250 horse and 400 foot.

This service was accomplished after a march of 40 miles in 24 hours. The marauders having been guilty of many atrocities, more especially after their capture of the small fort at Goondair, the Commander-in-Chief directed that the 40 prisoners taken by Colonel Dalrymple, should be hanged at that place, with the exception of one man who was to be set at liberty after having witnessed the execution of his comrades.

On the 17th, Colonel Dalrymple again surprised a small body of horse and foot near the fort of Channagiri in Nagar and dispersed it with his cavalry, killing 40 men and taking 40 prisoners. He then attacked the fort and carried it by a *coup de main*. On the 29th, he captured about 6,000 head of cattle from Dhoondiah's brinjarries, together with a quantity of grain. Colonel Dalrymple received the thanks of the Commander-in-Chief for these services, and was authorised to grant the captured cattle and grain to his detachment.

Capture of Shimoga and Honnali, end of July 1799.

About the end of July, Colonel James Stevenson relieved Colonel Pater, and advanced towards the fort of Shimoga in order to co-operate with Colonel Dalrymple. By the 7th August both detachments had crossed to the western banks of the rivers upon which the forts of Shimoga and Honnali are situated, and on the morning of the 8th, these places were attacked and taken by storm, the former by the detachment under Stevenson, the latter by that under Dalrymple. General Harris, in his report to the Commander-in-Chief in India, remarked that "the gallant behaviour of the native troops, who alone were employed, was highly honourable to them, and reflected great credit on Colonels Stevenson and Dalrymple, and the officers, who, under their orders, conducted the attacks." Colonel Stevenson was thanked in General Orders of the 10th August, as were also Captain Macfarlane, 1st battalion 8th regiment, Captain Strachan Staff Officer, and Lieutenant Whitney McCally, 1st battalion 1st regiment.

Storm of Hoolal.

The head-quarters of the Army left the neighbourhood of Seringapatam on the 10th July, reached Chitaldrug on the 24th, and early in August advanced to Harihar on the east bank of the Tungabhadra, a fort which had surrendered to Captain Willet of the 1st battalion 10th Bengal Sepoys, on the 30th July. On the 14th August, a detachment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Wallace, H. M.'s 74th regiment, was sent against the fort of Hoolal, about 20 miles direct north of Harihar. The place was carried by storm on the 16th, and most of the garrison were killed, either during the assault, or in their attempt to escape. Colonel Wallace and the detachment were thanked in orders.

Defeat of Dhoondiah at Shikarpur, 17th August 1799.

Early on the morning of the 17th August, Dhoondiah's collected force, amounting to 1,200 horse, and 300 infantry, posted under the walls of the fort at Shikarpur in Nagar, was attacked and defeated by Colonel Dalrymple, aided by a part of Colonel Stevenson's detachment. The action was thus described by General Harris:—

> "The infantry and artillery of Dhoondiah were formed behind a small river, which, swelled by the rains, had become almost unfordable from the depth and rapidity of its current. His horse, separated by this stream from the infantry, formed, and steadily waited the attack of the regiments of native cavalry which led Lieutenant-Colonel Dalrymple's detachment. These instantly charged, and in a short, but arduous conflict, drove the enemy into the river, who left 600 men and horses killed or drowned. Lieutenant-Colonel Dalrymple's infantry at the same time assaulted and took the fort by storm, assisted by part of Colonel Stevenson's detachment, whose march had been retarded by the badness of the roads. The Killadars of the fort, when taken, were hanged on its walls in sight of the enemy's troops, who fled in the utmost disorder, while the depth of the river prevented an immediate pursuit."

The effect of this blow was decisive. Colonel Stevenson, who had assumed command of the united detachments, pursued Dhoondiah as far as the frontier of the Mahratta country, in which he took refuge on the 20th August. That very night his camp was attacked by a chief named Doondah Punt Gokla, who dispersed his remaining followers and captured his elephants, camels, bullocks, and guns.

The province of Bednur was then occupied without further opposition.

Colonel Dalrymple, who was responsible for the expulsion of Dhoondiah from Mysore territory, was a distinguished and popular officer. He rendered many important services to the State, amongst which may be mentioned the storm and capture of the fortress of Raichūr in 1795. He was selected to lead the 8 flank companies of M. N. I. employed at the storm of Seringapatam. General Wellesley wrote of him as follows in a letter to the Resident at Hyderabad, dated 17th December 1799:—

> "I join in the general regret for the loss of Lieutenant-Colonel Dalrymple. I fear that it will be difficult to replace him; indeed, on public as well as private grounds, his death is looked upon by all as a public misfortune."

Final operations against Dhoondiah, 1800.

Dhoondiah, after his defeat by Gokla in August 1799, soon collected his scattered followers, and having been joined by nearly the whole of Tipū's cavalry, and a number of disaffected men from the Hyderabad country and from Cuddapah, he obtained possession of several places in the Southern Mahratta country, and threatened to enter Mysore. The Pēshwa sent a force consisting of 5,000 horse and a large body of infantry to oppose his further progress in Savanūr, but this force was beaten, and a large number of horses captured. Such being the state of matters, orders were sent to Colonel Arthur Wellesley on the 2nd May 1800, directing him to assemble a field force as speedily as possible, and giving him authority to pursue Dhoondiah into the Mahratta country or elsewhere. In confirmity with this order, a body of troops was assembled at Chitaldrug during the early part of June, and by the 23rd of that month, they had crossed the river Tungabhadra at Harihar, and encamped in the Mahratta country. A detachment of the Hyderabad Subsidiary Force under Lieutenant-Colonel Maclean, 2nd battalion 9th regiment, was sent to co-operate in the Raichūr Doab, and this was reinforced soon afterwards by another detachment from the same force, composed of a regiment of cavalry and 8 companies of infantry under Lieutenant-Colonel Bowser, who assumed command of the whole.

Capture of Rāni-Bennur.

Colonel Wellesley marched for Rāni-Bennur, about 14 miles N-W of Harihar, on the 27th. The advanced guard having been fired at from the fort, it was immediately attacked by the picquets under Colonel Moneypenny, consisting of 50 Europeans and 150 Indians, supported by the 1st battalion 1st regiment, and carried by escalade without the loss of a man. The cavalry having sorrounded the fort so as to cut off retreat, Dhoodiah's garrison, amounting to about 500 men, were nearly all killed. The following order was issued to the troops :—

" RĀNI BENNUR, FRIDAY,
" *27th June 1880.*

" Colonel Wellesley received much pleasure from observing the vivacity with which the attack of the fort of Rāni Bennur was conducted this morning under the orders of Lieutenant-Colonel Moneypenny. To this is to be attributed the immediate success of the attack without any loss on our side, although it appears that the fort contained a large garrison."

Dhoondia attacks Gokla's forces; Gokla's death.

Dhoonda Punt Gōkla, the Mahratta leader, with 10,000 horse, 5,000 foot and 8 guns, who was at this time in the vicinity of Kittur for the purpose of co-operating with the British, was suddenly attacked by Dhoondiah on the 30th June, and defeated with the loss of his guns. He himself was killed. It was said that Dhoondiah dyed his moustaches in the heart's blood of Gōkla, in fulfilment of a vow of revenge made after his defeat by that chief in August 1799.

Capture of Kundgul, July 1800.

Colonel Wellesley crossed the Wardah near Deoghur on the 8th and 9th July, and after having constructed a redoubt upon the river, in which he left a small detachment, he marched to Savanūr on the 12th. Leaving his heavy baggage and stores in that place, he proceeded against the fort of Kundgul, in which Dhoondiah had left a garrison of 600 men, and carried it by assault on the evening of the 14th with trifling loss.

The following is an extract from his report to the Adjutant-General, dated 18th July :—

> "The troops attacked Koondgul after a march of above 22 miles, and that they had been under arms above 12 hours. The cavalry surrounded the place ; the gateway was attacked by the 1st of the 12th, and an endeavour was made to blow it open, while the grenadiers of the 73rd regiment under Captain Todd, supported by those of the 1st of the 8th, escaladed the curtain on the opposite side with a spirit which overcame every obstacle."

Relief of Sirhatti.

On the 16th, Colonel Wellesley relieved the fort at Sirhatti, which was besieged by one of Dhoondiah's adherents, and he then returned to Savanūr for the baggage and stores.

Pursuit of Dhoondiah.

Dhoondiah, who had fled from Kundgul on the approach of the detachment, being reported to be in the forest in the neighbourhood of the fort of Dummul, Colonel Wellesley moved in that direction from Savanūr on the 22nd, having been joined a day or two previously by a body of Mahratta horse recently under Gōkla. He came before the fort on the morning of the 26th, and the garrison, consisting of about 1,000 men, having refused to surrender, the place was immediately attacked and carried by escalade.

The following is an extract from Colonel Wellesley's report to the Adjutant-General:—

"CAMP AT DUMMUL,
"*26th July 1800.*

"The fort was surrounded by the cavalry under Colonel Stevenson, and by the Mahrattas under Goklab, the leader who had succeeded his namesake. It was attacked in three places: at the gateway by Major Desse with the picquets, supported by two companies of the 2nd; on the face by Lieutenant-Colonel Capper with the grenadiers and light infantry of the 73rd, and the battalion 4th; and on the other face by Captain Macpherson with the grenadiers and light infantry of the 77th, and the remainder of the 2nd of the 2nd Bombay regiment. It was impossible to force the gateway, and the party on that attack entered the fort by escalade; and the other two attacks likewise succeeded nearly at the same time."

"The fort is strong and well built, the wall about 30 feet high, with a dry ditch, in some places of considerable depth. I cannot say too much in favour of the troops, who, by this exploit, have added to the reputation which they have already gained in this country."

Gadag occupied.

The fort at Gadag was evacuated after the arrival of the accounts of the fall of Dummul, and was occupied by the British on the 27th. Dhoondiah, having thus lost all his forts in Savanūr and in the Dhārwār country, moved northwards with the intention of crossing the river Malaprabha at Manoli, and encamped near Sundatti, about six miles south of that place. While there he heard of Colonel Wellesley's approach, and broke up his army into three divisions. One division and the baggage marched towards Manoli and encamped in front of it, but

Dhoondiah pursued.

without crossing the river. In this hazardous position, it was surprised on the afternoon of the 30th and destroyed. The following is an extract from Colonel Wellesley's report:—

> "I arrived here with the cavalry at about 3 o'clock in the afternoon and found the camp standing, and that we had surprised the enemy. I instantly attacked his camp with the cavalry only. Lieutenant-Colonel Torin attacked their left with the 1st and 4th regiments, and Colonel Stevenson and Colonel Pater their front and right with the 25th Dragoons and 2nd regiment of cavalry."
>
> "The camp was strong, with its rear to the Malpurba, covered by the fort of Manowly on the other side of it, and a deep nullah along its front and left. The 2nd regiment of cavalry, under these circumstances, was the only corps which got into it; but every person there was either killed or driven into the river. All the baggage, 2 elephants, many camels, horses, bullocks, etc., fell into our hands. (In a letter to Major Munroe, dated 1st August, Colonel Wellesley gave the number at about 5,000. A number of arms and accoutrements belonging to the 25th Dragoons and the Scotch Brigade, which had been stolen at Vellore, were found in the same). Numbers of people were drowned or shot in attempting to cross the river, and many prisoners, women and children, etc., were taken."

Pursuit continued: position of the Parties.

This exploit was performed after a march of 26 miles.

On the 2nd, August, the detachment from Hyderabad, augmented by the 4th cavalry, was placed under the command of Colonel Stevenson with instructions to follow Dhoondiah up the river Malaprabha; Colonel Wellesley moving in the same direction, but at the distance of about 15 miles from the river. A few days later, it was ascertained that Dhoondiah having crossed the Malaprabha near its sources had again turned eastward, and reached a place named Cowdelghi, about 24 miles east of the fort of Gokak on the Gutprabha. In consequence of this intelligence, the following disposition of the troops was ordered:—

Colonel Capper, with his brigade strengthened by the 1st battalion 4th Bombay regiment recently arrived in camp, and a body of Mahrattas, was directed to move down the southern bank of the Malaprabha towards Jellahal, while Colonel Wellesley was to march along the northern bank by Manoli. Colonel Stevenson was to move down the river Gutprabha from Hanur by Chowdelghi towards Bagalkōte. The Mahrattas were to move between Colonels Wellesley and Stevenson.

On the 22nd August, Lieutenant-Colonel Capper arrived at the fort of Hooley, the garrison of which had carried off the baggage of the Dragoons as it was passing on the march to Sundatti on the 1st. Colonel Capper attacked the place at once and carried it by escalade, after which he marched to Syringhi, a fort about 8 miles east of Hooley. The place was strong, the scaling ladders too short, and the resistance determined, but it was taken after a sharp struggle.

From Syringhi, Colonel Capper proceeded towards Būdihāl, a short distance above the junction of the Malaprabha with the Krishna, and he had got within 20 miles of Dhoondiah when the Malaprabha fell suddenly. Dhoondiah, taking advantage of this, crossed near Būdihāl on the night of the 24th, and marched towards the Raichūr Doab. His escape was attributed to the misconduct of the Mahratta troops with Colonel Capper, who refused to proceed in advance and guard the ford as had been directed by Colonel Wellesley.

On the 5th September, Dhoondiah and his pursuers occupied the undermentioned positions:—

Dhoondiah was at Moosky, nearly in the centre of the Doab; Colonel Stevenson was at Hunagunda, close to the north-western frontier; Colonel Wellesley near Hanumansagar, at the south-western frontier; and the Mahratta and Nizām's horse in the centre; the intention being to drive Dhoondiah into the narrow fork between the Krishna and Tungabhadra, by which the Doab is bounded on the east.

Dhoondiah defeated and killed at Konagal 10th Sep. 1800.

The next few days were passed in getting nearer to the fugitive, and on the 10th he was defeated and killed at Konagal (Conahgul). The following is an extract from Colonel Wellesley's account of his proceedings from the time of his entering the Nizām's country up to the conclusion of the action:—

"CAMP AT YEPULPERVY,
"*10th September 1800.*

"After I had crossed the Malpurba at Jellahal, I marched on the 3rd instant, and entered the Nizam's territories at Hunmunsagar on the 5th. As Colonel Stevenson was obliged to cross the Malpurba in boats, he was not able to advance from that river until the 4th. It appeared to me probable that when Dhoondiah should be pressed by the whole of our force on the northern side of the Doab, he would return into Savanoor by Kanagherry and Copaul, and would thus impede our communication; or, if favoured by the Patans of Kurnool, and the Poligars on the right bank of the Toombuddra, he would pass that river and enter the territories of the Raja of Mysore. I therefore determined to bring my detachment to the southward, and to prevent the execution of either of these designs, if he had them; and afterwards push him to the eastward, and to take such advantage of his movements as I might be able; while Colonel Stevenson should move by Moodgul and Mooski, at the distance of between 12 and 20 miles from the Kistna, and the Maharatta and Mogul cavalry collected in one body between his corps and mine."

"I arrived at Kanagherry on the 7th, and on the 8th, moved with the cavalry to Buswapoor, and on the 9th to this place; the infantry being on those days at Hutty and Chinnoor, about 15 miles in my rear. On the 9th in the morning, Dhoondiah moved from Mudgherry, a place about 25 miles from Raichoor at which he had been encamped for some days, towards the Kistna; but on his road having seen Colonel Stevenson's camp, he returned and encamped about 9 miles in my front, between me and Bunnoo. It was clear that he did not know that I was so near him; and I have reason to know that he believed that I was at Chinnoor. (This alludes to the discovery of the fact that the headman of Chinnoor had been furnishing Dhoondiah with intelligence of Colonel Wellesley's movements)."

"I moved forward this evening, and met his army at a place called Conagul, about 6 miles from hence. He was on his march, and to the westward; apparently with the design of passing between the Mahratta and Mogul cavalry and my detachment, which he supposed to be at Chinnoor. He had only a large body of cavalry, apparently 5,000, which I immediately attacked with the 19th and 25th Dragoons, and 1st and 2nd regiments of cavalry."

"The enemy was strongly posted, with his rear and left flank covered by the village and rock of Conagul, and stood for some time with apparent firmness; but such was the rapidity and determination of the charge made by those four regiments, which I was obliged to form in one line in order at all to equalize in length that of the enemy, that the whole gave way, and were pursued by my cavalry for many miles. Many, among others Dhoondiah, were killed; and the whole body dispersed, and were scattered in small parties over the face of the country."

"Part of the enemy's baggage was still remaining in his camp about 3 miles from Conagul, I returned thither, and got possession of elephants, camels, and everything he had.

"The complete defeat and dispersion of the enemy's force, and above all, the death of Dhoondiah, put an end to this warfare, and I cannot avoid taking this opportunity of expressing my sense of the conduct of the troops. Upon this last occasion, their determined valour and discipline were conspicuous, and their conduct, and that of their commanding officers, Colonel Pater, Major Paterson, Major Blaquiere, Captain Doveton and Captain Price, have deserved my most particular approbation. At the same time, I must inform you that all the troops have undergone, with the greatest patience and perseverance, a series of fatiguing services."

Colonel Stevenson came up with the retreating enemy the same evening near Deodrug, and entirely dispersed them, capturing their remaining guns, baggage and cattle.

Colonel Wellesley in his report stated that he attributed "the opportunity which was given of destroying the enemy's army to the movements of the detachment under Colonel Stevenson; in no part of the army has there been greater exertion or more fatigue, or has it been more cheerfully borne, and I conceive Colonel Stevenson, Lieutenant-Colonel Bowser, and the officers and troops under their orders, to be entitled to my approbation, and to the favourable report of their conduct which I now make to you."

The information as to the position of Dhoondiah on the night of the 9th September was given by a sepoy of Lieutenant-Colonel Bowser's regiment, *viz.*, the 2nd battalion 2nd. Colonel Wellesley presented the man with a reward of 200 pagodas, and recommended him for promotion.

Colonels Wellesley and Stevenson, as well as the officers and men, received the thanks of the Madras Government and of the Governor-General; the latter desiring that it might be particularly expressed "to the officers and men of the detachment of cavalry employed in the action of the 10th September, the high sense entertained by the Governor-General-in-Council of the eminent courage and discipline manifested by them in the attack of the army of Dhoondiah Waugh, which terminated in the fall of that insurgent, and in the complete destruction or dispersion of his force."

Insurrection in Bullum, 1800.

About the end of March, a detachment under Lieutenant-Colonel Tolfrey was sent against Krishnappa Nāik, the Palegar of Bullum, who had taken possession of the Bisle or Subramanya ghāt leading from Mysore into Canara, and interrupted communication with Mangalore. Colonel Tolfrey arrived at Aigur, about 3 miles South-East of Manjarābād, on the 30th March, and finding it abandoned, he destroyed the place and advanced to

Arakere, where the Palegar occupied a strong stockaded position in thick forest. The barriers were attacked on the 2nd April, but the detachment was repulsed with the loss of 47 men killed and wounded. About the end of the month, a reinforcement arrived under the command of Colonel Montressor, H. M.'s 77th regiment, and the place was carried by storm on the 30th after a stout resistence. The following is an extract from Colonel Montressor's report:—

> "I accordingly marched to Munzerabad on the 28th, and on the following morning (this day) after leaving my equipage and stores under the protection of the guns of that fort, and of the Raja of Mysore's cavalry, I attacked and carried Arakerry, dispersed the Polygar's adherents, and burnt several of his villages and magazines of grain. I am much indebted to the troops under my command for the zeal and gallantry displayed throughout the day."
>
> "The column of attack, consisting of the flank companies of H. M.'s 73rd and 77th regiments under Captain Mc Pherson, three companies of the 2nd of the 3rd, and the grenadiers of the 1st of the 12th, was led by Major Capper with a degree of spirit and gallantry which overcame a continued range of obstacles and resistence for near a mile and a half through a most intricate country."

Final Operations in Bullum, 1802.

The Palegar of Bullum re-occupied his position at Arakere immediately after the departure of Colonel Montressor's detachment in June 1800, and recommenced his predatory incursions. The operations against Dhooṅdiah, those in Malabār and Wynaad, and in the Ceded Districts, prevented Government from taking any notice of his conduct until January 1802, when Colonel Arthur Wellesley marched against him from Seringapatam. On arriving in the neighbourhood of Arakere, he divided his own infantry into three parties for the attack of the stockaded posts in the forest, and placed that of Mysore so as to cut off the retreat of the enemy towards the ghāts. The cavalry under Lieutenant-Colonel Macalister occupied all the open ground. The attack was made at 10 A.M. on the 16th by the three divisions, *viz.*, one under Lieutenant-Colonel A. Cuppage, 1st battalion 5th regiment; one under Major English, 2nd battalion 10th regiment; and one under Lieutenant-Colonel Spry, H. M.'s 77th foot. Each party was successful, and all the posts in the forest were carried with trifling loss. Colonel Wellesley and the officers and men employed on this service received the thanks of Government, conveyed in an order dated 16th March. A detachment was left at Arakere while Colonel Wellesly proceeded towards the Bisle Ghāt to destroy other strongholds which the Pālegar was reported to possess in that direction, and also to open roads down the several passes leading into Canara.

The Pālegar was captured on the 9th February by some horsemen in H. H's. service and executed the next day, together with six of his followers, after which Colonel Wellesley broke up his detachment, and marched on his return to Seringapatam, having first made the following arrangements for the occupation of Bullum, and certain adjoining districts of the Mysore territory. (See Arthur Wellesley's Letter dated 13th February 1802).

Five companies 1st battalion 5th, three companies 2nd battalion 10th, two guns, and a detachment of pioneers were left at Arakere, under Captain Macfarlane of the 5th, for the purpose of making a road down the Sissul Ghāt, constructing defensible posts at the heads of the Sisle, Bisle, and Sampaji Ghāts, clearing the jungle, and destroying the stockades, and filling up the ditches by which the villages were sorrounded. These Ghāts lead down into Kanara, the Sisle being the northernmost.

Major English, with seven companies 2nd battalion 10th, and five companies 1st battalion 5th, with two guns, and a party of pioneers, was to encamp at Bellur (Vastara, Bellur, and Mahārājdrug bound Bullum on the east and hence the need for this arrangement) in order to support the authority of H. H. the Mahārājah in that district, and in those of Vastara and Mahārājdrug.

The inhabitants were to be disarmed, roads were to be made, and the fortified villages dismantled as in Bullum.

The result of the operations was the country began to settle down fast. The inhabitants returned to their villages and delivered up their arms and ammunition. They also dismantled their fortifications. Pūrnaiya assembled the Gowdas and completed the Settlement without difficulty, so much so that there was every chance of his collecting the revenue due for the last two years. (Arthur Wellesley's Letter dated 2nd February 1802).

Colonel Arthur Wellesley was warm in his praise of the assistance he had received in the putting down of this insurrection from His Highness' Government. Pūrnaiya's troops, he wrote to Col. Close, were indefatigable. They ran the Bullum Pālegar (styled as "Rāja" in the records of the period) into the jungles on the Western side of the Ghāts, into which it would have been useless to follow him if the commanding officer could not have got intelligence of the place in which he was concealed. Small parties of troops were accordingly placed in every village in the country in which it was possible for the Pālegar to get his provisions. In one of these he was, as mentioned above, caught by a few horsemen of His Highness' troops. (Letter dated 13th February 1802).

Insurrection in Wynaad, 1802.

On the 11th October 1802, the post at Panamurtha Kōttah in north Wynaad, about 7 miles South-East of Manantoddy, was surprised by a body of Nairs, about 400 in number, divided into three parties, one of which seized the barrack in which the arms were kept, and another attacked the sepoys, while the third sorrounded the houses of the Officers.

Inactivity of the officer in Command in the Wynaad.

The detachment consisted of about 70 men of the 1st battalion 4th Bombay regiment, with two European Officers. Both of these, *viz.*, Captain Dickinson and Lieutenant Maxwell, were killed. Twenty-four sepoys shared the same fate, and twenty-one were wounded. All the buildings were set on fire and destroyed. The head-quarters, and about 360 men of this battalion were at Poolingall, about nine miles west of Panamurtha-Kōttah, but the Major in command neither moved from his post nor took any steps for the security of the district. This was not the only instance of such inactivity, for Colonel Wellesley, when writing on the 20th to the officer commanding the Bombay troops in Malabar, animadverted upon the general want of energy on the part of the officers, and went on as follows:—

> "I beg that you will urge the officers to active measures. Let them put their troops in camp forthwith, excepting the number of men that may be absolutely necessary for the defence of the small posts against surprise. If the rebels are really in force, let a junction be formed, and then not a moment lost in dashing at them, whatever may be their force."

At this time, there were no Madras troops either in Wynaad or Malabār, but the first battalion 8th regiment, under Captain Gurnell, with a party of pioneers, and 200 Mysore Horse, was ordered from Seringapatam immediately the disaster became known. Captain Gurnell was directed to enter Wynaad from Kakenkōttah for the relief of Manantoddy, and the general support of the Bombay troops in the district. The battalion marched from Kakenkōttah on the 27th, and on reaching the frontier at Sungaloo on the Bawally nullah, it was opposed by a body of Nāirs who had occupied an old stockade. Captain Gurnell passed the *nullah* on both flanks of the stockade under cover of the fire of a third party, and carried it without loss; the Nāirs suffered considerably.

The next day he marched 17 miles to Manantoddy, and reached that place with trifling loss, although opposed nearly the whole way. On the 30th, five companies of the 8th returned to Sungaloo as an escort to the Mysore Horse, which were sent back. A few days later, Captain Gurnell was ordered to construct a stockade for one company at Sungaloo, and two similar stockades between that place and Manantoddy. The main body of the battalion was to keep moving in the neighbourhood of Sungaloo, and to attack the insurgents wherever they could be found. These arrangements produced so much effect that Colonel Wellesley halted a detachment of H. M.'s 33rd, and the 1st battalion 14th N. I., which were moving towards the Wynaad as a further support.

About the 12th November, a smart skirmish took place between a detachment of the 8th and the Nāirs near Sungaloo, thus described by Colonel Wellesley in a report to the Commander-in-Chief:—

> "Since I worte to you on the 9th instant, a detachment of the 1st battalion 8th regiment has had a smart action with the Nairs in Wynaad, in which they sustained a considerable loss. They had marched to Manantawaddy (Manantoddy) with a despatch to Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrence, and on their return were attacked near a swamp at which the battalion had been hard pressed heretofore. The Nairs took advantage of a *nullah* which was impassable, across which they fired at them, and killed nine and wounded eighteen. The officer in command of the battalion, however, at Sungaloo, sent out three companies to the support of the other detachment, and the Nairs were driven off with considerable loss. Many of those on this side of the *nullah* were put to death in the road. By all accounts the troops behaved remarkably well on this occasion."

Troops withdrawn from Wynaad.

Intelligence having been received about this time of the defeat of the armies of the Pēishwa and of Scindia, by that of Hōlkar at Poona, it became necessary to assemble a strong force on the Tungabhadra, in consequence of which orders were issued for the withdrawal of the troops in the Wynaad.

Mysore's help in putting down the insurrection.

In the suppression of the above mentioned insurrection in Wynaad, the Mysore State, besides sending troops, also helped materially in the organization of the Commissariat under Pūrnaiya.

Maharatta War, 1803.

In the meantime, an army, numbering 19,798 regular troops, was being assembled at Harihar, on the north-western frontier of Mysore, for the protection of the Company's territories, and the eventual establishment of the Subsidiary Force at Poona, in accordance with the Treaty of Bassein. In conformity, however, with instructions subsequently received from the Governor-general, the troops destined to advance into the Mahratta country were limited to 10,617 men under the command of Major-General Arthur Wellesley, who retained, under the express orders of the Governor-General, the command of Mysore during his absence on service, in consequence of a representation made by the General to the effect that he could not otherwise be certain of receiving the necessary supplies for his army. Major-General Wellesley was supported in this campaign by the Hyderabad Subsidiary Force under Colonel Stevenson, which was ordered to Perindah, on the western frontier of the Nizām's dominions, there to remain pending instructions from the General. This was the commencement of the Mahratta war in 1803, which ended with the treaty with Hōlkar in 1806. It was during this war, that there occurred among other engagements the memorable battles of Assaye and Argaum. So far as Mysore was concerned, it gave material assistance in the shape of men and money. "I cannot conclude this letter," wrote Arthur Wellesley to Col. Close, "without letting you know how amply Mysore has contributed to the supply and equipment of the army to be assembled on its frontier, and how readily our little friend Purneah (Pūrnaiya) has come into all my plans for the service." With his aid, Wellesley raised in Mysore, 8,000 bullocks before they could get one at Madras. Besides the bullocks for the cavalry, a sufficiency of gram, 7,000 loads, were supplied at once, and when the cavalry reached the frontier, they had ready for use 500 loads for each regiment, besides 6,000 loads for their consumption while they remained there. A rice depôt was formed at Harihar with 7,000 loads of rice ready for use. Thirty-two thousand brinjary bullocks loaded were to meet the General at the back of the Chitaldrug hills before the end of the month (January). Sixty thousand were assembled in different flocks between Sira and Chitaldrug. Finally, a body of 5,000 Silledar Horse were got ready for service and placed at the General's immediate disposal. (Letter dated 1st January 1803.) The Mysore Horse took part in this campaign against the Mahrattas with the General, and in what has been called as the affair at Umber, actually joined in beating off the Rāja of Berar's troops which endeavoured to intercept a convoy of 1,500 bullocks carrying grain for the army under its protection. The assailants were repulsed with considerable loss, particularly in horses, and the convoy joined the General on the next day. Captain Baynes, who was in command, was thanked for the able disposition he had made of his small force in this affair, and the steadiness of the Officers and men was favourably noticed in the same order. Col. Wellesley particularly brought to the notice of the Governor-General the gallant conduct of the Mysore Cavalry under Bisnapah Pundit (Bishtopant Bādāmi). "This Corps," he wrote, "which consists of 2,000 men have performed all the light troop duties of this division of the army since I was detached from the Toombundra (Tungabhadra) in the month of March last. They have performed these duties with the utmost cheerfulness and a zeal which I have never before witnessed in troops of this description. They have frequently been engaged with enemy's light troops, have conducted themselves well, and have lost many men and horses." (Letter dated 2nd November 1803.) Immediately after this failure, the Rāja of Berar retreated hastily towards his own territories. The Mysore Horse also took part in the capture of the town of Pokrle, Surengaum and Karalla, about 10 to 20 miles from General Wellesley's camp, before he fought the battle of Argaum. It is interesting to recall the fact that this great engagement actually began with a skirmish with the Mysore Horse. .On the 25th November, the General entered Berar, on the 27th he reached Akōla, and on the 29th he joined General Stevenson at Parterly, for the purpose of undertaking with their united divisions, the seige of Gawilghar, a strong fortress between the sources of the Tapti and the Poorna, about 25 miles north-west of Ellichpoor. Shortly after arriving at Parterly, bodies of the enemy's cavalry approached, and commenced to skirmish with the Mysore Horse, in support of which the infantry pickets were sent out and it was then discovered that the enemy were drawn up in force on the plains of Argaum, 38 miles west-south-west of Ellichpoor, immediately in front of the village of that name, distant about 6 miles from Parterly. The great battle was fought, the enemy was defeated and pursued for several miles, many being killed and a quantity of baggage, together with many elephants and camels, being captured. The pursuit was continued for two days, and with great effect, by the irregular Horse belonging to Mysore State and a few others. This was followed by the capture of Gawilghar itself and with it the Rāja of Berar sued for and signed a treaty of peace at Deogaum on 17th December 1803. As this event enabled the General to prepare to direct his whole force against Scindhia, that chieftain also sued for peace and on the 30th December 1803, the treaty of Surjee Arjengaum was concluded with him. Though in the words of Duff, the historian of the Mahrattas, the Mysore Horse had little or no share in the conflict at Assaye, having been formed at a distance across the Kaitna, the justice due to it for its part in this campaign of Wellesley, as set out above, especially its success during the pursuit of the enemy after his defeat, cannot but be conceded. Duff, however, barely mentions the name of the Mysore Horse in this connection, though he records the cold fact that after the battle of Argaum had been fought, the whole army (of the enemy) retired in confusion, pursued by the British Cavalry and by the Mysore Horse. (*History of the Mahrattas* III. 186.) All the more dramatic details of the pursuit by the Mysore Horse are given in the Military records of the period, from which this narrative is made up.

Suppression of free-booters at Munkaisir, 1804.

After the conclusion of these treaties, Major-General Wellesley turned southwards. He arrived at Jaulna on the 19th January 1804 and there received a deputation from the town of Bheer, 70 miles East of Ahmednagar, soliciting protection against a numerous and formidable band of freebooters, who, after having beaten a body of the Nizām's troops and taken their guns, were then plundering the country, and threatening Bheer. In compliance with this requisition, the General crossed the Godavari on the 24th, and on the 2nd February, while in camp at Nīmgām, about 30 miles south-west of Ahmadnagar, he received information to the effect that the marauders were in the neighbourhood of Perinda, upon which he resolved to attempt to surprise them. He accordingly left Nīmgām on the 3rd with all his cavalry, which included the Mysore Horse, and a select body of infantry, and arrived at Sailgaon, about 18 miles north-west of Perinda, on the 4th. He resumed his march that night, and came up with the enemy about 9 A.M. on the 5th, just as they had moved off from their engagement at Munkaisir. They were immediately followed and dispersed by the cavalry, who killed great numbers. All their guns, ammunition and stores were captured. The infantry arrived at Munkaisir with the cavalry, but from the nature of the action they were unable to co-operate further than by taking possession of the enemy's camp. The General in a letter to Major Malcolm, dated the 7th, thus described the conduct of the detachment:—

> "The exertion made by the troops is the greatest I ever witnessed. Everything was over by 12 o'clock on the 5th, and, I think that, by that time, the infantry must have marched 60 miles from 6 in the morning on the 4th. We halted from 12 in the day till 10 at night on the 4th, so that we marched 60 miles with infantry in twenty hours."

In a letter of the same date to Colonel Murray, he observed:—

> "I think we now begin to beat the Mahrattas in the celerity of our movements."

General Wellesley quitted the army near Perinda on the 23rd February and then proceeded to Bombay. He rejoined the army on the 22nd May and made preparations for attacking Hōlkar's possessions in Kandeish. He then resigned command of the Subsidiary Forces, and left Poona on the 24th June to Calcutta. The Resolutions of the House of Commons in which the Officers and men were thanked for their services during the above war, were republished in India on 10th November 1804.

Return of Mysore Troops, and Wellesley, 1804.

Meanwhile the General, in accordance with the instructions of the Governor-General, ordered the Mysore troops (under Bishtopant, the Bistnapah Pundit of the

Wellington *Letters*) to march towards Mysore. They returned *via* Harihar. General Wellesley himself reached Seringapatam about the close of 1804. On 9th March 1804, while still in Camp at Chowke, he wrote to the Governor-General, commending the services rendered in the War by His Highness' troops and of their officers, more particularly of the excellent conduct and character of Govinda Rao during the negotiations with the Mahrattas and of Bishtopant, the Commander of the troops, and urging the grant of special pensions for them. In concluding his letter, he thus acknowledged the services of the Government of Mysore in connection with the War:—

Mysore Administration thanked for its services

> "While writing upon this subject, I cannot avoid adverting to the conduct of the Government of Mysore during the late War, and congratulating Your Excellency (Marquess Wellesley) upon the success of all your measures, and the accomplishment of all your objects in establishing it. In consequence of the regularity of the system of Government established by the Dewan, and the improvements of the Country, its resources were so much increased as to enable him to provide for all the calls made upon him, either for the equipment of the corps fitted out at Seringapatam, for the subsistance of the army on its march from the Carnatic to the frontier, for the supply of the magazines formed in Mysore, or for the large quantities of grain required for the Cavalry, and by the Brinjaries. All the supplies were furnished with a facility and celerity hitherto unknown in this part of India. He has since continued to forward supplies to the army under my command, as fast as the Brinjaries have been found to take them up; and, besides contributing to the subsistance of the corps under Major-General Campbell, he has lately forwarded large quantities of grain to Canara, in order to enable the Collectors in that Province to export larger quantities for the supply of Bombay and Poonah."

Besides the troops employed under General Wellesley, whose services have been referred to above, Pūrnaiya had a respectable corps of troops on His Highness' frontier since the time General Wellesley marched from the Tungabhadra, which he commanded in person. A detachment of these troops, under Khan Jehan Khan, distinguished themselves, in March 1804, by destroying, a numerous band of freebooters who had assembled in the Savanūr country, and threatened Mysore.

About March 1805, General Wellesley prepared himself to return to England, and on the eve of his departure, he wrote the following letter, dated 2nd March 1805, to Dewan Pūrnaiya, which bears eloquent testimony to the success of the Administration established under the Partition Treaty of Mysore, 1799 and to the great services rendered by His Highness' Administration to the success of British Arms in the Wars that followed its signing :—

To

THE RESIDENT IN MYSORE.

SIR,

As I am about to depart for England, I have written a letter to the Dewan, which I inclose together with a copy and translation thereof for your perusal and I beg that you will do me the favour to deliver the letter to the Dewan.

I have the honor to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

Fort St. George,
2nd March 1805.

To

POORNEAH.

Lt. Colonel Malcolm will have informed you that affairs having begun to have a settled appearance in the Deckan, I have obtained permission to go to England, and I commence my voyage in a few days.

I part from you with the greatest regret, and I shall ever continue to feel the most lively interest for the honor and prosperity of the Government of the Rajah of Mysore, over which you preside.

For six years I have been concerned in the affairs of the Mysore Government, and I have contemplated with the greatest satisfaction its increasing prosperity under your administration.

Experience has proved the wisdom of the arrangement which was first made of the Government of Mysore; and I am convinced that under no other arrangement would it have been possible for the British Government to derive such advantage from the country which you have governed, as I have enjoyed in the various difficulties with which we have contended since your authority was established.

Every principle of gratitude therefore for many acts of personal kindness to myself, and a strong sense of the public benefits which have been derived from your administration, make me anxious for its continuance, and for its increasing prosperity; and in every situation in which I may be placed, you may depend upon it, that I shall not fail to bear testimony of my sense of your merits, upon every occasion that may offer, and that I shall suffer no opportunity to pass by, which I may think favourable for rendering you service.

Upon the occasion of taking my leave of you, I must take the liberty to recommend to you, to persevere in the laudable path which you have hitherto followed; let the prosperity of the country be your first object. Protect the Raiyats and Traders, and allow no man whether vested with authority or otherwise, to oppress them with impunity; do justice to every man; and attend to the wholesome advice which will be given to you by the British Resident; and you may depend upon it that your Government will be as prosperous and as permanent as I wish it to be.

I recommend to your constant favour and protection Bisnapah Pundit, Govind Rao, Ragenaut Row Ranary, and all the Sirdars and Troops who served meritoriously with me in the last war; and Seshiah, and the hircarrahs belonging to you who accompanied me. They are all deserving of your favour.

You know that for some years I have had under my protection Salabhut Khan, the supposed or adopted son of

Doondiah Waug. I have given him a sum of money, and have placed him under the guardianship of the Court at Seringapatam, and I request you to take him into the Rajah's service hereafter if you should find him to be worthy of your favour.

As a testimony of my sense of the benefits which the public have derived from your administration, of my sincere regard, and of my gratitude for many acts of personal kindness and attention, I request your acceptance of my picture, which will be sent to you from Bengal."

A. W.

Rebellion of Chitoor Pālegars, 1804-5.

In the operations against the Chitoor Palegars, 1804-5, the Mysore Horse served under Colonel Monypenny. They took a conspicuous part in the pursuit that followed their repulse at Mograul, 16 miles north of Chittoor. The only capital punishments inflicted in these operations were in the cases of the chiefs of Yedergundu and Chergul captured by the Mysore Horse. These men having been tried and found guilty of having plundered certain villages in the taluk of Āmbur, were sentenced to be hung, which sentence was carried out. The disturbances were effectually suppressed by the close of February 1805.

Attempt at restoration of Muhammadan power; Mutiny at Vellore, 1806.

The Mutiny at Vellore which occurred in 1806, was not directly connected with Mysore but as one of the two principal causes which appear to have led to it, was said to be the residence of the family of the late Tipū Sultān at that place, it is necessary to refer to it briefly here. Though the origin of the Mutiny and its suppression by the timely arrival of Col. Gillespie from Arcot, are matters belonging to the general history of India, and need not therefore be gone into here, it is necessary to direct attention to one or two particular aspects of it. The garrison of Vellore at this time consisted of four Companies of His Majesty's 69th regiment, six Companies 1st battalion 1st, and the whole of the 2nd battalion 23rd regiment North India. The 1st battalion was the oldest in the service, and had always maintained a high reputation. It is stated by Wilson (*History of British India,* I. 133) that the 1st regiment had been *chiefly raised in Mysore* and that many officers and men had served in the armies of Haidar and Tipū. As Col. Wilson has pointed out (*History of the Madras Army* III. 176 *f.n.* 2), this statement seems questionable. The 1st battalion was formed in 1758 from the independent companies, forty years before the British had any connection with Mysore: in fact, long before Haidar rose to prominence. It distinguished itself in the first campaign against Haidar, 1767-69. It was nearly destroyed at Baillie's defeat in September 1780, and was re-formed at Tanjore in 1781. It served in the Mysore campaign of 1790-92, and again during the final campaign of 1799, but it was never stationed in the Mysore territory until long after 1806. The 23rd Regiment N. I. had, however, been recently raised in the District of Tinnevelly, and contained in its ranks a number of the followers of the Palegār chiefs, whose possessions had been forfeited in 1801 for rebellion. The 69th were quartered in the fort, while most of the sepoys lived in the *pettah,* though their arms were lodged in the fort. The men for general duty on the night of the 9th July—the Mutiny occurred at half past two o'clock on the morning of the 10th—were taken from the 69th and the 1st regiment. It is on record that before the mutiny actually occurred, there were seditious meetings at Vellore. These meetings were, it is stated, attended by the majority of the Indian Officers and by several of the sons of Tipū, then confined in the fort. Another statement on record is that Tipū's flag—an old one, green stripes on a red field with a sun in the centre, which was supposed to have been bought at one of the sales of Seringapatam booty, a considerable time before the mutiny—was hoisted by his retainers. In the course of the counter-attacks delivered by the European troops, a soldier, in attempting to take down this flag, was shot from the *pettah*. Shortly afterwards, however, the flag was taken down by two men who were requested to volunteer for the occasion, under a very heavy fire from the *pettah* and the fort. Lieutenant-Colonel Marriott (1st Battalion 5th) the Officer in charge of the sons of Tipū, who lived in the fort, miraculously escaped. In his report, he refers pointedly to the cries raised by the sepoys as they went from his house. They were, he says, heard to call out "Come out, Nawab, Come out, Nawab, there is no fear." This was supposed to be addressed to Futteh Haidar, the eldest of the four sons of Tipū, who lived in the palace close to Colonel Marriott's quarters.

The quelling of the Mutiny was followed by the punishment of the ring-leaders and by the trial of the retainers of Tipū's sons. Eight of these were tried before a Special Commission at Chittoor in April 1807, and the proceedings confirmed by the Madras Government in May following. One was sentenced to death, two to transportation for life, one to imprisonment for ten years, and three were acquitted. The sons of Tipū were sent to Calcutta, their complicity not having been established to such a degree as to warrant more extreme measures. Here they continued to reside as stipendiaries till 1860. A large sum was then capitalised as a provision for them, with a view to terminate their dependence on the liberality of the British Government and to absorb them in the general mass of the population.

A Special Commission was also appointed, on 12th July, with Major-General Pater as President to enquire into the causes of the outbreak. Among the four members, who were equally divided between the Civil and Military services, there was Mr. Webbe. The

Commission submitted its Report on 9th August, from which the following extract is taken:—

> "There are two principal causes which appears to us to have led to the mutiny. The late innovations in the dress and appearance of the sepoys, and the residence of the family of the late Tippoo Sultan at Vellore."

After enlarging on the first cause, which they felt to be an unnecessary innovation affecting religious prejudices, they wrote:—

> "We shall now remark on the second cause, *viz.*, the residence of the families of the late Tippoo Sultan at Vellore. Accommodations were here provided for them nearly resembling a palace in magnificience, and an establishment allowed them on a very extensive scale of liberality. Their followers had emigrated in great numbers to Vellore, and husbands for the Princesses were allowed to come from different parts of the country. These persons naturally brought along with them, their former attachments and prejudices and the interests of Seringapatam were transplanted with its inhabitants to the Carnatic. Speaking the same language, and following the same religion, connections were easily formed amongst men who were not much occupied with engagements of trade or business, schemes of power and ambition would naturally occur to those who had been born to enjoy them."

The conclusion arrived at by the Commissioners was concurred in by the Government of Madras and by the Supreme Government, the only dissentient voice being that of Sir J. F. Cradock, the Commander-in-Chief, who, in a Report to the Court of Directors dated 21st September 1806, expressed the opinion that the alterations in dress had been nothing more than a pretext; the real object having been the restoration of the Muhammadan power. Major Hazlewood of the 2nd battalian 24 regiment had also pressed the latter as the cause of the mutiny on the Government of Madras. In view of this expression of opinion, a further Court of enquiry composed of Mr. A. Scott of the Civil Service, Lieutenant-Colonel (afterwards Sir John) Malcolm, and Lieutenant-Colonel John Munro, were appointed in 1807 to go into the matter. This Commission closed its proceedings on 19th March 1807, when they came to the conclusion that "the inferences drawn by Major Hazlewood were not supported on any sufficient grounds." The Government of Madras expressed on 2nd April their entire concurrence in this conclusion. However, the Court of Directors do not appear to have agreed with this view. They sent out on 15th April an order directing the removal of Lord William Bentinck, then Governor of Madras, and Sir J. E. Cradock, the Commander-in-chief, from their respective posts. On 29th May, they reviewed the several reports regarding the mutiny in a lengthy despatch in which they formulated their opinion that the:—

> "Immediate cause of the discontent among the Sepoys was the introduction of certain innovations in their dress, which were offensive, and, as they held, degrading to them; and that the captive sons of the late Tippoo Sultan, with their adherents and abettors took occasion, from the dissatisfaction of the Sepoys, to instigate them to insurrection and revolt, with the view of effecting their own liberation, and the restoration of the Mahommedan power."

Excitement at Bangalore, Nandidrug etc.

The excitement caused by the proposed alterations in dress extended to the troops at a number of stations, of which Bangalore and Nandidrug were the chief ones in the State. They were, however, not of such a nature as to cause any great anxiety. Beyond the dismissal of a few men at these stations, nothing of moment occurred at either station. So ended the attempt to restore the Mahammadan power in the South of India.

Mutiny of the European Officers, 1809.

From the beginning of 1807, if not from an earlier period, a spirit of discontent had existed among the Officers of the Madras Army, of which the two principal causes were the higher allowances granted to the Officers of the Bengal army and the undue proportion of commands which had been recently bestowed upon the Officers of the Royal Army. This feeling was aggravated by the discontinuance, in July 1807, of certain allowances paid to Officers commanding districts, stations, and cantonments, out of the duties levied in military bazaars; and by the abolition of the tent contract in May 1808. Though the Mutiny which broke out in May 1809, cannot fairly be attributed to these grievances, but rather to the somewhat harsh and arbitrary measures of the Government of Sir George Barlow, who had assumed charge of office in December 1807, yet there is no doubt that they were real and important enough to exercise considerable influence over the events which followed. The abolition of the tent contract was followed by a memorial signed by a number of Officers, which was forwarded by the Commander-in-Chief on 28th January 1809, but was returned to him by Government. The matter would, in all probability, have ended here but for the unfortunate submission of a report marked "private and confidential" which gave serious offence to Officers commanding corps. This was followed by the laying of a charge, signed by five Commandants of cavalry and twenty-three of the infantry, against Lieutenant-Colonel John Munro, Quarter-Master-General of the Army, and Captain in the Madras European Regiment. He was placed under arrest on 20th January 1809 by order of Lieutenant-General Hay Macdowall, the Commander-in-Chief. Colonel Munro appealed to Government urging that the report had been prepared by him under the orders of the late Commander-in-Chief and that it was a confidential communication. As General Macdowall refused to forward the appeal, the Colonel sent it direct. The Government took legal opinion and requested the Commander-in-Chief to release the Colonel, but the Commander-in-Chief refused to do so without a positive order from Government. The Government through their Chief Secretary ordered that Col. Munro should be released forthwith, which order was accordingly obeyed. General Macdowall had also put himself in opposition to the Government in urging that the loss of his seat on the Executive Council disabled him from efficiently advocating the interests of the Officers. He had, besides, made a highly inflammatory speech to the European Regiment at Masulipatam (24th December 1808). The action of the Madras Government in ordering the release of Col. Munro appears to have incensed the General not only against him but also against the Government of Sir George Barlow. He resigned the service on his way home and signified his annoyance at Government by leaving for publication to the army, an order dated 28th January 1809, in which Colonel Munro was severely reprimanded for having appealed to the Civil power, "an act of disrespect for which he would have been brought to trial had General Macdowall remained in India." On becoming acquainted with this order, Government directed that it should be expunged from the public records. Not satisfied with this, they anticipated the expected receipt, from Negapatam, of the Commander-in-Chief's official resignation, and publicly dismissed him, on the ground that the order of the 28th January contained insinuations grossly derogatory to the character of the Government, and subversive of Military discipline, and of the foundation of public authority." Major Boles, Deputy Adjutant-General, who had signed the order in the absence of his principal, Lieutenant-Colonel Capper, who had accompanied General Macdowall on board ship, was suspended from the service for having knowingly acted in direct violation of his duty to the Government by giving currency to an order of so offensive a character. Colonel

Capper, who, on his return, had immediately avowed himself to be responsible for the circulation of the order, was suspended on the 1st February. General Macdowall and Colonel Capper were both lost at sea in March 1809, when on the voyage to England. Major Boles refused to acknowledge he was in the wrong and his refusal was made the subject of a fresh complaint against him, but he was subsequently publicly exonerated by the Court of Directors from all blame on that account. Meanwhile, the Government of India, at the head of which was Lord Minto, entirely approved of the whole of the proceedings of the Madras Government and condemned the conduct of General Macdowall. They also assured the Madras Government of their fullest support. It appears, however, that Lord Minto heard of the suspension of Colonel Capper and Major Boles "*with the greatest possible regret*" and that he foresaw the consequences which would follow that "*most unfortunate and unpolitic measure.*" He abstained from reversing it partly because he did not wish to "*put Sir George in the wrong on any point,*" and partly because he thought the suspension was justifiable from a legal point of view. In this, however, Lord Minto, seems to have laboured under a misapprehension. The weight of opinion, even at the time, was against the legality of the suspension. General Maitland, then Governor and Commander-in-Chief in Ceylon, vindicated the course followed by the staff officers, and several other officers of experience and distinction, dwelt upon the impolicy of encouraging officers to debate upon the propriety of orders issued by their superiors, or upon the relative powers of different authorities. The Court of Directors, too, on hearing of the suspension, immediately ordered that it should be suspended and later (in February 1811) recorded their opinion that they "could not discover any such interest or obvious irregularity as could justify the Adjutant or Deputy

Adjutant-General in refusing to obey the command they had received from Lieutenant-General Macddowall that the said order should be circulated to the army."

The summary punishment of Colonel Capper and Major Boles created great excitement in the army. It was maintained that the illegality of the order of the 28th January was by no means evident, in which case alone, could these officers have been justified in refusing to issue it. It was also thought that they had the same claim to immunity as had been accorded to Colonel Munro, and they were consequently regarded as the victims of an unjust and vindictive resentment. Colonel Capper, as mentioned before, had left India immediately after his suspension, but Major Boles received addresses from several quarters in which he was apprised of the intention of his brother Officers to organise a fund for his support. They also denounced the punishment meted out to him as "severe and unmerited," and ended by saying that "such mutual support must be expected and accepted by all, who, like yourself, have, or may, suffer through any such exceptionable measures on the part of the Civil Government of Fort St. George, as have rendered necessary the painful step we have now taken." Early in February (1809), a memorial was secretly prepared for transmission to the Supreme Government, in which after complaining about the exclusion of the Commander-in-Chief from Council, the release of Colonel Munro, and the suspension of Colonel Capper and Major Boles, the memorialists observed that the general discontent produced by local and partial injuries had been falsely represented as public disaffection, and they concluded that they "could not suppress the expression of their concern at the manner in which the exclusive rights of the army have recently been violated, and of their sanguine hope and earnest entreaty that the Supreme Government may, in its wisdom, be induced to appease their just claims, and to anticipate the extreme crisis of their agitation by releasing them from a ruler, whose measures guided by the councils of their implacable enemies, are equally detrimental to the interests of the State, as they are repulsive to the feelings of a loyal and patriotic army." The circulation of this memorial which demanded in plain terms the removal of Sir George Barlow from the Governership, was, however, restricted almost entirely to the Officers in Travancore and the Southern Division, and the intention of forwarding it was abandoned about the middle of March, when the general indignation had begun to subside. A copy of the memorial reached Sir George Barlow's hands through a private channel, which he refused to reveal, and though well aware that the idea of transmitting it to Bengal had been abandoned, he prepared to punish the Officers concernod in signing and promoting its circulation. At about the same time, he came to know of the existence of the addresses to Major Boles of which no secrecy had been made. On 1st May, accordingly, he placed his matured plans before the Council. This included the dissmissal, suspension or removal from command of as many as fourteen Officers in the different army Divisions. In the Mysore State, Officers affected by the order were Captain Coombs, Assistant Quarter-Master-General in Mysore, who was ordered to be removed from his command and Lieutenant-Colonel Rumley, commanding at Bangalore, who was ordered to be removed to the 7th cavalry at Arcot. These recommendations were agreed to in Council and the same published in a General Order dated 1st May. Several of the Officers named above denied having had anything to do with the obnoxious documents, but all were summarily punished on the strength of private information, not having been allowed the opportunity of offering any defence. No sooner had the order referred to become public than the great majority of the Officers placed themselves in opposition to Government, an attitude from which, at several stations, including Hyderabad, Masulipatam, Jalna, Seringapatam, Chitaldrug, etc., they speedily passed into actual mutiny. Hyderabad proved the real storm-centre. There, the Officers issued an address to the army on the 18th May in which they condemned the action of Government and announced their resolution to contribute towards the support of the suspended Officers, as well as to join in any legal measures calculated to remove the cause of the existing discontent. This was followed by a letter to the Governor in Council, forwarded on the 23rd June, and bearing the signatures of 158 Officers. In this letter, it was asserted that with the exception of a few individuals holding confidential staff situations, or otherwise dependent upon the favour of Government, the whole body of officers considered themselves pledged to support each other for the purpose of obtaining redress, and that unless the order of the 1st May was recinded, they had strong reason to fear the most disastrous consequences. The letter concluded by promising that if the suspended officers were restored, the army would patiently await the decision of the Court of Directors. A Committee of Officers was also formed, at the same time, for the purpose of conducting correspondence and concerting ulterior measures, an example which was followed at most other stations. On the 21st of the same month, the Officers presented a document, styled their " ultimatum " to Colonel Montressor, commanding the troops at the station, in which they demanded :—

(1) the repeal of order of the 1st May,

(2) the restoration of every officer who had been suspended or removed.

(3) The trial of Lieutenant Colonel Innes who had proved highly obnoxious to the troops at Masulipatam.

(4) The removal from office of every officer of the General Staff supposed to have influenced Government in their several recent measures.

(5) A general amnesty.

This paper was signed by every officer in the force except those on the Staff.

The acuteness grew apace and Government did not know where they were. About the end of July, the Governor-in-Council, with the view of ascertaining the exact state of feeling in the army, resolved that all the European officers in the Company's service should be called upon to sign a declaration, afterwards known as the test, which required them "in the most solemn manner," to declare from their word of honour as British officers, that they "will obey the orders and support the authority of the Governor-in-Council of Fort St. George agreeably to the tenor of the commissions which they held from that Government." Such officers as might decline to comply were to be removed from doing duty with the troops, and to proceed to any station on the sea-coast, between Sadras to Nagapatam that they might select there to reside, until the state of affairs should admit of their being re-employed. The declaration was only signed by about 150 officers out of 1,300, which showed the extent of the dissatisfaction prevalent among the officers.

Meanwhile, Colonel Barry Close, who had meanwhile become Resident at Poona, had been appointed to command at Haiderabad in the hope that his eminent political talents and influence with the army might enable him to win the officers over to reason and restore order in the force. To him a copy of the test was sent; on approaching Haiderabad, however, he was warned to halt at the last stage as his services were not required. He heeded not and continued his march. Arrived at the Residency, he had a consultation with Colonel Montressor and determined, at all hazards, to attempt to place himself at the head of the troops. He addressed the troops but without any apparent effect. They neither would sign the declaration nor withdraw from the performance of military duty. He then declared that he felt himself at liberty to communicate directly with every Indian soldier in the cantonment, and advanced with that intention towards the troops which had turned out, and were turning on the general parade under their officers. His attempts proving unsuccessful, he left the parade and going to the quarters of Colonel Montressor, he relinquished the command, as the object of his appointment had been frustrated. Though the officers subsequently protested that his conduct, as they put it, was "highly prejudicial to that confidence which subsists between the sepoys and their officers" and as "subversive of the discipline they are anxious to maintain" and even demanded that he should "leave the place in the course of the day lest more unpleasant decisive measures should be necessary," the Colonel had left a deep impression on the officers and his alleged "conduct" had told on them and the men. The result was that the officers sent in their submission a few days later. They attributed the want of success of the Colonel's mission in their letter of submission, dated 11th August, addressed to Lord Minto, whose arrival at Madras had by then become generally known, to "the sudden and unexpected manner in which he presented the test," for their signature. They accordingly subscribed to the test and requested "a general amnesty" to all those engaged in the late unhappy events, leaving the rest to his "justice, clemency, and wisdom." Their submission had a salutary effect on the other stations. At Masulipatam, where Lieutenant-Colonel Malcolm had unsuccessfully tried a policy of conciliation as opposed to the policy of coercion adopted at Haiderabad, the news of the submission at Haiderabad had a soothing effect and the officers agreed to sign the test. The rest of the stations similarly followed in the wake of Haiderabad, but at Seringapatam, before news from Haiderabad could reach the station, disastrous events had occurred, to which a reference is here necessary.

Affairs at Seringapatam: state of the Garrison.

Lieutenant-Colonel Davis, H. M.'s 22nd Dragoons, commanding the Mysore Division, the Head-quarters of which were at Bangalore, happend to be at Mysore on the 24th July, when he received a letter from Lieutenant-Colonel John Bell of the Artillery, then in command at Seringapatam, requesting that certain recent orders for the march of a Company of artillery, and the 2nd battalion 19th regiment, might be countermanded on account of the severity of the duty which their removal would throw upon the remaining Company of artillery and the 2nd battalion 15th regiment, which corps together with two companies H. M's 80th foot, composed the garrison. This request was accompanied by letters from the officers expressing their alarm in consequence of the prevalence of a report to the effect that it was in contemplation to separate the native corps, and to seize the European officers. It was well-known, however, that the officers of the garrison were in communication with those at Haiderabad and at Masulipatam, and pledged to support them; hence their principal objection to reduce the strength.

Colonel D addresses the officer without ef

Colonel Davis, being without the means of enforcing compliance with his orders, consented to their postponement pending a reference to Head-quarters, and on the 29th, he entered the fort with the view of using his personal influence with the officers. On the morning of the 30th, he called them together, and after having addressed them without effect, he was told that he must not only remain in the fort, but that he must not quit his house.

However, they changed their minds during the day, and allowed him to return to Mysore the same evening. The public treasure belonging to the department of the acting Collector, Mr. James A. Casamaijor, to whose spirited remonstrance no attention was paid, was seized, under the immediate direction of Captain Cadell, the Town Major, on the same day.

The declaration sent to the fort for signature.

On the 31st, Colonel Davis sent the declaration of fidelity to the fort with instructions to Colonel Bell desiring that it might be tendered to the officers for signature, and that in event of refusal he should use his endeavours to prevail upon them to abstain from the further exercise of their military functions. The envelope and the letter were returned along with the note given below, the copy of the declaration having been abstracted, and retained.

"Seringapatam, 31st July 1809

"My dear Colonel. You must be perfectly aware of the state of the garrison which I reported to you long since, and it is at the peril of my freedom, to open any public communications.

(Signed) J. Bell."

Further seizure of treasure.

On the 2nd August, the sum of Rupees 1,40,000 on the way from the Ceded Districts, was seized by a party sent from the fort for that purpose.

The detachment H. M.'s 80th sent out of the Fort.

On the third August, the detachment of H. M.'s 80th regiment was sent out of the fort with instructions to march to Bangalore. It was duly provided with camp equipage and sick carriage, and the garrison went through the form of presenting arms as it left. These companies proceeded along the Bangalore road for some marches, and then changing their route, they joined Colonel Davis at Mysore on the 7th August.

Upon this trying and unprecedented occasion, Pūrnaiya "afforded to the Resident that ready and cordial support which might have been expected from his known fidelity and attachment to the British Government. A body of 3,000 Silladar Horse which had previously received orders to hold itself in readiness was directed to invest the fort, and to cut off all its supplies, and the whole of the resources of the Mysore Government were immediately placed at our disposal." (Letter from the Governor in Council of Fort St. George to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, dated 10th September 1809).

Colonel John Bell signs the test, while rest refuse it.

The declaration was signed by Colonel John Bell on the third August, upon which he was invited by Colonel Davis, and the Resident, to abandon the mutineers and come to them at Mysore, but he declined, and announced his intention to remain in the fort as long as he could be of any service. With the exception of Colonel Bell, the whole of the officers refused to sign the declaration for the reasons given in the following resolution which was subscribed to by the officers of the artillery, and those of the Indian battalions:—

> "The moment the grievances of the army are redressed, we, the undersigned, will, with the greatest satisfaction, sign the proferred declaration of Governmet under date the 26th July 1809: but as the intention (at present) of that obligation is evidently to bind us down to shed the blood of our own brother soldiers, we must decline affixing our names thereto."

The staff officers, *viz.*, Captain de Havilland of the Engineers, Captain Cadell, Town Major, and three others, recorded their dissent in the following terms:—

> "We never can pledge ourselves to obey the orders of Sir George Barlow and his advisers which so clearly tend to the total destruction of the British Empire in India. In this declaration, we are actuated alone by principles of regard for the safety and the welfare of the State"

The European officers of the detachment doing duty at Mysore as the Resident's escort, and who belonged to the 2nd of the 15th, resigned their military functions rather than sign the test, but the Indian officers and men remained steady.

Investment of the Fort.

Government, on the 15th August, sent orders for the investment of the fort, and on the 10th, a detachment from Bangalore, consisting of two squadrons H. M.'s 25th dragoons, three companies H. M.'s 59th regiment, the 5th regiment cavalry, and the first battalion third regiment, with a party of artillery, all under Lieutenant-Colonel Gibbs H. M.s' 59th, arrived, and encamped about three miles from the fort.

Extraordinary conduct of Colonel Bell.

About this time, Colonel Bell, when called upon to surrender, wrote several letters of an extraordinary character to Colonel Davis and to Government. He complained of neglect, of his not having been made acquainted with the real objects which the Government had in view, and feigned to believe that an attack on the fort was contemplated by the troops of His Highness' Government, for which reason he declared that he could not give it up without the special order of the Governor-General. It was difficult to discover the real object of this address. Colonel Bell, at the same time, despached a letter to Pūrnaiya, the Dewan, complaining of his preventing provisions from passing into the fort of Seringapatam, accusing him of having broken the Treaty with the British Government, and threatening him with vengeance, if he pereseverd in his operations against the garrison. In answer to this letter, Pūrnaiya, with great propriety, referred him to the Resident as the proper channel of communication with the Mysore Government. This answer, it is supposed, led to the measure adopted by the officers of "placing a guard over the Dewan's house in the fort, in which the whole of his private property and part of the Rajah's was deposited." (Letter from Governor-in-Council of Fort St. George to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, dated 10th September 1809).

Troops at Chitaldrug and Bednore.

Although the fort was amply supplied with artillery and military stores of all kinds, the garrison was scarcely equal to the defence of so extensive a place, and the officers were therefore anxious to obtain an addition to their strength. With this object, they placed themselves in communication with the 1st Battalion 15th regiment stationed at Chitaldrug, about 150 miles north of Seringapatam, and also with the 1st battalion 8th regiment, then on the march from Bednore to Wallājabād, and they succeeded in persuading the officers of these corps to join them. The 1st of the 8th left their families at Chitaldrug, having been informed by their officers that their services were emergently required to assist in the defence of Seringapatam against the troops of His Highness' Government, who were about to attack the fort.

The 1st of the 15th were misled in a similar manner. The two battalians left Chitaldrug accordingly on the 5th August, and on the morning of the 10th, while approaching Nagamangala, 26 miles from Seringapatam, they fell in with a body of 3,000 Silladar Horse, which, together with about 1,500 armed peons, under Rama Rao, an able and spirited officer of the Mysore Government, had been sent by the Honorable Arthur Cole, then officiating as Resident, with instructions to retard the progress of the detachment, and to prevent it from entering into Seringapatam. No collision took place that day, and the battalions encamped at Nagamangala.

Attacked by the Mysore Horse and European troops.

The march was resumed at 10 o'clock the same night, and next morning, when about 10 miles from Seringapatam, the rear guard, which had fallen behind, was suddenly attacked by the Mysore Horse, a few men wounded, and the baggage taken. The Horse then made several charges which were repulsed, and the battalions had arrived at their destination, when they were simultaneously attacked and broken by H. M.'s 25th dragoons and the Mysore Horse. The sepoys were completely surprised and made no attempt to defend themselves against the Europeans, whom they believed to be their friends. Captain McIntosh, who commanded the troops from Chitaldrug, was wounded, and taken prisoner, and a number of the men killed and wounded. But a very large proportion, *viz.*, 20 European officers, 19 native officers, 46 havaldars, and 785 rank and file, made their escape into the fort under cover of the guns. Mr. Cole, in a report dated 12th August, says, "a very considera-able number of the Silladar Horse have been killed, this body having skirmished with the detachment during the last 20 miles before the action took place." The actual casualties in the Silladar Horse were 125 men and 150 horses killed and wounded.

The conduct of the officers of the Chitaldrug battalions, and that of those in Seringapatam seems to have been equally discreditable. The former induced their men to march by means of false representations, and the latter treacherously kept their advancing comrades in ignorance of the arrival of the troops from Bangalore. Indeed, had it not been for the receipt of a pressing requisition from the fort, it may be assumed, as nearly certain, that the lamentable conflict would never have taken place. It appears from a report to Government, from the Resident, dated 14th August, that a few hours before the action, Captain McIntosh received a letter from the garrison, in which he was urged to push on. In consequence of this, he made a forced march which was the cause of his missing a despatch from the Resident mentioning the arrival of the force under Colonel Gibbs, and the determination of Colonel Davis to prevent the entrance of the battalions into Seringapatam. It cannot be supposed that Captain McIntosh, at the head of about 1,120 Indians, would have ventured to oppose such a force as that under Colonel Gibbs.

Sallies from the fort. Surrender of the fort.

During the attack, the guns in the fort opened upon the camp, and a party under Colonel Munro of the 15th sallied in that direction, but was driven back. The camp was again cannonaded, at intervals during the night, and a few camp followers and horses were killed, and wounded, but no further damage was done. Another sally was made upon the Mysore troops on the 13th in which Captain Turner, of the 15th battalion, was wounded and several of his men killed.

Disposal of the Company's officers in Mysore.

The next few days were passed in negotiations, during which the intelligence of the submission of the officers at Haiderabad having been received, the fort surrended at discretion, and was taken possession of by Colonel Davis on the 23rd August, the declaration having been previously signed by the officers of the garrison.

The officers of the fifth cavalry, and 1st battalion third regiment, at Bangalore, having refused to sign the test, they had been removed from their respective corps, by Lieutenant-Colonel Gibbs before his march upon Seringapatam. The officers of the 2nd battalion third regiment, which had relieved the 8th at Bednore, also refused to sign, and Major Lucas made over charge of the battalion to the senior Indian officer on the 9th August, pending the nomination of a European Commandant.

Lord Minto's arrival at Madras.

Lord Minto arrived at Madras on 11th September and his advent at once inspired confidence in the army. It was, indeed, felt that if he had arrived a little earlier, the disastrous affair at Seringapatam would not have taken place. The mutiny, indeed, had been literally quelled before his arrival. He had strongly supported the Madras Government and had reviewed the situation in an elaborate despatch dated the 27th May in which he had entirely condemned the memorial which had excited the wrath of Sir George Barlow. On the 25th September, a general order was published, in which the Governor-General, after having dwelt on the desperate character of the contest in which the officers had been engaged, granted a general amnesty to all concerned, with the exception of certain officers, including among others those at Seringapatam. These were all tried on 1st November at a General Court Martial assembled at Bangalore, with the following result so far as the prinicipal officer in Mysore was concerned:—

> Colonel John Bell was found guilty on the 9th December 1809 and sentenced to be cashiered. The proceedings were returned for revision, but the Court adhered to the original sentence. The Commander-in-Chief, when confirming it, remarked that the punishment awarded bore no proportion to the atrocity of the crime.

The measures of the Government were debated at length at the India House from opposite sides. The contest went on for three years, when the attacking party having obtained the majority side, orders were sent out in December 1812, nominating Lieutenant-General Hon. John Abercromby to be Governor of Fort Saint George, and annulling the provisional appointment of Sir George Barlow to succeed to the office of Governor-General. These orders having been received at Madras in May 1813, Sir George Barlow vacated office on the 21st of that month. With the exception of Lieutenant-Colonel John Bell and the commandants of the battalions which had marched from Chitaldrug, every surviving officer who had either been suspended, dismissed, or cashiered, was ultimately restored to the service. Even those excepted at first were restored during 1812 and 1813.

Pūrnaiya's administration. The problems that confronted it.

Pūrnaiya's administration proved eminently successful. The chief problems that confronted him as he took charge of the office of the Dewan were :—

(*a*) the pacification of the country; (*b*) the setting up of an administration suited to the needs of the country; (*c*) repairing the damage done to the country during a century of warfare; and (*d*) carrying out the conditions of the Subsidiary Treaty in such a punctilious manner as to give entire satisfaction to the Company's Government, especially by providing for the obligations rendered incumbent on the State by Article 3 of that Treaty.

According to this Article, it was stipulated that whenever it became necessary for the protection or defence of the territories of the contracting parties, or either of them, that hostilities should be undertāken or preparations made for commencing such hostilities. His Highness the Mahārāja was to contribute towards the discharge of the increased expense incurred by the augmentation of the Military forces and the unavoidable charges of war, such a sum as should appear to the Governor-General in Council, on an attentive consideration of His Highness' means to bear a just and reasonable proportion to his actual net revenues. This was an onerous clause and had to be rigidly adhered to, if the Treaty was not to be broken. Every one of these tasks was diligently and honorably carried out by Pūrnaiya, who by his successful administration, not only made a reputation for himself but also brought increasing fame to the State.

(*a*) The pacification of the country: the Pālegar question.

Owing to the successive wars that the country had to endure and the character of Tipū's administration—described by Wilks as a "complicated system of fraud and malversation of every kind, which grew out of the bigotry and gross barbarism of his Government"—the greater part of the country had by collusion between the Pālegars and the Amils passed into the hands of the former. On the re-establishment of His Highness' Government, there were accordingly few districts which did not at least furnish one claimant, possessing or pretending to the hereditary jurisdiction. In some cases, the Patels and in others the officers of Police emulated the Palegar character and sought to obtain independent rule over their respective villages and the privilege of encroaching on their neighbours. Influential raiyats who could afford a bribe were generally successful in procuring a false entry in the books of the district of the quantity of land for which they paid rent. When the newly appointed Amils endeavoured to check these abuses, they were systematically assasinated. This terrified their successors. There were, besides, a large number of turbulent characters let loose over the country as the result of the cessation of war and these added to the difficulties of the administration. Such were some of the initial troubles that the new administration had to contend against. But the distinguished triad—Col. Barry Close, Col. Arthur Wellesley and Dewan Pūrnaiya—were not to be baffled by them. Among their first acts was to proclaim an unqualified remission of all balances of revenue and the restoration of the ancient Hindu assessment on the lands and in the Sayer (*i.e.*, in the duties levied on the interior trade of the country). This had the effect of encouraging the well affected and allaying unnecessary alarm among the people generally as to the objects and motives which actuated the new Government. To enforce public authority, a small but select body of Cavalry, Infantry and Peons was collected from the ruins of the Sultān's army, while for the preservation of interior tranquillity, the plan of Candāchār peons was devised. The last of these constituted the ancient military force of the country. The necessity for providing against their becoming the instruments of commotion compelled Pūrnaiya, in the first year of his administration, to entertain as many as 20,000 of these, but he gradually reduced their strength. These peons received a village pay of from two to three rupees a month according to local circumstances, half in money and half in land, and three Rupees and a half in addition, when called out from their respective villages within the limits of Mysore; with batta when sent on foreign service. The establishment, as fixed by Pūrnaiya, was based on the principle of having at least one individual of every family of the ancient military class in the pay of the State, the family being permitted to relieve the individual according to its convenience. This arrangement was well calculated to insure the allegience of the whole and in case of emergency, 20,000 men of this regular description of force could be assembled at a few days' notice. As every Candāchār peon was a cultivator, Pūrnaiya endeavoured to limit the service of this force ordinarily to local duty. This duty consisted in being ready to obey the call of the officers of Police, and take their round of duty in the village fort to which they were attached. The establishment of this force had a fourfold effect :—

(*a*) it secured the tranquillity of the country which did not for long, since its formation, suffer the least interruption; (*b*) it checked the system of private depredation under which a portion of the crop was uniformly paid by the raiyats as the price of exemption from plunder; (*c*) by its means a system of Police was automatically organized throughout the country, not yielding in vigour and efficiency to any known at the time in India; and finally (*d*) it enabled the assembling at short notice of an irregular force of 20,000 well affected men for use.

Pūrnaiya and Resident Close tour the country; policy towards Pālegars evolved.

While these preliminary measures were in the course of being effected, Pūrnaiya and Col. Close began their tour through the State accompanied by a small body of troops which Pūrnaiya had to manage, collect and equip. They gave their first attention to the Pālegar question, to which the Governor-General had drawn pointed reference in his instructions to the Resident. These opinions being entirely in accordance with the previously formed ideas of the Dewan, they received precedence over the rest of the urgent subjects that awaited solution. In this arduous task, Col. Close gave the most essential aid. The impediments were numerous, perplexing and hazardous, but Col. Close, with the unassuming efficiency which belonged to his character, enabled Pūrnaiya soon to surmount all these obstacles without reporting a difficulty. The direct authority of His Highness' Goverument was thus introduced and effectually maintained in all Pāliyams situated in the State. The refractory and the turbulent retired from the country; a smaller number of the same type were imprisoned but the greater portion accepted the gratuitous pensions, civil offices or military command, on the condition of residing at Mysore, or accompanying the Dewan when absent from that place. Pūrnaiya treated these last with a degree of deference and attention which appears to have been both judicious and acceptable.

(*b*) Setting up an efficient administrative system.

In the rest of the State where the Palegars were nonexistent—the old corrupt administration soon gave place to the new system. The introduction of the authority of Government was rendered feasible by the efficient police force organized by Pūrnaiya. So effective, indeed, became the Police that the experiment of assassinating an Amil, tried in the early stages of the new Government, was found impossible of repetition. The old tenures of land were maintained everywhere, so that so far as the main source of sustenance to the people and the principal source of revenue to the new Government were concerned, there was no cause for complaint. In the greater part of the country, the hereditary right of cultivation was recognized, subject to the payment of the rent customary in the District. In Bednore and Bullum, the property of the soil is held in great respect. The rent was paid in these provinces in money and the Government could not claim anything further than receive the fixed money rent. But military service had been a condition of this tenure until Haidar in 1764 commuted such service by an additional rate. His son attempted to increase this rate with disastrous consequences to himself. Pūrnaiya restored the rates of 1764 in Bednore as the land tax in that province, a measure which gave general satisfaction. In Bullum, which had not been brought into subjection even by Haidar and Tipū, the rates of land tax fluctuated. In this province, disturbances occurred in 1801-2 and they were, as will be found mentioned elsewhere, put down by Col. Arthur Wellesley. This suppression of disorders was followed by the destruction of forts and the opening up of roads and the settlement of the country. Pūrnaiya visited this Province in person and fixed the land tax on a basis which was acceptable to the landholder. Since then, no part of the State has been more tranquil than Bullum. The policy of Pūrnaiya in this matter of land taxation was hereditary landed property and fixed rents. But this was subject to one qualification: he showed a general disposition to accede to the proposals of individuals, for fixing the rents, and securing the property on every description of land, but did not press it as a measure of Government, which the raiyats habitually receive with suspicion. He held the view that people must be made gradually to understand and wish for such a measure before it can be conferred and received as a benefit. The whole of the revenue was under *Amāni* management, a system which though attended with inconvenience, was diffiult to abolish at the time. On a rough calculation, it would appear that even under this system, an industrious husbandman in Mysore paid to the Government an average rent equal to nearly 40 p. c. of the gross produce of his crops, while about 60 p. c. remained to replace the charges of husbandry and to requite his labour. Allowing about 27 p. c. for charges of husbandry, there would have remained to him about 33 p. c. of the gross produce of his crop, without reckoning the profits arising from live-stock, which Adam Smith considers to be so invariable a source of advantage to the farmer as to be reckoned among the products of land which always furnish rent.

The internal structure of the Government that secured, so soon after the disastrous wars of the preceding century, such an advantageous position to the cultivators needs only a brief mention. The Civil Government was divided into three departments:—

(1) Treasury and Finance: (2) Revenue and (3) Miscellaneous, which included heads which did not belong to the two former.

The military establishment had two distinct departments, Cavalry and Infantry. Finally, there was the Candāchār, or establishment of peons, which formed a department by itself, partaking of both Civil and Military functions, in its relation to the Police, the Post Office and the Army. Pūrnaiya, as Dewan, presided over every one of these six Departments of Government. The operations of the first of these was extremely simple. Each district had its own chief Gollar who kept the key of the Treasury, the Sheristedar, who had the account and the Amil (modern Amildar) who affixed his seal. The Treasury could not be opened except in the presence of these three persons. The Shroff examined the cash, affixed his seal to the bags of treasure despatched to the general treasury and was responsible for all deficiencies in the quality of the coin. A similar process, sanctioned by the sealed order of the Dewan, attended the disbursement of cash at the General Treasury, where the accounts were kept in the same style of real accuracy and apparent confusion usual everywhere in India. The Government did not anticipate its revenues and declined on religious grounds to receive any interest for money and so was not troubled by the theories of finance which modern Chancellers of Exchequer have to grapple with. As regards the Revenue Department, its administration was committed to three principal Subadars and to Amils presiding over Districts, sufficiently limited in extent to admit a diligent personal inspection of the whole of their charge. These latter varied in number from 116 to 120, as convenience required. Their salaries were fixed by the Dewan, at rates considered by him to be adequate, and they were augmented on tried good conduct. Fraud or peculation on their part was met by the single punishment of being declared for ever incapable of serving Government again. Pūrnaiya was "inflexible" in working out this "rule," with the result that the general conduct of the Amils became fairly high before very long. The miscellaneous department comprised primarily of two heads: first, the regulation of His Highness the Mahārāja's establishment of State and of his House-hold and secondly, the custody of judicial records. Col. Close made an examination of His Highness' Establishment, but they were small during his minority. His House-hold was under the charge of Mahārāni Lakshmi-Ammanni, who, as Wilks has remarked, "presided over the ceremonial part of this department with great sense and a due attention to splendour and ceremony." As regards administration of justice, due regard was paid to the ancient institutions of the country and to the doctrines of the Hindu Law. The Amils in the districts were the heads of the Police and decided minor cases of complaint for personal wrongs. The establishment of Candāchār peons imparted great efficiency to this department. The three Subadars stationed at Bangalore, Chitaldrug and Bednore, exercised general superintendence over their respective areas, and directed the proceedings in all important cases, civil and criminal. Criminal cases were tried with the aid of Panchāyats in open Cutcherry. The proceedings of each Panchāyat, with the special report of the Subadar or Amil, were forwarded to the Dewan, who made his decision on the inspection of these proceedings. In matters of difficulty or affecting the life or liberty of the prisoner, the final hearing was held before the Dewan, who pronounced his sentence, assisted by the judgment of the Resident. Sentence of death was pronounced only in cases of murder or plunder on the frontier. Theft and robbery were punished with appropriate terms of imprisonment and hard labour. Fines were discouraged as unsuited to subordinate authority, while corporal punishment was prohibited. Civil justice was administered in a manner analogous to the criminal, with the aid of Panchāyats. The proceedings were held in open courts and the more respectable inhabitants were encouraged to attend as assessors according to their leisure and convenience. The Amil confirmed the award of the Panchāyat where they were unanimous and forwarded it to the Dewan; in cases of difficulty or differences, the proceedings were forwarded by him or the Subadars, as the case may be, to the Dewan who pronounced the final decision on it in communication with the Resident. If he saw cause for it, he ordered a rehearing before himself. In every case, the parties had the right of appeal to the Dewan, whose frequent tours through the country facilitated the exercise of this right. It will be seen that though extensive powers, in matters civil and criminal, were thus committed to the Subadars and Amils, the degree of protection afforded to the people in matters appertaining to the Revenue and in the enjoyment of their civil rights depended ultimately on the Dewan himself and on the extent of the interference which the Resident may have found it necessary to interpose. Speaking from personal knowledge, Wilks, in his Report dated the 5th December 1804, bore personal testimony to the Dewan's high personal probity and to the frivolous character of the complaints preferred against his administration before him. After investigating every case put before him, he thus summed up his views for the information of the Governor-General (Marquess Wellesley) :—

His interference strictly limited by Policy.

> "I have the satisfaction to state to your Lordship my firm belief that the substantial objects of the administration of justice and the protection of the people in the enjoyment of their most important rights, are attained in a respectable degree by the provisions of the Subsidiary Treaty, and that so long as the constituted authorities shall preserve the confidence of their superiors, these blessings are not liable to material interruption except from the depravity or supineness of both the Dewan and the British Resident."

That is certainly high testimony to the success attained by Pūrnaiya in the working of the administration he evolved. Wilks, however, was not for undue interference by the Resident in affairs affecting the internal administration. He was anxious to establish a convention limiting such interference to cases absolutely demanding it.

He wrote in words which deserve to be quoted :—

> "The Treaty which established the present Government of Mysore, confers on the representatives of the British Government the right of interposing its advice, in all cases whatever; and the spirit of the alliance seems no less to require, a discreet

was right, when he opposed its abolition even in part. In a country where commerce was ill-developed and there was little or no export trade, the loss in the revenue derived from road transit duties could not be easily compensated. For instance, in the year 1802-1803, it aggregated Pagodas 2,57,439 and formed next to Land Revenue, the chief source of State Revenue. The chief objection urged against it at the time was that it was "extremely inconvenient to traders." But Pūrnaiya was justified in not viewing with favour the suggestion of its abolition. Apart from the loss of revenue to be sustained from such a step, it was, in his opinion, likely to affect the supplies required for the Military at the time. The Military needs being imperious at the time, he was, indeed, accustomed to consider all civil regulations with reference to the exigencies of Military supply. He contended, with reason, that when road duties are general, the declaration of a general exemption in any given direction would draw thither the trade of every article which should there be in demand. As a matter of fact, Mysore met, during the years 1799 to 1804, the needs of all the troops so situated as to admit of drawing their supplies from it, in an abundance altogether unknown in other parts of the peninsula. It is true that more detailed attention was given at the time to objects of this nature in Mysore than was usual elsewhere, and that the satisfactory result achieved cannot be exclusively referred to the *Sāyer* system in vogue in it. But it has to be conceded that the effect of that system proved powerful and contributed not a little to the facility of forwarding military supplies. These considerations convinced Col. Close of the utility of *Sāyer*, quite apart from its revenue yielding capacity, and agree to its restoration even in the case of grain. The third head of revenue was *Sēndi*, toddy and spirituous liquors. *Sēndi* was produced from the wild date which grows spontaneously in the State and toddy from the palm. The drawing of toddy from cocoanut was prohibited in every part of the State, as destroying the fruit which has always been reckoned an article of human consumption everywhere in India. The spirituous liquors used were produced in a variety of ways but principally by distillation from the macerated bark of the white thorn. The revenue from this head was generally farmed. The fourth source of revenue, tobacco, was also generally farmed, with suitable restrictions as to its selling price. Betel was everywhere free except in Chitaldrug, where the revenue derived from it was included under the head of Tobacco.

(d) Carrying out the conditions of the Subsidiary Treaty of Seringapatam.

The system of revenue and finance organized by the restored Government of His Highness proved eminently successful from every point of view—both for the people and for the State as a whole. It enabled the people to obtain that much longed for peace that they had sought for in vain for some half a century or so and enabled them to enjoy the fruits of their labour unmolested. It helped the State and those responsible for its administration to maintain their good faith with the Company and to find without undue strain on or oppression of the people they governed the money required for keeping up their engagements under the Treaty of Seringapatam. For the sake of illustration, we may take the progress made by the orderly system of Government established during the first four years of the new administration. This period, as will be shown below, synchronized with the period of the stay in the State of Col. Arthur Wellesley as Commanding Officer and Col. Barry Close and his two immediate successors Messrs. Josiah Webbe and Col. Malcolm as Residents and of the Marquess Wellesley as Governor-General of India (1798-1805) and witnessed a number of wars in which the help of Mysore was sought and obtained, in the shape of men, money and supplies. These were given with a readiness which astonished as much Col. Arthur Wellesley as the Marquess Wellesley. This progress may be set down in the following tables:—

I. RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE.

(In Kantirai Pagoda).

Year	Gross Revenue	Net Revenue
1799–1800	21,13,609	15,99,872
1800–1801	24,10,521	17,94,102
1801–1802	25,47,096	19,78,899
1802–1803	25,01,572	12,89,436
1803–1804	25,81,550	21,97,522

II. TREASURY BALANCES.

(In Kantirai Pagodas).

Year	Balance at its end.
1799–1800	2,38,557
1800–1801	1,79,811
1801–1802	4,15,585
1802–1803	6,39,985
1803–1804	8,44,645*

* Of this sum, Kantirai Pagodas 4,00,062 was due by the Company to the Mysore Government on account of Silladar Horse.

III. COMPARATIVE STATISTICS RELATING TO PROGRESS OF THE COUNTRY UNDER CERTAIN HEADS.

	1801	1804
Peopled villages and hamlets ...	506	25,303
Houses	12,847	5,76,459
Families	12,041	4,82,612
Population (at 4½ persons to a family)	54,184	21,71,754
Ploughs	9,173	3,24,548
Looms	640	30,942
Shops	195	13,840

The progress made briefly indicated.

The above figures speak eloquently to the success of the new administration. A study of the first of the above tables shows the care with which expenditure should have been guarded. A head of expenditure that had specially attracted Marquess Wellesley's attention was alienations of land for religious purposes. To this head he had specially invited the attention of Close in his instructions. In the details furnished by Pūrnaiya to the Commission for Mysore Affairs, this had stood at Kantirai Pagodas 2,33,954. On the new Government taking over charge, Pūrnaiya, evidently in conformity with the advice conveyed to him, assumed possession, in the first instance, of all lands of all descriptions, principally with a view to revising the grants and alienations of every kind. This step enabled him to make commutations of land for money payment with the consent of the parties. In the first year, he reduced the expenditure under this head to Kantirai Pagodas 56,993; in the third it stood at 55,150; and in the fourth and fifth years, owing to the restoration of certain ancient places of worship, at 57,450. The expenditure under the head of restoration of tanks and channels, though heavy in the first two years, went down in the fifth year to Kantirai Pagodas 65,600, which was fifty per cent less than what it was in the first year. Pūrnaiya paid unceasing attention to this eminently useful work. Col. Wilks has left on record a comparison of what they were in 1799 and in 1804 respectively. In the former year, they had universally fallen into the most lamentable state and decay. Tanks which had been broken and disused from two to two hundred years, were visible in every part of the country and very many were overgrown with jungle and forgotten or unknown. By 1804, every embankment and *nullah* then in use had been put in perfect repair; many hundreds of each of the several descriptions of these works which were useless in 1799 had been restored and tanks forgotten for two hundred years had been reclaimed from the depths of the forest. The expenditure incurred on Amildars and their subordinates, on whom the District administration rested, averaged in the fourth and fifth years about Kantirai Pagodas 1,72,600. Leaving out of account all such expenditure as that incurred on the rebuilding of the Bangalore and Channapatna forts, because of possible Maharatta invasions, which were still feared, and on the construction of the requisite accommodation for His Highness the Mahārāja and his relations and the Public Departments of Government, which were expected to be removed in 1804 to Mysore, to be nearer to the head-quarters of His Highness, and the expenses incurred for the rebuilding of the Mysore Fort, and the expenditure on Ināms and Jahgirs, which cannot, for any reason, be brought under the head of "expenses of management," the total expenditure incurred in the fifth year (Kantirai Pagodas 4,86,011) would be about 13½ p. c. of the gross revenue realized in that year. That seems most moderate, judged from any point of veiw.

Military Aministration.

It was, however, in the Military Department that Pūrnaiya's arrangement was most perfect, so perfect, indeed, that it won the admiration of Col. Arthur Wellesley and other European contemporaries of his time. Not only that; he so deeply impressed Marquess Wellesley, the Governor-General, in this regard that he recorded a Minute in which he declared that he was "decidedly of opinion" that the Government of Mysore had "fulfilled the obligations imposed upon it by the third article of the Subsidiary Treaty, in the most complete and satisfactory manner." In the Memorandum presented by Pūrnaiya to the Commissioners for the Affairs of Mysore, in 1799, he estimated the number of troops necessary to be kept in His Highness the Maharaja's service for the security and tranquillity of the country, excluding the

Company's troops maintained under the provisions of the Subsidiary Treaty, at 5,000 Barr Sepoys (or regular Infantry) formed after the manner of the Company's Sepoys, and 2,000 Peons. After the lapse of five years in 1804, experience suggested that the establishment might be thus made up:—Two thousand Horse, 4,000 Barr Sepoys, and peons in constant pay 2,500 with a garrison battalion of 1,000 men on inferior pay for Mysore and about an equal number of the same description for Manjarabad. The 2,000 Horse proposed was to be inclusive or exclusive of 500 stable horse, according to the circumstances. Approximately the force maintained totalled 10,500. The annual expenditure incurred on these troops aggregated approximately in the fifth year to Kantirai Pagodas 400,000 or about 40 Pagodas annually per head. This works out to about Rs. 17 a month per head, which even making some allowance for the higher purchasing power of the Rupee in those days, is an extremely moderate figure. As ragards the efficiency and the utility of these troops, the records of the period are full of praise for the services rendered by them in the Mahratta and other wars which had then to be fought. During the extensive operations of 1803-04, the Company was enabled by the presence of these troops to draw out for field service, nearly the whole of the force intended for the protection of Mysore, leaving but two battalions of Indian Infantry to occupy the principal post in His Highness' dominions. A respectable body of the same troops were assembled during these operations for the protection of the frontier. A detachment from this corps also attacked and dispersed a considerable body of predatory troops which threatened to disturb the tranquillity of the country. The cavalry organised by Pūrnaiya enabled His Highness' Government by an easy augmentation to provide for the service of General Wellesley's army, that body of Silladar Horse, to whose efficient services he has borne such honourable testimony in his public despatches. Col. Wilks, the then Resident, in his report dated 5th December 1804 to the Governor-General in Council, confirmed in unequivocal terms that testimony. "And finally," he wrote in that Report, "I submit to Your Lordship in Council, without the apprehension of stating a questionable proposition, that no equal expenditure for the maintenance of troops of the regular establishment of the Company, would have provided with the same efficacy, for the objects which have been described." This report shows that the extraordinary expenses incurred by His Highness the Maharaja's Government in consequence of the war amounted to Kantirai Pagodas 4,91,911, including Star Pagodas 100,000, estimated to be expenditure involved in the gradual demobilization of the special troops raised for the purpose, which was, on all hands, admitted to be a legitimate special charge incurred on them. These extraordinary expenses incurred by His Highness' Government were "entirely spontaneous." Wilks has recorded the "agitation" displayed by Pūrnaiya when he was asked to furnish the materials necessary for preparing the accounts required by the Governor-General in Council for judging the help rendered by the Government of His Highness under Article 3 of the Subsidiary Treaty "lest it should be supposed that he was too deficient in allegiance and zeal for the common cause, as to require repayment." The same authority has set down his deliberate opinion, formed after a careful and close examination of all the relevant facts and figures, that with reference to that Article of the Treaty, "it will be found that *the Government of Mysore has expended in eighteen months for the general service of War, the average surplus of its resources of upwards of thirty-nine months.*" Apart from all arithmetical calculations of the help rendered by His Highness' Government, there was, in his opinion, an infinitely more important aspect of its relation

Article 3 of Subsidiary Treaty fully and satisfactorily complied with. Testimony of Col. Wilks.

to the objects aimed at by the Governor-General (Marquess Wellesley) in restoring the ancient Royal House of Mysore and setting up an administration eminently suited to the purposes he had in view. Col. Wilks wrote :—

"In whatever relation to its resources Your Lordship may be pleased to view the spontaneous expenditure by the Government of Mysore, of nearly *five lakhs of Pagodas in eighteen months for the service of the War*, I trust that I do not err, in considering the fact itself to speak in plain, but in eloquent language, the sense which is entertained by that Government, of the wisdom, the purity and the permanence of the present arrangements; and that it will be appreciated by Your Lordship, as a true and substantive value, very far exceeding its pecuniary amount."

Confirmed by General Arthur Wellesley in a Despatch to the Governor-General in Council.

Writing on the same subject—how far His Highness' Government had performed the stipulations of the third Article of the Subsidiary Treaty—General Arthur Wellesley giving an account of the ordinary resources and expenses of that Government and the extraordinary expenses it had incurred during the War, said, in his despatch dated 18th July 1804 :—

"It appears the Rajah's gross revenue is about twenty-four lakhs of Canteray Pagodas. It has been raised to this sum by the superior management of the Dewan (Pūrnaiya) by his attention to the repairs of tanks and water-courses, and the construction of roads and bridges; by the encouragement he has given to strangers to resort to and settle in Mysore; and by his general endeavours to improve the agriculture of the country, and the situation of the people under the Government of the Rajah..............................The expenses for the repairs of the tanks and water-courses and the construction of roads and bridges, for the buildings of the Rajah's accommodation, and other public works; the remissions for the unfavourable seasons, and the Military and Civil expenses of the Government, are liable to fluctuation. But the Dewan, at an early period of his administration, determined to provide means to enable the Rajah's Government to comply with any requisition which the British Government might make for assistance in War, under the third Article of the Subsidiary Treaty of Mysore and he has saved annually a sum of money amounting to one lac of star Pagodas. He has made this saving the criterion, by which he had endeavoured to regulate his disbursements and he has considered the sum resulting from the saving to constitute the fund for answering any eventual demand under this Article of the Treaty."

After giving a description of the peace establishment of His Highness' Military Department, as set out above, and mentioning the details of the extraordinary expenses incurred by His Highness' Government, aggregating Pagodas 3,59,188, he referred to the "material assistance" that that Government had afforded to him during the Mahratta War of 1803-1804 in equipping the corps fitted out at Seringapatam, in despatching the supplies required for the troops on the march to the frontier and to the cavalry and the Brinjaris in supplying the magazines formed in Mysore, and generally in providing for all the calls made upon them. He also spoke approvingly of the services rendered by the corps of troops on His Highness' frontier under Pūrnaiya's personal command, which throughout the time the War lasted kept the enemy out of Mysore limits, and then conlcuded as follows :—

"I now take the liberty of congratulating Your Excellency (Marquess Wellesley) upon the success of all your measures respecting the Government of Mysore, and upon the practical benefits which the British Government has derived from its establishment. I cannot avoid, at the same time expressing an anxious hope, that the principles on which that Government was established and has been conducted and supported will be strengthened and rendered permanent."

Marquess Wellesley's commendation of His Highness' Government and its loyal fulfilment of the Treaty obligations.

Shortly after receipt of the above letter dated 18th July 1804 from General Arthur Wellesley, the Marquess Wellesley drew up, on 5th October 1804, a minute in which he sketched out the circumstances under which the liabilities mentioned in Article three of the Subsidiary Treaty came to be imposed on the restored Government of

His Highness and the circumstances as well under which, at the time of the Mahratta War, about the close of 1802, His Highness' Government were requested by the Madras Government, under instructions from the Supreme Government, an augmentation in His Highness' Cavalry establishment. He also bore testimony in it to the ready manner in which His Highness' Government raised an additional cavalry force of 1200 Silladar Horse, to which subsequently were added by it at different periods additional levies of Silladar Horse aggregating 1045. He further duly noted down in the Minute the facts that the actual disbursement of His Highness' Government on account of these additional levies and on account of the extra charges incurred in the equipment of the whole force of cavalry employed in co-operation with the British troops during the War greatly exceeded the amount charged to the Company and that it had, besides, incurred various other extra expenses in the prosecution of the War and was still bound to incur further charges owing to the necessity of having to gradually reduce the body of Silladar Horse thus raised and bring it down to peace establishment, the total of all which charges, he said had been mentioned in the annexure to General Wellesley's letter as amounting to Pagodas 3,59,188. He then proceeded to endorse the appraisement of the faithful manner in which His Highness' Government had carried out their obligations under Article 3 of the Treaty and in doing so used words not of mere praise but of warm appreciation, words too which will long be remembered as a just requital of help received at a moment when it was most opportune. He wrote:—

> "The third article of the Subsidiary Treaty was not intended to establish a precise rule to determine the proportion, which the pecuniary aid to be afforded by the Rajah of Mysore to the British Government on occasions of joint war should bear to the resources of his country; it would indeed

have been difficult, if not impracticable, to have formed such a rule. I am of opinion that the question of the Rajah's complete execution of the third article of the Subsidiary Treaty on the occasion of the late war, should be determined with reference to the general exertions of the Government of Mysore in support of the common course, as well as the extent of its pecuniary contributions.

"The despatch from Major-General Wellesley to which I have referred in this Minute, contains a just and most honourable testimony of the zeal, judgment and fidelity which regulated the exertions of the Government of Mysore in cooperating with the British Power, and of the degree in which these exertions contributed to the successful prosecution of the War. In my judgment, therefore, the Government of Mysore must be considered to have afforded to the British Government and its Allies in the late war, a degree of aid, greatly exceeding that which the British Government and its Allies could have derived from a mere pecuniary contribution on the part of the Rajah of Mysore, equal in amount of the extra charges actually incurred by the Rajah of Mysore on the occasion of the late War.

"The amount, however, of the extra charges incurred by the Rajah of Mysore, viewed as a pecuniary contribution, appears to me to be as considerable as could be reasonably and justly required from the Rajah of Mysore, under the provisions of the third Article of the Subsidiary Treaty.

"After deducting seven lacs of Pagodas payable to the Honourable Company on account of the Subsidiary Forces stationed in Mysore, the amount of these extra charges is nearly equal to one-fifteenth of the gross revenue of Rajah's dominions. That amount also nearly equals the aggregate of the sums intended by the Dewan of Mysore to be annually set aside for the express purpose of meeting the contingency of War, as described in the fifteenth paragraph of Major-General Wellesley's despatch, and may, therefore, be considered at the commencement of the War, to have constituted nearly the whole of the disposable funds of the Government of Mysore."

"For these reasons, I am decidedly of opinion, that the Government of Mysore has fulfilled obligations imposed upon it by the third Article of the Subsidiary Treaty, in the most complete and satisfactory manner.

"With a view to obviate the embarrassments which might hereafter arise from the difficulty of defining the extent of the aid to be eventually required from the Rajah of Mysore, under the provisions of the third Article of the Subsidiary Treaty, I purpose, that the aid actually afforded by the Government on the occasion of the late War, be considered as the standard by which our future demands on the Government of Mysore shall be regulated on similar occasions.

"I have great satisfaction in availing myself on this occasion to record my deliberate declaration, that every object which I contemplated, in the settlement of the Government of Mysore have been conducted with a degree of regularity, wisdom, discretion and justice, unparalleled in any Native State in India. The benefits of this system of administration, combined with the conditions of its connection with the British Government, have been manifested in the general tranquillity and prosperity of the Rajah of Mysore's dominions, in the increase of population and resources of the country, in the general happiness of the people, and in the ability of the Government of Mysore to discharge with zeal, and fidelity, every obligation of the subsisting Alliance.

"Under the operation of the Treaties of Mysore and Seringapatam in the course of five years, that country has acquired a degree of prosperity, which could not possibly have been attained under any other system of political connection, and has been enabled in some degree to repay, by the efficiency of its assistance in the hour of emergency, the benefits which it has derived from the protecting influence and power of the British Government."

"I discharge a satisfactory part of my duty in availing myself of this occasion to record the high sense, which I entertain of the merits and services of the Dewan Pūrniah. To the extraordinary abilities, eminent public zeal, integrity, judgment, and energy of that distinguished Minister, must be ascribed, in a considerable degree, the success of measures, which I originally adopted for the settlement of Mysore and the happy and prosperous condition of that flourishing country. The merits and services of the Dewan have been peculiarly conspicuous in the promptitude and wisdom manifested by him in the application of the resources of Mysore to the exigencies of the public service during the late War with the confederated Mahratta chieftains: and I deem it to be an act of justice to acknowledge that the expectations which I formed in selecting Pūrniah for the important office of Minister of Mysore, have been greatly exceeded by the benefits which have resulted from his excellent administration."

Marquess Wellesley's declaration that His Highness' Government has fully and satisfactorily complied with the third Article of the Subsidiary Treaty was finally given formal effect to by the supplementary Treaty concluded between the Company and His Highness the Maharaja on 29th January 1807, which rendered specific His Highness' pecuniary obligation in the event of War by commuting it to the maintenance of a body of 4,000 Horse at all times.

According to Sir John Malcolm, it would seem that this modification of the Treaty was to some extent due to Sir George Barlow as well. The following passage from his writings (see his *Political History of India, 1784-1829*, I, 544-7) render this point clear:—

"From the hour when the Government of Mysore was established, the whole attention of its *able minister Pūrniah* had been directed to the object of saving the Country from such internal troubles as are the common consequences of those changes which throw the Military part of the population suddenly out of employ. Besides some battalions of regular Infantry, he kept in service a very numerous local militia and a large and efficient body of irregular Horse formed of the very best of those Troops who had served Hyder Ali and Tipū Sultān and (had been) commanded by the Officers most distinguished in the service of those Princes. The measure grounded, as it were, on a knowledge of human nature and of the peculiar feelings and habits of the Natives of India had the complete success which it merited. The internal tranquillity of the country was undisturbed and the Troops of the Rajah of Mysore, particularly the Horse, were found useful and efficient auxiliaries.

"A consideration of the above circumstances and of the just title to favour which the Mysore Government had established, induced Sir George Barlow, then Governor-General, to consent to the modification of the article of the Treaty of Mysore which gave to the British an indefinite power of calling on the Rajah for pecuniary assistance on the occasion of War. This article, which was alarming to the dependant State, from its being undefined, was commuted for a contingent of four thousand Horse upon whose services we had a right at all times to call, paying only a small extra allowance necessary for their support when employed beyond the limits of the Mysore Dominions.

"The above engagement negotiated and concluded in the true spirit of those principles on which the connection was formed by rendering that specific which was indefinite, and by making that which was before a question of expediency or policy, an article of faith, not only confirmed the benefits derived from this alliance but gave it durability by placing beyond the power of the Rajah the means of diminishing his own responsibility and his utility as an ally.

"The constitution of that body of men, for whose permanent support this arrangement provided, corresponded with the character of the Government which they served. The Commanders of these Horse form a part of the aristocracy of the State to which they belong and by their good conduct with the British Armies they obtained a title to our favor and protection which, without trenching on the right of their Prince to raise or degrade them, renders such an act when opposed to justice so ungracious that there is hardly an instance of its occurrence; and in every case where an officer of distinction dies, the command of his men devolves, according to the usage of the service, on the son or the next heir."

Result of Supreme Government's approbation: Mysore placed directly under the Supreme Government. 5th October 1804.

Marquess Wellesley's description of his acknowledgment of the services rendered by His Highness' Dewan as an "act of justice" was apposite. He followed up the Minute in which he made this acknowledgment by a letter, indicted on the same date (5th October 1804), to Lord William Bentinck, then Governor of Madras, in which he announced to him that an important change had been resolved upon. This was the placing of the Government of Mysore, under the direct authority of the Supreme

Government instead of, as heretofore, (under his orders dated the 4th September 1799), under the Government of Fort St. George. The reason for this change was the great alteration which had taken place in the political situation by about 1804 and more especially the improved connection which had been established between the British Government and the Peishwa, whose dominions became, as the result of the late War, contiguous to those of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore. The order was to take immediate effect and Lord Bentinck was requested to appraize the British Resident in Mysore of it and ask him to address all his correspondence direct to the Governor-General in Council and to inform him that he was to receive immediately from that authority all such orders and instructions as it might be necessary to issue to him for his guidance. How far this change was due to the influence of General Arthur Wellesley, it is difficult to determine. But there is evidence enough in the Wellington Despatches to infer that it should have been largely his work. He had no high opinion of the capacity of the then Madras Government. In a letter dated 8th July 1801, he had bitingly referred to the *dubashery* (management through *dubashes*) and the corruption which was prevalent there. Writing again, on 10th November 1801, to his brother Henry Wellesley (afterwards famous as Lord Cowley and as Ambassador at Paris) he had spoken of "Madras sharks." In January 1804, he made it known to the Marquess Wellesley that Malcolm's successor at Mysore should be "a gentlemen from the Bengal Civil Service." He added:—

> "The Government of that country should be placed under the immediate protection and superintendence of the Governor-General in Council. The Governors of Fort St. George ought to have no more to do with the Rajah, than they have with the Soubah of the Deccan or the Peishwa. The consequence of the continuance of the present system will be, that the Rajah's

Government will be destroyed by corruption; or if they should not be corrupt, by calumny. I know no person, either civil or military, at Fort St. George, who would set his face against the first evil; or who has the strength of character or talents to defend the Government against the second. In my opinion, the only remedy is to take the Rajah under the wing of the Governor-General; and this can be done effectively only by appointing, as Resident, a gentleman of the Bengal Civil Service, and by directing him to correspond only with the Governor-General."

Court of Directors reverse the arrangement and restore the controlling authority to the Madras Government, 15th December 1806.

The Court of Directors, however, did not eventually approve of this arrangement. Shortly after the recall of Marquess Wellesley, they sent out orders to the Supreme Government reversing the same. These orders were made known to the Government of Fort St. George and the Resident at Mysore on 15th December 1806, and agreeably to them the Madras Government, obtained, once again "the immediate controlling authority over the Residency of Mysore."

Increasing prosperity of the country.

Meanwhile the country began rapidly to recover from the ravages of a century. The prosperous appearance it put on within a year of the restoration of the ancient Royal House cannot be better described than in the words of Colonel Arthur Wellesley, in a letter dated 26th May 1801:—

"The Rajah's Government is in the most prosperous state. The country is become a garden where it is inhabited, and the inhabitants are returning fast to those parts which the last savage had forced them to quit. The family have moved into old Mysore, where their ancient Palace has been rebuilt in the same form in which it was formerly and I believe, on the old foundations. The whole family appear as happy as we wished they should be when this Government was established. Mysore is become a large and handsome Native Town, full of inhabitants; the whole Country is settled and in perfect tranquillity. I believe the Rajah's treasury is rich, as he pays his kists with regularity; but Purneah (Pūrnaiya), who has an eye to the future prosperity and revenue of the country, has repaired numberless tanks, particularly that large one near Milcottah (Melkote); has rebuilt many towns, and forts: and, I understand, encourages the inhabitants of the Country in all parts by advance of money and remissions whenever they require them. Thus the establishment has succeeded in a manner equal to our most sanguine expectations; and there is every prospect that its prosperity will be permanent."

The tank near Melkote referred to above by General Wellesley should be the splendid tank of Moti Talab at Tonnur, 10 miles north-west of Seringapatam. Writing of its restoration to Lord Clive, Governor of Madras, Pūrnaiya remarked on 13th November 1800:—

"The Mutti Talak (for Talab or tank) situated in the village Tunnaier (Tonnur), which tank had remained in a state of ruin for a series of years, has been recently rebuilt in the strongest manner, and at present contains a body of water of about sixty feet deep" (the words in the original letter mention the depth as "twelve men's depth"). (See *Records of Fort St. George, Country Correspondence, Pol. Dept.* 1801, letter No. 21).

That General Wellesley's description of the increasing prosperity of the country was a just appreciation of the eminently practical and utilitarian character of the administration of Pūrnaiya is well established by the records of the period, referred to below.

Public works carried out by Pūrnaiya.

Besides the restoration of tanks and water courses throughout the State, and the rebuilding of the Mysore Palace, Pūrnaiya carried out the reconstruction of the forts of Mysore, Bangalore and Channapatna. He also made arrangements for a suitable residence for His Highness at Seringapatam. This residence cost about Pagodas, 11,000 and appears to have been finished in the fourth year of His Highness' reign (1802-1803). Under his fostering care, Bangalore grew in importance and its population grew to such a degree that it was reported that there was "scarce room sufficient to erect more houses" and owing to want of water, a new tank was begun in 1801, "near the rampart" (evidently the Sampigai tank, not far away from the Wesleyan School and the Cenotaph). In April 1802, it was stated to be so far advanced that it was expected it would be shortly finished and laid "to convey water within the town, which will contribute to the comfort of the inhabitants" (*Records of Fort St. George, Country Correspondence, Pol. Dept.*., 1802, letter No. 28). Another public work of considerable importance carried out by Pūrnaiya was the construction of what has been described in the records of the times as the "Great Bridge" over the Cauvery, which appears to have cost over Pagodas 64,500. This is the Wellesley Bridge, still in existence, to the north of Seringapatam. Writing of it on 15th June 1803 to Lord Clive, the Governor of Madras, Pūrnaiya said :—

> "The Bridge having been commenced in a situation selected by General Wellesley is to consist of 70 cheshmahs, each having three pillars. Seventy pillars and a third part of the bridge are already erected, in a manner so strong and of stones so massy that it will be a very durable work; this is the season in which the river fills; during the rains, the further stones and materials which are necessary shall be got ready and in the course of the next year, the work will be completed." (*Records of Fort St. George 1803, l c.*, letter No. 19).

A year later, in another letter dated 20th June 1804, Pūrnaiya, thus reported its completion to Lord William Bentinck, the successor of Lord Clive, in the Governorship of Madras :—

> "Major Wilks (the then Resident) and myself on our arrival here (at Seringapatam), having surveyed the new bridge constructing in the name of the Governor-General, observed what has been executed and what remained undone. After causing the necessary materials to be procured and giving the most express and positive injunctions about the work, it is now finished, except a small part of the parapet, which in a month or six weeks will also be accomplished. The river being

now three-fourths full, a passage is afforded for men, merchandise, grain and other articles. The passage by boats is suspended and the people with satisfaction and gratitude acknowledge the utility of the Lord's Bridge. It is constructed in the strongest manner, is calculated to endure for ages without decay. It is through the auspicious destinies of its great patron that it hath been executed with this degree of expenditure and permanency." (*Records of Fort St. George, 1804*, *l.c.* letter No. 16).

The Sagarkatte dam across the Lakshmantirtha, a tributary of the Cauvery, was another work of public utility undertaken by Pūrnaiya. This dam is near the village of the same name and gives rise to the Anandur Channel on the right bank. This channel was originally carried as far as Mysore, it having been Pūrnaiya's object to supply the town with the river water. The design, however, failed, and the channel is in order only for 20 miles. It irrigates about 1,300 acres and the revenue derived from it has averaged about Rs. 7,200 per annum. (See *Vol. V.* of this work under *Lakshmantirtha*).

The execution of improvement works like these attracted considerable attention at the time. They won universal approval. General Wellesley's commendation of Pūrnaiya's activities in this connection has been quoted above. Lord Clive in his farewell letter, dated the 15 July 1803, was equally strong in his praise of them. On hearing of the projected Wellesley Bridge, through Josiah Webb, the Resident, he wrote to Pūrnaiya that he received the information "as a fresh proof of your unwearied attention to promote the intents (interests) of the Country entrusted to your charge, and to apply the increasing wealth and resources of Mysore to works calculated to combine public utility and magnificence." (*Records of Fort St. George, 1803*, l. c. letter No. 20).

The practical effect of improvements introduced by Pūrnaiya were perceived when a severe famine broke out about the middle of 1804 in the districts north of the

Krishna and the Tungabhadra rivers. The inhabitants of the affected provinces—outside the frontiers of this State—repaired in great number to Mysore, some 500 to 1,000 being reported to be found in each Taluk and people still pouring in. The abundance of grain was, at the time, so great in Mysore, that it was able to furnish these immigrants with grain, which was largely exported to the Northern districts. Lord William Bentinck, on hearing of the help afforded by Mysore on this occasion, spoke highly approvingly of the Administration here. He wrote to Pūrnaiya on 4th July 1804:—

> "While I lament the fatal effects, which have been experienced in other parts of India from a deficiency of grain, it has been a source of gratification to me to observe that the territories of Mysore have been preserved from that calamity and that in continuing to enjoy the blessings of abundance, they have been enabled to administer to the wants of the neighbouring States, and to afford shelter to the inhabitants suffering under the affliction of the famine.
>
> "In tracing the cause of such effects, they cannot fail to afford satisfactory evidence of unremitting zeal and vigilance in the internal administration of the affairs of Mysore; and I look forward with a degree of pleasure proportioned to my confidence in your qualifications for the trust reposed in you, to the progressing augmentation of the wealth and happiness of that country.
>
> "I am happy to learn that you continue to direct your attention to works of public utility and magnificence (Bentinck was evidently referring to the Wellesley Bridge, whose completion had just been reported to Lord Clive, his predecessor); and I consider it to be a proof of the expansion of your mind, that you study to promote such undertakings as are equally calculated to augment the productive powers of the Country, to exalt the honour of the Government of Mysore, and to distinguish the era of your administration." (*Ibid*, 1804, letter No. 17).

The country became so prosperous indeed under the new administration that it was able to find funds not only for the regular payment of the subsidy due to the Company for the maintenance of the Subsidiary Force which, under the Treaty, had to be remitted in twelve equal monthly instalments, but also for meeting the extraordinary Military charges that His Highness' Government had to provide in connection with the Mahratta War and for the public improvements that were vigorously pushed on by Pūrnaiya to bring the country to its former position. More than that, Pūrnaiya's financial methods enabled the State, as he states in a letter dated 30th October 1801 to Lord Clive, to reimburse the Company in the amount of the remission in the subsidy of the first year, "which the unsettled state of the country in the commencement of my management, appeared to render a proper indulgence." (*Records of Fort St. George, 1801,* l. c. letter No. 58). As this offer was made "without the danger of inconvenience to the affairs of the Rajah," His Lordship desired the Colonel (Close, the Resident) to accept Pūrnaiya's proposal. (*Ibid*). In his letter dated 28th April 1802 in accepting the offer, His Lordship cordially congratulated Pūrnaiya on the success that had attended his administration and remarked:—

> "The reimbursement of the money remitted in the first year affords a satisfactory testimony of the success which has attended the endeavours of the Rajah's Government to restore the prosperity of Mysore and the voluntary tender of the money was made in that spirit of cordial union which binds the interests of the Rajah to those of the Company and under a just appreciation of the relations established by the Treaty of Seringapatam. I have therefore great pleasure in expressing my entire satisfaction at this arrangement and in assuring you that it will be equally acceptable to the Most Noble the Governor-General."

He added:—

"Knowing your personal anxiety to discharge the obligations of the engagements subsisting between the Rajah of

Mysoor and the Honourable Company, I have great satisfaction in informing you that recent dispatches from England make honourable mention of the punctuality observed in the performance of those engagements, and I avail myself of this occasion to convey to you the assurance of my confidence in your zealous exertion to discharge the duties committed to you, and to secure to His Highness the Rajah all the benefits resulting to the Government of Mysoor from its connexion with the British Nation." (*Records of Fort St. George, Country Correspondence, Pol. Dept. 1802*, Letter No. 29, dated 2nd April 1802).

Unfounded misapprehensions about the effects of the improvements aimed at in Mysore.

Certain of the works erected and to be erected by Pūrnaiya in connection with the use of the water of the Cauvery, within the State, especially the new anicut at Sagarkatte, which had not yet come into use at the time, evidently caused some misapprehension, between the years 1804 and 1807, in the Tanjore District. On a reference from the Collector of that District, in 1807, the Madras Government caused inquiries to be made in Mysore in regard to the truth of the allegations. In a despatch dated the 27th March 1807, Major Wilks, the Resident, pointed out that the irrigation works of the State had been neglected by Tipū Sultān during the latter part of his administration and that the new Government in Mysore had only restored them "to the extent that the population of the several districts at present admits." He also drew attention to the fact that the dreadful famine that followed in the wake of the war of 1790-92 had swept off a large part of the population, particularly in those districts which were the scene of the military operations, the river districts being, apart from Chitaldrug, the worst sufferers in this respect. As the population could not be increased by any artificial means in these districts, it was pointed out that very many years would have to elapse before the culture of these districts could be brought up to the level even of the faulty administration of Tipū Sultān previously to

1790-92. As a matter of fact, Major Wilks added, by a reference to authentic village accounts, the cultivation in 1804 was actually 12,764 English acres less than that of 1789-90, the year preceding the war above referred to. It was thus obvious that the failure, real or imaginary, of water in the Cauvery below the Ghauts in 1802-03 and 1804, could not have arisen by an increased consumption of water in Mysore during these years, unless the same causes had also operated with much superior force in 1789-90 and the preceding years, which the Collector of Tanjore expressly stated not to have occurred and indeed was, at the time, matter of general notoriety. "The waters have been abundant," said Major Wilks, "in Tanjore during a larger consumption in Mysore and they have been diminished in Tanjore during a smaller consumption in Mysore. The simple enunciation of these two propositions is sufficient to disunite them for ever as cause and effect." He also drew attention to the fact that the quantity of cultivable land under the twenty-six out of the thirty-five anicuts mentioned in the village accounts exceeded the quantity cultivated in 1804 by 36,118 English acres, excluding the acreage cultivable under the seven other anicuts for which the details were not available and excluding also the increase under each of the thirty-three anicuts beyond the village estimates which, it was known, many of them would admit, and which would be resorted to before undertaking the erection of expensive new works. Even if the suggestion that the river works above Seringapatam would influence the cultivation of Tanjore be admitted as a serious proposition and even if the political reasoning that His Highness' Government was entitled to no greater expenditure of water than what they were entitled to as the former possessors of the old river works be adopted, for the sake of argument, Major Wilks argued that it would be many years "before the period shall arrive for arresting the spirit of improvement which at preseent exists in Mysore."

What appears to have troubled the good folk of Tanjore was more what was going to be done in the future rather than what had been accomplished in the past by the new Administration in Mysore. Major Wilks had little difficulty in disposing of this aspect of their objection. The question of erecting new works on the Kapila and Kabbini had not yet arisen, the more so as there were so many old works "unemployed for want of hands." He made it plain that the trouble then in the State was not so much land or works as the want of population to put them to use. Major Wilks made it also clear that the projected canal for conveying the water of the Cauvery from Tippoor across the Lakshmanatīrtha to Mysore had not cultivation for its primary object. "The serious distress experienced by the inhabitants of this populous and rapidly increasing town (*i.e.*, Mysore)," he wrote, "for the common purposes of life, first suggested the idea. It was of course strengthened by the hope of introducing into a Hindu town, the holy stream of the Cauvery; and it was expected that an extent of cultivation would be procured which should yield some return for the first cost of the undertaking. Little or no new cultivation is intended above Mysore. From that town to the Kapila above Nanjangud, where the channel will discharge itself to join the general stream, is about 12 miles, and in approaching some villages in that direction which are tolerably well peopled, it is proposed to make use of a portion of the surplus water to the extent which experience will justify." This was the object of Pūrnaiya's Nallah Scheme, a scheme much misunderstood at the time and ever thereafter.

In formulating his opinion on the subject, Major Wilks had a special memorandum on the subject drawn up after an elaborate survey by Major Colin Mackenzie (of Mss. fame), afterwards Surveyor-General of India. He conclusively brought out in his memorandum that at the period subsequent to November, the Cauvery at Seringapatam had for the past seven years (1800-1807) been an insignificant stream and could not furnish to Tanjore what it did not possess, while the river below the Ghauts was generally well supplied at the same period. He suggested that the river at Trichinopoly had a supply distinct from that at Seringapatam not only in the later portion of the season but also in the earlier. It is an observation familiar to the people of Trichinopoly that the Cauvery fills at that place before it fills at Seringapatam. "And I knew," adds Wilks, "on unquestionable authority that it did so in 1805." The magnitude of the whole Cauvery at the place where the new Nulla was to receive its supply was estimated by Major Mackenzie to be one-tenth part of the volume which is divided by the island of Seringapatam. Though Major Mackenzie had not calculated the proportion of the water flowing into the Nulla to the water at the above mentioned place, his final conclusion furnished the data for such calculation. Withont going into further details, it might be useful to state Major Mackenzie's final conclusion in the matter. "I am induced to think," he wrote, "that no injurious effect can follow from the work at present in execution from Tippoor nor from the repairs of the anicut works within Mysore and that the cause of the failure and continuance of the usual rise near Trichinopoly must be sought in some other sources, if it does not appear to have been owing to the failure of the usual fall of rain at the heads."

As regards the Nulla itself, Major Mackenzie records that he inspected the same and made notes about it on the spot. Writing on 22nd March 1807, he said:—

"From Tippoor to the new anicut measures 23 miles; from thence the new Nalla is now cutting to Mysore in a winding course of 48½ miles, the whole length when completed to Mysore Fort, will be 71½ miles. Its general breadth from 25 to 30 feet and the greatest depth of water it is expected to drain off at its first outlet..................is reckoned at 3½ feet but probably it will seldom amount to that depth. Of this line.....................I shall only add that the greatest depth of water carried by it can only take place at the height of the floods." (See Major Colin Mackenzie's *Remarks on the Heads and Courses of the Cauvery*, dated 22nd March 1807).

Management of British Districts by Pūrnaiya, 1799-1800.

Under the Partition Treaty of Mysore, certain districts on the northern frontier of Mysore were reserved for the Peishwa, but as he did not accede to the treaty, these districts (Holalkere, Mayakonda and Harihar), which now from part of the Chitaldrug District, were temporarily placed in charge of His Highness' Government for purposes of management. Pūrnaiya managed them for the Company and made over the net revenue derived from them, during the year 1800 (see *Records of Fort St. George, Country Correspondence* (*Pol. Dpt.*), 1800, Letter No. 21). In April 1801, as will be found mentioned below, these districts, were under the Supplementary Treaty then concluded, transferred over to His Highness' Government in lieu for certain districts which had fallen to Mysore under the Subsidiary Treaty. Lord Clive (later Earl Powis), then Governor of Madras, complimented Pūrnaiya, in acknowledging the accounts sent by him, on his "prudent and just management" of these districts and every part of Mysoor." (*Records of Fort St. George, Country Correspondence*, l. c.).

The management of these districts was entrusted to Pūrnaiya in accordance with a suggestion made by Col. Arthur Wellesley to the Governor-General in a letter dated 14th June 1802. "I think," he said in this letter, "that it would be advisable to give over to the Rajah's

Government the management of the Countries which it is intended eventually to cede to the Mahrattas, because they will fall more naturally under it and will be likely to be productive immediately than if we take possession of them. Our gentlemen must have new establishments of all kinds suited to their systems, which, however they may excel those of the natives in the long run, are not likely to suit the people of the country immediately. I think it is to be apprehended that if we take those countries, it will create a jealousy at Hyderabad. This ought to be avoided, particularly as nothing can be gained by taking them."

The Three Supplementary Treaties, 1801, 1803 and 1807.

The three supplementary treaties of 1801, 1803 and 1807 may be conveniently referred to here.

Supplementary Treaty of 1801.

As the Peishwa refused to accede to the Partition Treaty of Mysore, the districts reserved for him under it, fell, by right of conquest, to the Company and the Nizām. On the principle of mutual convenience, the Company (represented by Col. Close, the Resident) and His Highness the Mahārāja signed in the Fort at Mysore a Treaty on 6th April 1801, to exchange territories of equal value belonging to them. Under this Supplementary Treaty, His Highness ceded portions of Gudekota (now included in the Bellary District), the Ēlu-Sāvira-Sīme, portions of Punganur (in the North Arcot District), and Pangur and Hulhal to the Company, who ceded to His Highness in exchange the Districts of Holalkere, Harihar and Mayakonda.

Supplementary Treaty of 1803.

This Supplementary Treaty of 1801 was, however, superseded by another such Treaty concluded between the two parties (Josiah Webbe, the Resident, representing the Company) on 29th December 1803, under which His Highness the Mahārāja ceded to the Company

Wodduntapur, Ēlu-Sāvira-Sīme, the greater part of Punganur, Wynaad, Hulhal and part of Gudekota in lieu for Holalkere, Mayakonda and Harihar. It was by this Treaty that the Company obtained the undisputed possession of the districts of the Wynaad, which was one of its primary objects. Malabar was one of the Districts ceded to the Company by Tipū Sultān in 1792. Whether the hill tract of Wynaad, which was part of the estate of the Pichi Rāja, who held the Kotiote taluk of Malabar, was included in this cession was a disputed point. When Marquess Wellesley arrived in India in 1798, it was settled that Wynaad still remained part of Tipū's possessions. By the Partition Treaty of 1799, Wynaad was ceded under one name to the Company, under another, *viz.*, Ahmednagar Chiklur, to His Highness the Mahārāja of Mysore, its revenue being assessed at Pagodas 10,000. But though allotted to both parties the Company alone retained possession of it. Under the Supplementary Treaty of 1803, His Highness resigned all claim to it on the cession to him by the Company of certain districts of equivalent value.

Supplementary Treaty of 1807.

A third Supplementary Treaty was concluded on 29th January 1807 between the Company (represented by Major Wilks, the Resident) and His Highness the Maharaja for modifying and defining the provisions of the Third Article of the Subsidiary Treaty of 1799, in the light of the despatch of the Marquess Wellesley dated the 5th October 1805, which has been referred to above. The object of this Treaty was to render specific this particular Article of the Subsidiary Treaty of 1799, the indefinite contribution in war agreed to in it being commuted for the fixed maintenance of a certain body of horse in peace and war. His Highness was, under this Treaty, relieved from the pecuniary contribution to which he was liable under the Third Article of the

Subsidiary Treaty of 1799, His Highness in consideration of such relief, engaging to maintain at all times, fit for service and subject to muster, a body of 4,000 effective horse, of which 500 were to be Bargeers, and the rest Silladar Horse. Such part of this body of 4,000 horse as in the opinion of the British Government was not necessary for the internal protection of the State of Mysore, was at all times to be ready to accompany and serve with the Company's army, all extra expenses of their maintenance beyond the Mysore territory after one month from the date of crossing the frontier, being paid by the Company at 4 Star pagodas for each effective man and horse. His Highness was also to use his utmost endeavour to augment the 4,000 horse if required by the Company, the whole expenses of such augmentation and of the maintenance of such additional numbers, at 8 Star pagodas for each effective man and horse, while within the territory of Mysore, and of an additional batta, at the rate of 4 Star pagodas a month, after the expiration of one month from crossing the frontier of Mysore, being borne by the Company. As His Highness was, at the time that this treaty was concluded, provisionally maintaining, in confirmity with the wish of the Governor-General, a body of 4,000 horse, since the conclusion of Mahratta War of 1803-04, it was also declared that His Highness had fully and faithfully performed the obligations of the Third Article of the Subsidiary Treaty until then (the date of the Supplementary Treaty) and thereby absolved from all retrospective claims on that account. An important effect of this Treaty may be noted here. While it rendered definite the obligation of the Government of Mysore, it reserved for the State a respectable part of the excellent cavalry of Mysore, which in the intermediate period had been employed with distinguished credit under General Wellesley in the Deccan and prevented from swelling the numbers of that confederation of disbanded armies which, under the designation of Pindaris, did so much havoc, as will be shown below, in 1817. Indeed, this cavalry became useful in putting those very Pindaris and restoring peace in the land.

Presents to Prince of Ānegundi on his transfer to the charge, of the Nizām 1799.

Among the graceful acts done by Pūrnaiya in the first year of his office was one relating to the Ānegundi Rāja, which deserves special mention. The territory of that Prince, which had been captured by Tipū Sultān, who, as has been narrated above, even sacked his capital, fell, under the Partition Treaty of Mysore, to the share of the Nizām. That Prince's House, however, had been from ancient times connected with the Mysore Royal House and the cessation of that connection was doubtless painful to both parties. The Prince of the time was Tirumala-Rāya, probably identical with Tirumala, the son of Vīra-Venkata, the son of Gopāla. (See above under *Vijayanagar*: Successors of Srī-Ranga VI). Pūrnaiya presented to him, in the name of His Highness, on the eve of the transfer of his country to the charge of the Nizām, presents to the value of Kantirai Pagodas 2,375. An entry to this effect appears in Col. Wilks' *Report on the Administration of Mysore.* (See details for Receipts and Expenditure for 1799-1800). Thus ended the historic relationship between Mysore and Ānegundi, the last relic of the ancient Vijayanagar Empire.

Survey of Mysore, 1799-1810.

As the new administration struck deeper root in the soil, it offered increasing opportunities for improving its material resources.

Under the orders of Marquess Wellesley, Lieut.-Col. Colin Mackenzie, of Mss. fame, carried out a survey of of the State, which he began in 1799 and completed in 1810. The first accurate map of Mysore was laid down by him in 1808.

Buchanan-Hamilton's Journey and report on the agricultural and other resources of the State, 1800-1801.

Francis Buchanan-Hamilton, a member of the Bengal Medical Establishment and a Fellow of the Royal Society, travelled through the State and the adjoining areas with a view to investigate the state of its agriculture, arts and commerce. His observations are recorded in three large quarto Volumes headed *A journey from Madras through the countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar.* Though thus styled, it is devoted largely to this State and to its agriculture, trade, industries, antiquities, tradition, etc. The journey began at Madras on the afternoon of the 23rd April 1800 and ended at the same place on 5th July 1801. He gratefully records in it (I. Chapter II, 61), the cordial assistance he received in his work from Col. Close and Dewan Pūrnaiya, the latter of whom he interviewed at Seringapatam on the 18th May 1800. A Brahmin Assistant was given to him and he was directed to accompany him "with orders to call upon every person that I shall desire for information." His journey is recorded in the form of a Diary, which is a veritable mine of information on the state of the country immediately after Tipū's fall.

Abbē Dubois commences his labours in Seringapatam, 1799-1800.

The peaceful and settled character of the country attracted wide attention. The famous Abbè Dubois, then in the south, came towards the close of 1799, by invitation, to Seringapatam and became eventually the founder of the Catholic Church in Mysore and of the Christian agricultural community at Sathahalli, near Hassan, He laboured in Mysore for about 23 years. He is said to have introduced vaccination into the State. (See *Vol. I* of this work, Chap. VIII, *Religion*).

Lord Valentia's visit to Seringapatam and Mysore, 1804.

Lord Velentia, in the course of his travels in India (1802-06), paid a visit in 1804 to Seringapatam and Mysore. At Seringapatam, he was received by Bachche Rao, the Assistant of Dewan Pūrnaiya, and

Col. De Meuron on behalf of General Wellesley, both Pūrnaiya and Wellesley being away from the place on duty in connection with Mahratta War then in progress. He describes the ceremonial visit to His Highness at Mysore on February 23rd, 1804. He was received in a special Durbar, at which he presented His Highness with a fine sword with a handle set with precious stones. His Highness honoured him with a beautiful pearl necklace, a pair of whisks, a couple of fans and two bottles of sandal-oil, for which Mysore has always been famous.

Changes in the Judicial System, 1805.

The only Department in which Pūrnaiya made any change in what he first introduced was the judicial. Experience having proved that separate Departments for dispensing justice were necessary, he established in 1805 a Court of Adalat consisting of two Judges, two Sherestedars and six persons of respectability who formed a standing *Panchayet*, with one Kazi and one Pandit, to assist them in the regular administration of justice.

Introduction of Vaccination in the State, 1806.

An event of importance during this period of His Highness' reign was the formal introduction of vaccination into the State in 1806. The first person to be vaccinated was the intended bride of His Highness Krishna-Rāja-Wodeyar III, the operation being performed at the instance of Mahārāni Lakshmi Ammanni by the Residency Surgeon. Col. Wilks, the Resident, influenced the decision no little. The royal example attracted considerable public attention. On hearing of it from Dewan Pūrnaiya, Lord William Bentinck, Governor of Madras, and his Council gave wide publicity to it as holding forth "to all persons in India an interesting and illustrious example of the safety with which that practice may be extended." Lord William Bentinck expressed the hope that "the example of a Government, which is administered on principles so enlightened as those of the Government of

Mysore will not fail to have salutary influence on the minds of the natives of this country," a hope that has been most fully realized in it.

Official changes in the Residency between 1801-1807.

Col. Barry Close, who had been chosen as the first Resident of His Highness' Court and had so closely co-operated with Pūrnaiya and General Wellesley in making the new Government a great success, was transferred as Resident at Poona in 1801. He was, in some respects, one of the most remarkable men of his time. His transfer to Poona was urged by General Wellesley on the ground that he was "the only man" who managed Indians properly and "that merely from his perfect knowledge of their language." (Letter dated 23rd June 1799). He was most jealous in the public cause and though, as General Wellesley remarked, his temper was not the best and his mode of reasoning not the most agreeable, it was impossible not to agree with him where the public interests were concerned (see letter dated 26th May 1801). General Wellesley regretted exceedingly Close's departure. "Although there is no doubt whatever," he wrote to his brother Henry, "that he is the ablest man in the diplomatic line in India, and that his knowledge of the languages is so extraordinary, and so superior to that of any other European in India, that alone renders him the most fit for a diplomatic situation; and besides that qualification he has others in an equal, if not a superior, degree to other candidates for those situations. Nevertheless, I consider that his presence in Mysore for a few years longer would have been of great benefit and would have established the new Government on so firm a foundation that nothing could hereafter shake it." (Letter dated 10th October 1801). He was greatly admired by Pūrnaiya, who built and named Closepet, near Bangalore, after him (1800). Close handed over charge to Mr. J. H. Peile, who, after a few months, was succeeded by Mr. Josiah Webbe, who had been Chief Secretary at Madras. He, however, left for Nagpur, as Resident there about the close of 1802, much to the sorrow of Pūrnaiya. Pūrnaiya and he were great friends, and the obelisk to the north-west of Seringapatam, known as the Webbe monument, was erected by Pūrnaiya as a memorial to him, when he died at Gwalior, while Resident there, in 1805. He was succeeded by Major (afterwards Sir John) Malcolm. But as he was engaged in the Mahratta War, he did not join until November 1804, up to which date Lieut.-Col. Wilks, the future historian of Mysore, was Officiating Resident. Wilks was a great classical scholar, a keen observer and an officer imbued with the highest sense of public duty. He ably filled the vacant position, a position which, with infinite pains, he used for gathering in the materials required for his *magnum opus*. He stayed until about 1807, when he left for England. Malcolm took over the office about the same time, but he was called away in 1808 for going on a second mission to Persia. The Hon. Arthur H. Cole, who had been, since 1806, Secretary to the Resident and then Assistant Resident, officiated in the post until about 1812, when he was confirmed in it, and he continued in the post till 1827. In that year, he was succeeded by Mr. J. A. Casamaijor, who contiuued till 1832.

Concurrent gubernatorial changes.

Concurrently other changes had also occurred. Earl Powis, who had been Governor of Madras at the taking of Seringapatam, had been succeeded on 30th August 1803 by Lord William Bentinck. About 1805, the policy of Marquess Wellesley, involving as it did vast annexations of territory and consequent financial embarrassment to the Company, which was more bent on commercial "investment" than on territorial aggrandizement, had ended in his recall by order of the Court of Directors. He accordingly laid down his high office about the middle of 1805, some nine months after he had ordered the placing of Mysore directly under the Supreme Government. He had been preceded in his departure by General Arthur Wellesley a few months before. Marquess Wellesley was succeeded by Lord Cornwallis, who was appointed Governor-General for a second time. He died shortly after his arrival, in October 1805, and Sir George Barlow took his place. He continued as Governor-General up to 31st July 31, 1807, when Lord Minto took over charge. Meanwhile, in September 1807, Lord William Bentinck, Governor of Madras, had also been recalled, owing to the dissatisfaction felt by the Court of Directors over his conduct of the Vellore Mutiny. Sir George Barlow was, as some compensation for his supercession, appointed Governor of Madras, and he took over that post in December 1807. It was during his period of office as Governor that the Mutiny of European Officers referred to above occurred.

List of Residents and other Company's Officers at Seringapatam and Mysore, 1799-1832.

1799-1801	...	Col. (afterwards Sir Barry) Close, Resident at Mysore; (assumed charge July 22, 1799).
1799	...	J. H. Peile; Head Assistant under the Resident; also Postmaster at Mysore, from 1800.
1801-1803	..	Josiah Webbe, Resident at Mysore, (took charge March 31st 1801).
1803	...	Major (afterwards Sir John) Malcolm Resident at Mysore. Appointed March 1803 but did not join at once. Owing to his indisposition, Josiah Webbe was reappointed to officiate from 23rd October 1803 to 1st February 1604, when Major (afterwards Lieut.-Col.) Mark Wilks was appointed. He Officiated as Resident from April 1803 to December 1804.
1805 (May)-Oct. 1, 1809.		Major M. Wilks, Resident.
1803-1806	...	Secretary to the Resident: J. H. Peile.
1806		Secretary to the Resident: Hon. A. H. Cole.
1809 (Oct. 10)		Ag. Resident at Mysore: A. H. Cole.
1909		Register at Seringapatam; also Judge, Magistrate and Collector of Seringapatam: J. A. Casamaijor.
1811 (Jan. 20)		Resident at Mysore: (Permanent) Hon. A. H. Cole.
1812-1827		Resident at Mysore: Hon. A. H. Cole.
1813		Judge, Magistrate and Collector of Seringapatam: J. A. Casamaijor.

1813-1815 ...	Head Assistant to the Resident at Mysore: E. R. Sullivan.
1818 ...	Assistant to the Resident: J. A. Casamaijor.
1822-1824 ...	Register and Assistant Collector of Seringapatam (called the Zillah of Seringapatam): Henry Vibart.
1824-1827 ...	Register and Assistant Collector at Seaingapatam: F. M. Lewin.
1827-1834 ...	Resident at Mysore: A. J. Casamaijor (assumed charge: 23rd March 1827).
1831 (Oct.) ...	Two British Commissioners take charge of the Administration.
1830-1832 ...	Assistant to the Resident at Mysore: G. L. Prendergast.
1832 ...	Officiating Resident at Mysore: G. E. Russell, (officiated only for a short time).
April 1834 ...	One of the posts of the two British Commissioners in Mysore was abolished.
1834 (May 30) ...	Resident at Mysore: Col. Mark Cubbon. (Temporary).
1834 ...	Resident at Mysore: Col. J. S. Frazer. (Appointed in June but took charge in October).
1836 (Jan. 19) to 1842 (Dec.)	Resident at Mysore: Major R. D. Stokes.
1843 ...	Post of Resident abolished.

Internal Administration of Seringapatam.

Seringapatam was, during this period, both the administrative capital of the State and the head-quarter of the Subsidiary Force maintained by the Company. The fortress was, between 1799-1804, governed by General Wellesley. The Lal-Bagh was assigned as the residence of the Resident, while the principal Mint, the General Treasury, the Huzur Cutcherry of His Highness' Government were, partly for the convenenience of communication with the Resident and chiefly because Mysore, the residence of His Highness, was yet unprovided with any buildings for these purposes, stationed close to it. About the close of 1804, these deficiencies were supplied at Mysore and these offices were subsequently transferred to that place. The Lal-Bagh was about the same time pronounced to be uninhabitable from its extreme unhealthiness, and proposals for the transfer of the Residency to Mysore were also in hand. The Resident was assisted by a Secretary and a subordinate officer styled the Assistant Resident; there were besides a Head Assistant Resident and a Postmaster. Besides the Officer

Commanding the Fortress and the British Resident, there were the following officers maintained at the place:—Judge, Magistrate and Collector of Seringapatam, who was also Register (or Registrar) of Seringapatam. He had evidently too much to do and had an Assistant, who was also a covenanted servant of the Company.

During the time that General Wellesley was Governor of the Fort, Thomas Hickey, the well-known portrait-painter, who had exhibited at the Royal Academy, visited Seringapatam and painted between 1799-1800, several historical pictures at the place.

Proposed destruction of the fortifications of Seringapatam. 1805.

Before the departure of Marquess Wellesley, General Wellesley was called upon, in view of the peace then expected in Europe, to report on the proposal whether the fortifications of Seringapatam should be destroyed, not only as a measure of precaution to prevent a fortress so difficult to access from falling into the hands of the French, but also as a measure of general advisibility. General Wellesley condemned the proposal as an "improper one" and suggested that it should be repaired and retained in preference to any other place—even Bangalore—as the head-quarters of the Army. (See his *Memorandum on Seringapatam*). He would not agree that Seringapatam was "really more unwholesome than Bangalore." He attributed a great part of the sickness at Seringapatam to the nature of the buildings which the officers and troops had occupied. "Open choultries and buildings, which do not keep out the weather, cannot be supposed," he said, "to answer in this country, and have been equally fatal in all parts above the Ghauts. Since the buildings have been improved, the health of the troops has improved; and, in this season, we have not had any sick officer, or more sick men than there have been in other garrisons." He therefore refused to subscribe to the statement that "Seringapatam is unwholesome, and that art cannot remedy that defect; but that Bangalore is otherwise. (*Ibid*).

Foundation of Bangalore and Cantonment: transfer of British Troops to it, 1809.

Four years later, the continued ill-health of the British troops at Seringapatam, Sira and other places, however, suggested the formation of a Cantonment at Bangalore, the salubrity of the climate of which place had by then come to be widely appreciated. Accordingly, this place was fixed upon as the proper place for cantoning the troops. This was about 1809. (In the Kannada work, the *Annals of the Mysore Royal Family*, Part II, the date of the foundation of the Cantonment is given as 1807. This seems a slip). Seringapatam, however, continued as a military centre for some years longer. In 1804-5, the island town, was found to be so unhealthy that the European part of the garrison, consisting of His Majesty's 34th Regiment, and a detachment of Madras Artillery was reduced to such a state of inefficiency that it was withdrawn during July 1806. The Indian troops had also suffered, but not to so great an extent and it was therefore resolved to limit the garrison to a detachment of Indian Infantry and a small detail of Artillery, to be relieved from Bangalore every three months. This resolution, however, was not carried into effect, and two Battalions of Indian Infantry remained at Seringapatam until 1819, when the garrison was reduced to a single Battalion.

Reduction in the garrison at Seringapatam, 1804-05.

Grant of Yelandur in Jaghir to Pūrnaiya by His Highness the Maharaja, 1807.

About the close of 1806, Pūrnaiya frequently expressed a solicitude to Col. Malcolm, the Resident at the time, that his office should be rendered hereditary. The matter was put before the Supreme Government, who, while admitting that Pūrnaiya had "a just claim for some hereditary provision," held that his request for making his office hereditary in his family was upon "obvious grounds" "inadmissible." They thought that the best provision would be afforded "by the grant of an hereditary Jaghir." After recounting his claims, the Supreme Government remarked that "the extraordinary merits of Pūrnaiya entitled him to distinguished reward." Finally, they wound up by saying that they were "of opinion that his merits and his claims should be rewarded and satisfied by the grant of a small Jaghir. This should be the act of both States (Mysore and the Supreme Government), although, the lands should of course be assigned from the territory of the Rāja of Mysore." They accordingly intimated to the Madras Government that they had directed Col. Malcolm, on his arrival at Mysore, to report to the Governor-in-Council at Madras the extent of the hereditary Jaghir which it would be proper to assign to Pūrnaiya. They also directed that on receipt of Col. Malcolm's report in the matter, the Madras Government should "proceed to accomplish the object in question in communication with the Resident." (Letter from Supreme Government dated 18th December 1806). Col. Malcolm, after careful investigation, recommended the grant of "an hereditary Jaghir yielding a revenue of 10,000 Star Pagodas *per annum*," which, he thought, "would not be considered more than a just reward of his service." He also intimated that Yelandur Taluk, which Pūrnaiya had himself chosen, had an annual income, which he set down at Star Pagodas 8,307. (Letter dated 2nd November 1807). On the Madras Government agreeing with the proposal (letter dated 13th November 1807), a grant was duly drawn up in Persian and the same presented to Pūrnaiya by His Highness the Mahārāja in a special Durbar graciously held by him, on 27th December 1807, to mark the occasion. Col. Malcolm was present on the occasion and stated to His Highness "the causes which had led the British Government to recommend to him a measure, which was as honourable to him as to that valuable servant, whose great services he had so generously rewarded." He also expressed to Pūrnaiya "the sense which the English Government entertained of his character, and how completely all those expectations, which had been formed, of benefit from his appointment, had been answered," and congratulated him "upon the noble and solid mark of approbation, which he had that moment received from his Prince," and concluded by giving him, in the name of the Honourable Company, a present of an elephant, a horse, and a rich *khillat.* (Letter dated 4th January 1808). He also affixed his seal and signature to the *sannad* in a manner that would distinctly mark the sanction of the Supreme Government as well to the grant.

Pūrnaiya's Administration, 1808-1811.

Pūrnaiya continued as Dewan during the next four years. An event of importance during this period was the mutiny of European officers, which occurred in 1809 and spread to Mysore as well. This has been referred to above (see *ante*).

The Seringapatam Medal.

Another was the receipt, in January 1811, by His Highness the Mahārāja, of the Seringapatam Medal, which was struck to commemorate the capture of Seringapatam. The following extract from a letter from the Court of Directors, published to the Madras Army on the 6th July 1808, describes it in full:—

> "Some time ago we caused a medal to be executed by one of the most eminent artists in the country, in commemoration of the brilliant success of the British Arms in Mysore in 1799, for distribution amongst the officers and soldiers (European and Native) employed on that glorious occasion. On one side of it is represented the storming the breach of Seringapatam from an actual drawing on the spot, with the meridian sun denoting the time of the storm, with the following inscription in Persian underneath: The Fort of Seringapatam, the Gift of God, the 4th May 1799. On the reverse side is the British Lion subduing the Tiger, the emblem of the late Tippoo

Sultan's Government, with the period when it was effected, and the following words in Arabic, on the banner: 'Assad-Oollah-ul-Ghalib, signifying the Lion of God is the Conqueror, or the conquering Lion of God."

Of these medals, gold ones were struck for His Majesty, the Rt. Hon. Lord Melville, the Governor-General of India at the time, Marquis Cornwallis, the Nizām and his two Ministers, the Peishwa and his Minister, the Nabōbs of Arcot and Oudh, His Highness the Mahārāja of Mysore, the Rājahs of Tanjore, Travancore, Coorg and Berar, Doulat Rao Scindiah, the Commander-in-çhief, General officers on the staff employed on the service, and the Oriental Museum.

Silver gilt for the members of Council at the three Presidencies, the Residents of Haiderabad and Poona, the Field officers, and the General Staff on the service.

Silver for the Captains and Subalterns on the service.

Copper bronze for the Non-Commissioned, and pure gravin tin for the privates.

These medals were received in January 1811, when they were distributed to the survivors, whether effective or otherwise, and also to the heirs of the deceased persons who had been entitled.

His Highness Krishna-Rāja Wodeyar in his 6th year.

Of His Highness Krishna-Rāja Wodeyar himself, we get a few glimpses from those who visited or saw him during this period. Thus, Dr. Buchanan-Hamilton, writing of his visit to him at the Mysore Palace, when it was being restored, in May 1800, says:—"It is now so far advanced as to be a comfortable dwelling, and I found the young prince seated in it on a handsome throne. He had very much recovered his health, and though he is only between six and seven years of age, speaks and behaves with great propriety and decorum. From Indian etiquette, he endeavours in public to preserve a dignified gravity of countenance; but the attentions of Colonel

Close, the Resident, make him sometimes relax, and then his face is very lively and interesting." His Highness was only about 6 years old at the time.

In his 12th year.

From Major James Welsh, who was serving at Seringapatam at the time, we have in 1806 an account of a procession from Nanjangud to Kalale in which His Highness showed his skill at horsemanship, when he was but 12 years of age. "The Young Rājah," he writes, "was now twelve years old, and as promising a boy as I ever beheld; indeed, Major Wilks, who was a man of sense and refinement, declared he had never known a finer youth, European or native. His manners were far above his age, but he was then under the tutelage of the celebrated Pūrnaiya. During the procession, which took place on horse back, old Pūrnaiya checked the ardour of the Rājah, and we moved at a snail's pace for the first three miles, when this fine boy, longing for a gallop, obtained his guardian's leave, exchanged his star turban for a plain one, and disengaging himself from several valuable chains and jewels which decorated his person, gave his horse the whip, and commenced a *lunge*, which he managed with grace and dexterity, while we formed a ring outside and enjoyed the exhibition. After indulging himself for a few minutes, in which we much admired his manliness, he resumed his dress, and we proceeded in state to the end of the march." (Col. James Welsh, *Military Reminiscences*).

His Palace at Mysore rebuilt, 1799-1800.

His Highness lived at Mysore in the Palace, whose rebuilding was commenced in 1799-1800 by Pūrnaiya. In that year, Pūrnaiya expended Kāntirai pagodas 29,503 on the materials required for the fort and the Palace. In 1800-1801, he spent on them Pagodas 33,000. In the succeeding year, he expended on the garrison stationed in the rebuilt fort and on the officers employed for its repair and the palace Pagodas 42,572, apart from Pagodas 59,522 incurred as extraordinary expenditure on their reconstruction work. In 1802-3, pagodas 43,160 were appropriated for the same purpose, while in 1803-4 a further sum of Pagodas 39,530 was spent on them, besides Pagodas 8,300, for providing His Highness a residence at Seringapatam. In view of the nature of the work undertaken in connection with the Fort and the Palace at Mysore, Col. Wilks thought in 1805, that the expenditure "must for many years be continued" at a rate "at least equal to the average of the last five years, and exceeding that average when all the public departments of the Government shall be permanently removed to Mysore." Wilks suggested to the Governor-General that such removal was a necessity if His Highness was not to be dissociated from his officers. Up to 1805, the chief offices of His Highness were, as mentioned before, held at Seringapatam but Col. Wilks desired that they should be transferred to Mysore as soon as the necessary buildings could be made available there for them. He wrote :—

> "It appears to be essential to the respect and consideration, which is due to His Highness the Rajah, even during his minority, that he should be surrounded by the principal departments, and officers of his Government; the establishment of those departments, and the residence of those officers at Seringapatam, has not only the exterior appearance, but the virtual effect, of holding His Highness's Court at a distance from his person. This arrangement becomes the more indecorous, as His Highness advances in years; and it seems to be expedient on every account, to direct the permanent removal to Mysore of all the public departments of the Government."

Relations with Pūrnaiya.

The attitude of Pūrnaiya towards His Highness was, as might be expected from one like him, both loyal and dutiful. The personal respect he showed to His Highness and to the members of the Royal House to which Marquess Wellesley had desired attention on the part of the Resident, in his Memorandum of Instructions, was one becoming his station and His Highness' dignity. "I have uniformly remarked in the Dewan," wrote Col. Wilks in his report of 1805 to the Governor-in-Council of Fort St. George, "a very decorous attention to these observances" (of personal respect). Two years later, Col. Malcolm bore similar testimony. Pūrnaiya, he said:—

> "Placed at the creation of this Government (the restored Mysore Government), in the possession of all its authority and the charge of its infant Prince, has not only exercised his great power in a manner that has promoted the prosperity, and increased the Revenue of the State he ruled, but by his unabating attention to the happiness of the inhabitants of Mysore, and the Education of the Young Prince, and his undeviating adherence to the principles of the alliance with the English Government, he has merited and received the uniform support of that power; nor can I call to mind, during the period of eight years that he has governed Mysore, one instance in which his conduct has been censured by those authorities to whose inspection and control he has been, during the whole of that period, immediately subject," (Letter to Governor-in-Council, Fort St. George, dated Mysore, 2nd November 1807).

Educational and Administrative training.

Pūrnaiya's time was occupied in incessant labour for the State. But in the midst of his administrative work, he did not forget his primary duty. It is interesting to know from Malcolm "the unabating interest" he showed "in the education" of His Highness. There is a tale told of Pūrnaiya which suggests the *modus operandi* he adopted in regard to the grounding he gave His Highness in the matter of the disposal of public business. Not only did he insist on his reading every paper placed before him for his orders but also he made him never to pass it on to those under him without showing that he had read and pondered it. There may be exaggeration in this statement but it is fairly well ascertained that His Highness never allowed, during the whole period of his rule, any order to go out until and unless he made himself personally responsible for its issue. A high sense of responsibility was thus early sought to be inculcated in him, which stood in great stead with His Highness in his later years. His Highness was brought up in the traditional code of Hindu learning and he soon became proficient in Kannada, Marāthi, Persian and Sānskrit. As he grew to manhood's estate—he was about eighteen in 1811—he had had a good practical insight into the details of the administration. Pūrnaiya made him take a personal interest in the disposal of public business since His Highness reached the age of sixteen. With the increase in years and the growth of knowledge, the desire was kindled in His Highness to take a more direct share in the daily work of the administration of the State. Pūrnaiya, unaccustomed to control, misapprehended the Prince's ardour. Age and continued work had told on the great Minister's health. In 1811, His Highness expressed to the Hon. A. H. Cole, the Resident, his wish to assume the reins of office. Mr. Cole, as might be expected, endeavoured to secure a share in the Administration for Pūrnaiya which would have made for continuity in it. But Pūrnaiya had made up his mind. He declined further office, and in December of the same year, he retired to Seringapatam, where he soon after died, on the night of 27th of March 1812. Old and infirm, after a life of unusual activity and care, "I am going to the land of my fathers," was the tranquil message he sent a few days before to his friend Col. Hill, the Commandant of the fort. "Say that I am travelling the same road," was the reply returned, and he survived the Minister but a short time.

Retirement and death of Pūrnaiya, 28th March, 1812.

Condolences from Earl Minto and Sir George Barlow.

So passed away Pūrnaiya. Mr. Cole, the Resident, was at the time camping at Nanjangud. Immediately he despatched news of the sad event from there to the Government of Madras on the 29th March. The Governor-General in Council were intimated of it without delay. Both the Governments sent messages of sympathy with *Khillats* of condolence to Ānanda Rao, the eldest son of the deceased Minister. (See Hon. Cole's letter dated 29th March 1812; William Thackeray's letter dated 26th June 1812; N. B. Edmonstone's letter dated 1st May 1812). Sir George Barlow, then Governor of Madras, sent also a special personal letter of sympathy to him together with a *Khillat* of his own with the instruction that Mr. Ānanda Rao should be invested with it in his name. The letter of the Governor-General in Council (the Earl of Minto was then the Governor-General) contained the following passage:—

Appreciation of services by the Governor-General in Council.

> "The Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council has received the intelligence of the decease of Pūrnaiya with the feelings naturally excited by a contemplation of the eminent service which he must be considered to have rendered to the British Government as well as to that of Mysore, by the wisdom, integrity and ability of his distinguished and brilliant administration, and by a recollection of the virtues of his character and signal merits of his conduct in the discharge of the duties of that high and responsible situation, merits of which the general lustre cannot be thought to have been obscured by the errors that unfortunately marked the latter period of his age, and his infirmity."

Sympathy shown by H. H. the Maharaja with the family.

His Highness Krishna-Rāja-Wodeyar was deeply touched by the all too sudden death of the great Administrator. With the magnanimity for which he was always famous, he directed his Palace, in the Fort at Seringapatam, to be placed at the disposal of Pūrnaiya's family during the usual funeral ceremonies. He also proposed "of his own accord," wrote Mr. Cole to the Governor-in-Council at Fort St. George, "to continue to Anunta Rao, eldest son of Pūrnaiya, the pension enjoyed by his father, *viz.*, 500 pagodas per mensem under this Government." (Letter dated 4th April 1812). Both the Madras and the Supreme Governments approved of the latter proposal, the Governor-General-in-Council observing that it was "highly creditable to His Highness the Rajah, who indeed, with regard to the family, has lately manifested a degree of magnanimity and liberality singularly honourable to his principles, his judgment and his character." (Letter dated 1st May 1812).

Pūrnaiya's early life and career.

Buchanan-Hamilton, writing under date Seringapatam 18th May 1800, in his *Journey from Madras*, has left an account of the early life of Pūrnaiya from which we learn that he was a Brahman of the Mādhva sect, and descended from a family of the Coimbatore country. His talents were recognized by Haidar, and he was made not only minister of finance, but was also put in charge of the commissariat. He was short and stout in person, of active habits and well versed in the affairs of the country. Haidar rewarded him with a grant of the village of Maruhalli, south-west of Mysore. His tact and the influence he had acquired are well illustrated by the course he pursued, already related, at the death of Haidar, and the means he took to secure the succession of Tipū. His services to the latter were of the highest value, and next to Mīr Sadak, he enjoyed greater power under the Sultān than any other person. But he was in no small danger from the bigotry of his master. For the Sultān, it is said, once proposed to him to become a follower of the Prophet of Islam. As all proposals from a Sultān are tantamount to orders that should be obeyed, Pūrnaiya replied, "I am your servant," and immediately retired. The Sultān's mother, who was a very respectable lady and had great influence with her son, and others who knew him on hearing of what had occurred, represented to him how dangerous such a proceeding was, and how, it would, if persisted in, would throw everything into confusion. The apparent acquiescence of Pūrnaiya was mere courteous formality, of course, and his influence among the people was considerable. Tipū, realizing his folly, allowed the affair to rest, and nothing more was said on the subject. (I. 60-61). It must have been with a sense of relief, therefore, that Pūrnaiya, when, after the fall of Seringapatam, he was summoned to surrender, and assured that he had no cause to be alarmed, replied, "How can I hesitate to surrender to a nation who are the protectors of my tribe from Kasi to Rāmēsvaram?" The subsequent distinguished career of Pūrnaiya has been narrated above.

Causes of difference.

Different versions of the differences that arose between His Highness and Pūrnaiya have come down to us. What the exact causes were which led to these differences, are not by any means clear. According to the Hon. Mr. Cole, the Resident at the time, Pūrnaiya would seem to have developed certain "failings incidental to his declining years of infirmity" (letter dated 29th March 1812 to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Fort St. George), a statement which seems to be confirmed by the letter of Mr. W. Thackeray, Chief Secretary to the Government of Fort St. George, dated 1st May 1812, to the Supreme Government at Calcutta, in which he referred to the errors that unfortunately marked the latter period of his (Pūrnaiya's) "age and his infirmity." There is no indication, however, in the records of the period, what these "errors" due to "infirmity" and "age" were. Sir John Malcolm has stated that "the enemies of Pūrnaiya succeeded in poisoning the mind of the young Prince (Krishna-Raja-Wodeyar III) against that able minister who was compelled to resign his power and soon afterwards died." (See his *Political History of India*, 1784-1829, I. 544-7). There may be truth in this as Malcolm wrote as a contemporary and with first hand knowledge. In the discussions that ended in the recognition of His Highness Krishna-Raja-Wodeyar's adoption in 1865, it has been suggested that Pūrnaiya was "ousted" from power by an "intrigue" conducted by certain people. (See *Opinions of the Press on the Annexation of Mysore*, 1866, quotation from the *Examiner*, dated April 1, 1865). It is possible that as he advanced in years, Pūrnaiya found it increasingly difficult to accommodate himself to the new circumstances resulting from the attaining of majority by His Highness, which doubtless afforded opportunities to designing people to take advantage of the situation and turn it to their own personal benefit.

An estimate of his work as Regent and Dewan.

No narrative of the events of the first decade of the reign of His Highness Krishna-Raja-Wodeyear III would be considered complete without an estimate of Pūrnaiya's work and worth. A proper estimate would have reference to the conditions under which he was appointed to the position in which he served; the persons with whom he was associated in his Administration; and the actual benefits that the country as a whole secured from his uncommon talents. From what has been already mentioned, he took over charge of the administration at a particularly difficult moment. The prospects were none too brilliant and a lesser man than he would have hesitated to accept office. But Pūrnaiya, undeterred by the difficulties before him, agreed to take it over. He impressed the Commission—composed of perhaps the ablest men in the Civil and Military Departments in the Company's service in the South at the time—as one who could be trusted to carry out the great task before him. The Governor-General, perhaps the greatest India has known, with the possible exception of Warren Hastings, agreed with the proposal that he should hold office. To have won the goodwill of statesmen of this type and to have "given satisfactory proofs of readiness to serve the new Government in the same capacity" as before should have required not merely ability but also no mean self-confidence. That his Administration was based on proper lines, that it was progressive without being radical and that it was relatively less costly than what it might have been in the Company's hands were conceded by the highest authorities of the time. Success came to him because he strived for it. Pūrnaiya was active, energetic and all-mindful of his duties. To have secured the unqualified approval of men of the type of Marquess Wellesley, General Arthur Wellesley, Sir Barry Close, Sir John Malcolm, Lord Clive, Lord William Bentinck, Sir George Barlow, and the Earl of Minto cannot have been an easy task. As Sir Jonn Malcolm put it, he could not "call to mind, during the period of eight years that he governed Mysore, one instance in which his conduct has been censured by those authorities to whose inspection and control he has been, during the whole of that period, immediately subject." Such exemplary conduct argues adherence on his part to certain rigid principles of policy in the matter not only of his personal attitude towards the Company's representatives but also in the matter of the administration of the State itself. These principles appear to have been thorough loyalty to the cause of His Highness and to the Company's Government, and good Government his sole aim in the administration of the territories entrusted to his care. These being his principles of action, he soon established an absolute identity of interests between His Highness' Government and the Government of the Company, which enured as much to the benefit of His Highness' Government as to that of the Company. This was exemplified as much by the conduct of His Highness' Government in the Mahratta War as by that of the Company in the suppression of insurrections in the Manjarabad area and in the campaign against Dhoondia Waugh, who if he had not been put down, probably would have proved another Haidar Alī. The internal security of the State being made possible by this policy of "unity of thought," "unity of force" and "unity of action," Pūrnaiya conducted his administration on lines which made early restoration of normal life in the State, a question of mere time. His administration was a cautious one, its primary object being the happiness and contentment of the people. Hence the stress laid on keeping disturbers of the public peace under the strictest control. The policy which put down the Manjarabad rebel and Dhoondia Waugh was the same which kept the Mahrattas out of Mysore in 1803-4 and it was identical with the one that reduced the Pālegars to the position of pensioners without even the pretence of power in their hands. This policy it was that enabled Pūrnaiya to secure the benefits of a peaceful administration to the people who had had the misfortune to experience the evils of continued warfare for nearly a century since the death of Chikka Dēva-Rāja in 1704. The success of the British arms that followed in the wake of the prosperous administration of His Highness' Government in its first decade was made possible by the replenished treasury of Mysore, by the men supplied by it, and by the stores made available by it. The Administration proved a great success and it was that success that made other successes a possibility. Pūrnaiya's greatness consisted in using his opportunities well and to the advantage of the country he administered. He administered in such a way too as to prove beyond doubt the capacity of his countrymen in the political and administrative fields. This is what Col. Wilks, a contemporary of Pūrnaiya and one who worked with him and through him for a time in Mysore, said of the success achieved by him :—

> " Among the inconveniences of that singular and generally beneficial Government, established by the British nation in India, is the practice of committing the higher officers of the army and the State, and almost all situations of trust and emolument to Europeans ; and thereby excluding the natives of the country from every object of honourable ambition. The settlement of Mysore, was distinguished from all preceding measures of British policy, was quoted with applause in the remotest parts of India, and was acknowledged with unlimited gratitude by the people to be governed, by leaving every office, civil and military, to be filled by the natives themselves, with the single guard of those of powers of interposition in the internal affairs of the Government which were reserved by a special provision of the treaty. It is obvious that any ostensible exercise of such a power by the British political Resident, would have a direct tendency to weaken and subvert the authority of the native Government, and that such an interposition, to be efficient to its true purposes, must be delicate, silent, and unobserved ; the experiment was new, and with relation to its remote consequences of momentous importance ; the eminent talents of the Minister and Resident were supported by the cordial co-operation, in the military command of the Honourable Colonel Wellesley, a name which no epithet can exalt ; and Lord Wellesley had the satisfaction of being enabled to declare at the close of his memorable administration in India, that the actual success of the arrangement of Mysoor had fulfilled his most sanguine expectations." (Wilks, *History of Mysoor* II. 386-7).

The above is a just appreciation of the great work done by the Marquess Wellesley and General Wellesley for and in Mysore ; not only that but also by Sir Barry Close and his successors as Residents at the Court of His Highness and by Pūrnaiya in his capacity as Dewan. The last of these, it has to be conceded, made his Administration so much of a success that it was possible to "quote" it "with applause to the remotest parts of

India" and to be "acknowledged with unlimited gratitude by the people to be governed" under the system evolved by the Marquess. There was no doubt control over him ; and there was the provision of the Treaty about interposition. But he made the latter wholly innocuous by his supremely sagacious judgment and unremitting personal toil. Wilks writes:—

> "The practical efficiency of the Government was secured (under Marquess Wellesley's arrangement) by the uncommon talents of Poornea (Pūrnaiya) in the office of Minister to the new Raja, and that efficiency was directed to proper objects, by the control reserved to the English Government in the provisions of the Treaty ; and by the happy selection of Lieutenant-Colonel Close to be Political Resident at the new Court, a man whose eminent talents, experience, and conciliatory manners enabled him to guide the new minister, without permitting him to feel the existence of control."

That was really what made the administration of Pūrnaiya the splendid success it proved, so much so that Wilks pointed to the moral of it thus, in words which, despite the century and ten years which have elapsed since then, still adorn a tale:—

> "It is not intended to suggest that the exclusive employment of native agency is an example fit for imitation in the more extended scale of our national administration of India; but the general success of this experiment, and practice (where discretionary power has been allowed) of the most efficient public officers in the south of India, have established the wisdom, the safety, and may we add, the justice, of committing to the governed, a larger interest in the prosperity of the Government; of securing fidelity in opening to their hopes a field of moderate and legitimate ambition; and thus temperately regulating that system of exclusion which, in its present state, no humility can otherwise contemplate than as the brand of national humiliation." (Wilks, *History of Mysoor* II. 387).

It was Pūrnaiya's good work, his punctilious discharge of duty and his exact fulfilment of his obligations under the Treaty that won for him the appreciation and the goodwill of Marquess Wellesley, General Wellesley, Sir Barry Close and others. The opinions of some of these on his Administration have been referred to above. "I deem it," said Marquess Wellesley, "to be an act of justice to acknowledge that the expectation which I formed in selecting Poorneah for the important office of Minister of Mysore have been greatly exceeded by the benefits which have resulted from his excellent administration." General Wellesley in his touching farewell was equally emphatic as to the success of Pūrnaiya's administration. "I part with you," said he, "with the greatest regret; and I shall ever continue to feel the most lively interest for the honour and prosperity of the Government of the Rajah of Mysore over which you preside. For six years I have been concerned in the affairs of the Mysore Government, and I have contemplated with the greatest satisfaction its increasing prosperity under your administration." And he added:—

> "In every situation in which I may be placed, you may depend upon it that I shall not fail to bear testimony of my sense of your merits upon every occasion that may offer, and that I shall suffer no opportunity to pass by which I may think favourable for rendering you service."

Criticisms of his administrative Policy answered.

Sir John Malcolm was no less clear on the meritorious character of the services rendered by Pūrnaiya and of the "extraordinary claims" established by him on the Government of the Company and Mysore. Such testimony as this speaks eloquently of Pūrnaiya's work. It is, however, difficult to reconcile it with the views propounded by certain later writers in regard to it. For instance, it has been suggested that his system of Government was rather "arbitrary" and "absolute." (See Lewin Bowring, *Eastern Experiences*, 186; also see the last edition of this work, Vol. I. 420). "Arbitrary" and "absolute" are terms difficult of application to the constitution of the State as established by the Treaties of Mysore and Seringapatam of 1799. Under the latter, the State as restored had to fulfil obligations of a peculiarly onerous character. Article 2 fixed an annual payment to the Company of seven lakhs of Star Pagodas, payable in twelve monthly instalments, for securing the defence and security of His Highness' Dominions by means of a Subsidiary Force to be maintained by the Company for the purpose. Article 3 of that Treaty fixed on it a liability to contribute for the expenses of future wars undertaken "for the protection and defence of the territories of the contracting parties or either of them," which was wholly indefinite. Articles 4 and 5 confessedly went beyond the standard model of Treaties concluded so far by the Company in as much as they gave power to the Governor-General in Council, in case His Highness' Government failed to defray either the expenses of the permanent military force in time of peace or the extraordinary expenses incurred in time of war, to have full power and right to introduce regulations and ordinances for the internal management and collection of the Revenues of the country, or even, if they should deem it necessary, to assume and bring under their direct management, the whole or part of the territories of His Highness' Government. The independence of His Highness' Government was, under the Treaty, avowedly made dependent on the manner in which it discharged its onerous conditions. The responsibility that rested on Pūrnaiya was accordingly correspondingly great. If he disliked anything, it was interference into the affairs of the State he had undertaken to administer. To mention but an instance of this extreme touchiness on his part. In 1804, General Arthur Wellesley proposed, without Pūrnaiya knowing anything of it before the recommendation was made, that a couple of persons in the service of His Highness'

Government should be rewarded by the Company for valuable services rendered by them, while on duty with him. Pūrnaiya having come to know of the proposal, mildly protested through Captain Wilks, then Acting Resident, and suggested the withdrawal of the proposal. General Wellesley while agreeing that the agents of the Company like himself "ought to be very cautious in our interference with the servants of the Rajah's Government," urged the plea that it was "not inconsistent with the principle not to interfere with the Rajah's servants, to give rewards to those of them who may serve the Company usefully and with fidelity: particularly if care be taken, as it will be in these instances, to bring forward the Government of Mysore as much as possible; and to provide that the rewards given shall go through the hands of the Rajah's Government, and shall be dependent upon the continuance of the faithful services of the receiver, and in a great measure upon the pleasure of the Dewan." General Wellesley urged that he had gone too far in the matter to recede and that if he now asked the Governor-General "not to give these rewards, he would suspect Purneah (Pūrnaiya) of being insensible of the merits and services of the persons in question, towards the Company or that Purneah was himself jealous of their services." The matter then dropped. The incident, however, shows how "particularly jealous," as General-Wellesley put it, Pūrnaiya was in matters of this kind. He therefore had to devise a system of administration that would suit the conditions laid down by the Treaty and make the interference of the Governor-General-in-Council almost impossible. His policy may be said to have been based on liberty combined with restraint: liberty to every loyal subject to live his own life without interference but restraint on every evil doer that even the chance of lawlessness breaking out might be avoided. That he succeeded in his attempt is borne out not merely by the repeated testimony borne by successive Political Residents at His Highness' Court and by the Marquess of Wellesley, Sir George Barlow who succeeded him, and by General Wellesley, Lord Clive, and Lord William Bentinck, but also by the regularity and precision with which he carried out every single obligation laid down in the Treaty to which he was a signatory on behalf of His Highness. The Marquess Wellesley thus wrote at the end of five years from signing the treaties of Mysore and Seringapatam :—

"I have great satisfaction in availing myself on this occasion to record my deliberate declaration, that every object which I have contemplated, in the settlement of the Government of Mysore on the terms of its actual relation to the British power, has been completely accomplished. The affairs of the Government of Mysore have been conducted with a degree of regularity, wisdom, discretion, and justice, unparalleled in any Native State in India. The benefits of this system of administration, combined with the conditions of its connection with the British Government, have been manifested in the general tranquillity and prosperty of the Rajah of Mysore's dominions, in the increase of the population and resources of the country, in the general happiness of the people, and in the ability of the Government of Mysore to discharge with zeal, and fidelity, every obligation of the subsisting Alliance.

"Under the operations of the Treaties of Mysore and Seringapatam in the course of five years, that Country has acquired a degree of prosperity, which could not possibly have been attained under any other system of political connection, and has been enabled in some degree to repay, by the efficacy of its assistance in the hour of emergency, the benefits which it has derived from the protecting influence and power of the British Government.

"I discharge a satisfactory part of my duty in availing myself of this occasion to record the high sense, which I entertain of the merits and services of the Dewan Poorneah. To the extraordinary abilities, eminent public zeal, integrity, judgment, and energy of that distinguished Minister, must be ascribed, in a considerable degree, the success of the measures, which I originally adopted for the settlement of Mysore, and the happy and prosperous condition of that flourishing Country. The merits and services of the Dewan have been peculiarly conspicuous in the promptitude and wisdom manifested by him in the application of the resources of Mysore to the exigencies of the public service, during the late War with the confederated Mahratta Chieftains: and I deem it to be an act of justice to acknowledge, that the expectations, which I formed in selecting Poorneah for the important office of Minister of Mysore, have been greatly exceeded by the benefits which have resulted from his excellent Administration."

Whether the "benefits" which resulted from such an administration, which wrung such unstinted admiration from the Marquess Wellesley and during the course of which Pūrnaiya was not even once censured by the authorities under whose inspection and control he had worked, can with justice be termed "absolute" need not, it is presumed, be further dealt with here. But it might be usefully remarked that Pūrnaiya was too far-seeing to mistake either the difficulty of his position or that of His Highness, whose minority threw a special responsibility for continued caution on his part. He appears to have realized also the business-like manner in which the Governor-General and his representatives would deal with him in matters small and great. In his case, the knowledge that the Governor-General in Council possessed the right to interpose his authority on certain occasions under the Treaty proved sufficient of itself to prevent any need for its exercise. In matters political, prevention was with him better than cure.

Criticism [illegible] his Financial Policy.

MEMORIAL

Another aspect of Pūrnaiya's administration which latter-day critics have noticed is directly connected with his financial policy. It has been suggested [illegible] as a financier, the accumulation of surplus revenue presented itself to him as a prime end to be attained. It has accordingly been questioned "whether he did not to some extent enrich the treasury at the expense the State, by narrowing the resources of the people; for by 1811 he had amassed in the public coffers upwards of two crores of rupees. (See last edition of this work, I. 420-421). As this criticism appears elsewhere as well and is still sometimes heard, it might be useful to point out that a closer examination will show that it is wholly unsubstantial. The position of Pūrnaiya, in view of the commitment of the State under Article Three of the Treaty of Seringapatam, was an extremely difficult one. His responsibilities were a thousand-fold increased by Articles 4 and 5 which provided resumption of restored territories as the only other alternative for inability to meet the Company's demand. Credit was undeveloped, taxes were uncertain and even some of those realized were partly received in kind; trade there was but a great deal of it was still conducted on the basis of primitive barter; and as regards inter-provincial commerce, a Commercial Treaty had been adumbrated by Marquess Wellesley but had yet to be taken up in earnest even at the death of Pūrnaiya. Such were the conditions in which Pūrnaiya found himself and he had to devise a policy of finance which would enable him to meet his monthly recurring demand of the subsidy of seven lakhs of Star Pagodas due to the Company and build up a cash reserve that would enable him to meet any sudden "extraordinary" war expenditure which was definitely stipulated for in the Treaty. The latter was a demand of an indefinite nature and might arise at any time. Wars were then daily expected and Pūrnaiya would have fared ill if he had not taken due note of his position and the position of the State under the Treaty. He has, therefore, a right to demand that his financial policy should be judged by his critics in the light of the political and economic conditions of his day. In the Mysore of his day—we might even say, in the India of his day, as in contemporary Europe —the efficient maintenance of any army in the field depended in a great degree on the supply of what is so often called the 'sinews of war.' Cases are not unknown where expeditions have failed altogether from want of this indispensable auxiliary. If State-hoarding owed its origin to the force of habit, its continuance was due to a felt necessity. Where credit was undeveloped, and taxes were occasional and uncertain expedients, a State that had no treasure was in a dangerous situation, unprepared either for attack or defence. If primitive economic conditions led to State-hoarding, modern economic conditions have helped to its abandonment. The increased productiveness of taxes, and the facility with which credit could be used, have relieved Government, as Bastable has pointed out, from the duty of keeping a stock of bullion for emergencies. The State has ceased to be its own banker and has come to rely on the instrument supplied by the growth of trade. This was certainly not the position in Mysore in Pūrnaiya's days. It is doubtful even if we could state, without fear of contradiction, that after the lapse of nearly a century and a quarter after he was appointed Dewan of this State, Mysore has reached that stage of economic development which could dispense with reserves of any kind. From the stress laid to-day on the maintenance of "reserves" of different kinds in the State, one might infer that credit facilities still leave much to be desired. While thus the actual economic conditions of his time were such as to necessitate the building up of a reserve of the kind, praise is due to Pūrnaiya, if as a practical financier, he did build up one to meet the stern necessities of his position. There is little doubt that if he had not hit on evolving a policy of the kind he did, he would soon have been reduced to the position of an administrator without the means to conduct even his routine administration, leaving alone his inability to meet "extraordinary" war expenditure of the kind contemplated by Article Three of the Treaty. Nothing is more telling in this connection than a frank observation of General Wellesley as to the economic position in this State in 1801, *i,e.*, two years after Pūrnaiya took over charge, "The great want in this country," he wrote in a letter to his brother Henry Wellesley, "is of money. There is plenty of everything to bring it into the country; but as it is entirely cut off from the sea, and has no navigable streams, there is no commerce, and accordingly in many parts of the country, the revenue is paid in kind and the common purchases are made by the barter. As the Company will take nothing but money in payment of the subsidy, I am always afraid that the Government will, at some time or other, be reduced to borrow upon the crops from the Madras sharks, and the first time they do that they take stride towards their downfall, which will soon be followed by others." Regretting the departure of Colonel Close from Mysore to Poona, at the time he was writing this, he added that "Close had a thorough knowledge of this evil and by his care and management, I think that he would have prevented its bad effects." Pūrnaiya not only avoided, single handed, the detested "Madras sharks" but also the dread calamity of the "downfall" that General Wellesley dreaded. As a matter of fact, writing four years later, in his report to the Governor-General dated the 18th July 1804, General Wellesley referred in glowing terms to the "superior management of the Dewan" (*i.e.*, Pūrnaiya) and mentions how he had raised the gross revenue to about Rs. 24 lakhs of Kantirai pagodas and added: "The Dewan, at an early period of his administration, determined to provide means to enable the Rājah's Government to comply with any requisition which the British Government might make for assistance in war, under the Third Article of the Subsidiary Treaty of Mysore (otherwise called the Treaty of

Seringapatam); and he has saved annually a sum of money amounting to *one lac* of Star Pagodas. He has made this saving the criterion by which he has endeavoured to regulate his disbursements, and he has considered the sum resulting from that saving to constitute the fund for answering any eventual demand, under the Third Article of the Treaty." Therein lies the vindication of Pūrnaiya's financial policy—a policy for which there was at the time no other possible alternative.

Principle of State hoarding.

The principle of State hoarding has not so far been, from a purely theoretic standpoint, entirely given up. Germany was until recently, in actual practice, keeping a large hoard for use in the event of war. Before the Great European War, she had built up a huge hoard by means of the resources obtained through the French indemnity. A sum of £6,000,000 was held in bullion and a much larger amount was invested in high class securities, chiefly German Railways and the debts of foreign countries. The "fund for invalids" came to nearly £25,000,000 in 1889. There was, in 1890—fully a quarter of a century before the Great War actually broke out—a reserve of £30,000,000 held by the German Empire in what was practically the form of a hoard; and ready for use in time of War. German Economists (like Roscher, Wagner and Cohn) have defended this proceeding on the ground that it is imperatively necessary for military necessities. The use of the treasure in the past is dwelt on, and it is further urged that on the outbreak of war, the money market is so strained that a large loan is costly, if not unobtainable. In their view, the treasure or war chest is but the complement of the fortresses, equipment, and system of speedy mobilization that constitute the safeguards of German unity (see Bastable, *Public Finance*, 539), The argument against State reserves of this kind is a simple but forcible one. It is quite uncalled for in any country with an efficient system of banking. This certainly was not the case in the Mysore of 1800-1811 and Pūrnaiya's policy, whether from the practical or the theoretical standpoint, was a perfectly sound one and from the point of view of the Treaty of 1799, the only possible one.

Pūrnaiya's Policy justified.

Apart from the economic argument and the argument derived from a consideration of the necessity created by the Treaty of Seringapatam, it is a question if Pūrnaiya's financial policy did involve any injustice to the people or their material well-being. He may have been a frugal Finance Minister but judging from the amount he expended on public utility concerns, he could not have been the niggard he is sometimes described to have been. During his Dewanship of ten years, he spent not less than Rs. 77 lakhs on public works, nearly 50 of which were devoted to irrigation works. About Rs. 32 lakhs he expended on the repair of old tanks and channels, the majority of which, as we have seen, had fallen into a ruinous condition during the usurpation period. About Rs. 15 lakhs, he spent on the construction and repair of the forts of Bangalore and Channapatna, to secure the people against the possible or rather expected inroads of Mahrattas, and infuse general confidence among them of absolute security against the loss of their property. Among other necessary works carried out by him were:—Over Rs. 5½ lakhs on the Wellesley Bridge; about Rs. 3½ lakhs on Travellers' Bungalows, etc.,; nearly Rs. 2 lakhs on *mutts*, *chattrams* and other religious foundations; Rs. 1½ lakhs on the Webbe monument at French-Rocks; and Rs. 17½ lakhs on the Nallah which is now known after his name. The last work was partially an irrigation and partially a water-supply scheme for the benefit of Mysore City. As already mentioned, it is drawn from the Cauvery, some thirty miles above Seringapatam. It is upwards of 70 miles in length and terminates at Mysore City. It was carried over the Lakshmantīrtha river by means of an aqueduct. Immense labour was expended on its excavation, cuttings of more than 100 feet deep, through solid rock, having been dug at many points of its course. There has been a disposition of late among certain Engineers to declare this Scheme an impracticable one. But Colonel Colin Mackenzie, who carried out a survey of Mysore and subsequently became Surveyor-General of Madras and later Surveyor-General of India, and has left a special memorandum on it after a professional examination of the scheme as proposed and as it was being carried out, has not adversely criticised it. The following passage is taken from his memorandum dated 22nd March 1807 :—

> "From thence (from the anicut across the Lakshmantirtha) the new *nalla* is now cutting to Mysore in a winding course of 48½ miles, the whole length when completed to Mysore Fort will be 71½ miles. Its general breadth from 25 to 30 feet and the greatest depth of water it is expected to drain off at its first outlet (for which the drains from the Cauvery should only be estimated) is reckoned at 3½ feet, but probably it will seldom amount to that depth. Of this time, some idea may be formed from inspection of the chart annexed (to his Memorandum), though on a minute scale, to which I shall only add that the greatest depth of water carried off by it can only take place at the height of the floods."

The above remarks would seem to suggest that the scheme cannot have been the impracticable one it is said to have been by latter day Engineering critics. As regards Colonel Mackenzie himself, it should be remarked that he was very chary of offering final opinions on any matter without careful study. "It was the character of Colonel Mackenzie," said Sir Alexander Johnston, late Chief Justice of Ceylon, before the Select Committee of House of Commons on the Affairs of the East India Company in 1832, "to be diffident of sending anything forth to the world whilst there seemed to be any part of the subject susceptible of more complete elucidation." If he thought a scheme practicable, there should certainly be something to be said for it; at least it would demand closer examination before final judgment is pronounced on it. Apart from this aspect of the matter, Mr. J. D. B. Gribble, late of the Madras Civil Service, has expressed a doubt whether so shrewd a man as Pūrnaiya would have spent so much exertion and money on an impossible task. He is rather inclined to believe that when Pūrnaiya left office there was no one with the wish or the determination to carry the work through.

Though in the Manjarabad and other parts, many roads were opened up, the amount expended on roads was, however, not large. Only Rs. 67,000 had been spent by him on this necessary work, and that too after he had been five years in power. On this point, however, the author of the Report of 1870, has pertinently remarked as follows:—

> "Pūrnaiya's ignorance of the impetus which roads would give is excusable, seeing that several years after this period, the Secretary to a neighbouring Government gravely impresses upon a too restless Engineer that His Excellency in Council would see no necessity for spending money on the roads he proposed for the reason that as yet there were no carts to take advantage of them."

Altogether during the eleven years that Pūrnaiya held office, he spent on an average more than Rs. 7 lakhs on Public Works, or Rs. 7 lakhs more than the total spent during the twenty-five years of British management from 1831-1856! That, at any rate, shows that he did not lag behind the ideas of even an avowedly progressive administration of a later date. Besides the above works, Pūrnaiya built *chattrams* and *musafirkhanas* for the accommodation of Indian travellers and Travellers' Bungalows for Europeans along the principal roads and planted avenue trees on their sides. He also built the towns of Closepet and Nyamati, the former for securing greater security for the high road from Bangalore to Mysore, which then passed through a wild and jungly tract. The latter was built to encourage trade between the Malnad and Maidan regions, Nyamati being situated between the two. (See *Volume* V of this work under *Closepet* and *Nyamati*). As Mr. Gribble has remarked, "to have done all this shows not only what enlightened views this really great Indian Statesman must have had, but also what a careful and thrifty supervision he must have exercised over every branch, for not only was the whole internal machinery of administration kept in thorough order, but when he left office, there was in the Treasury an accumulation of no less than Pagodas 75 lakhs (or Rs. 262 lakhs), besides jewels, etc., of considerable value."

Contemporary British testimony to Pūrnaiya's greatness.

In the earlier years, nobody spoke of Purnaiya without the aid of adjectives referring to his great qualities of head and heart. If the good service he did to the British cause in promptly submitting himself on the fall of Seringapatam and his pre-eminent experience and ability won for him the Dewanship of the restored kingdom, his wonderful capacity for sustained work and untiring zeal for the good of the country and the Royal House to which he stood in a fiduciary character, gained for him the admiration and the confidence of the remarkable men who were then concerned in the affairs of Southern India. "He is never mentioned," wrote Sir Mark Cubbon, in his letter to the Government of India dated 15th October 1860, "without praise by Lord Wellesley, Sir Barry Close, Sir John Malcolm, Colonel Wilks, Mr. (Josiah) Webbe and Sir Thomas Munro." More than all this, his character and talents have been celebrated by the Duke of Wellington, who on leaving India sent him his full length portrait accompanied by a letter in which he says that it is given "as a testimony of my sense of benefits, which the public have derived from your administration, of my sincere regard, and of my gratitude for many acts of personal kindness and attention." This picture now hangs on the walls of the British Residency and the letter sealed with the Persian Signet of the Duke's dead friend Josiah Webbe, is preserved among the archives of the family.

Sir Thomas Munro's opinion.

Sir Thomas Munro, who had personally known Pūrnaiya and watched his administration as well, has left on record his views about him. He regarded the period of his administration as something to marvel at. Himself no ordinary administrator, Sir Thomas, writing of Pūrnaiya, remarked that he "was calculated to realize the most sanguine hopes that could be formed." "He had," he adds, "in the time of Haidar Alī found his way by his talents from an obscure situation to one of the first offices in the State, and he maintained himself in it, in opposition to many able rivals throughout the reign of Tippu Sultan. When Seringapatam fell, we found him willing to accept the office of Dewan. He was beyond comparison better qualified than any other person for it, and both his interest and his ambition led him to exert every means to promote the welfare and resources of the Country under his Administration. But we cannot expect again to find a man so qualified." (Sir Thomas Munro's Minute No. 115, dated 8th November 1825). There is hardly any doubt that the success of his administration was due as much to the extraordinarily vigorous mind he brought to bear on his work as to the unstinted support he received from his British colleagues of the day. He evolved a system where he found none and that neutralized the exercise of the "absolute power" he is, by some writers, said to have possessed and even wielded.

In private life, Pūrnaiya was a simple, straightforward and honourable man. Short of stature, he was fair in complexion and stout in build. Numerous portraits of his, which are available, largely confirm this description of him. He was inured to hard life and on occasions could work continuously for hours without a break even for ablutions or food. He was well read in the *Sāstras* and never dined without personally performing the worship of the household Gods. A devout follower of the system of Srī-Madhvāchārya, he had studied first hand every work of that great teacher and of Vyāsa-tīrta, the great 16th century expounder of Madhva. He was versatile to a degree, being as good at figures as with the sword. He led armies, managed the Commissariat and raised troops with equal skill. His knowledge of practical Engineering was great, while his Revenue Survey of the State is still spoken of by those who know that work as one that could only have been carried out by a genius like himself. He does not appear to have been ever conscious of his greatness or abilities. General Wellesley actually complained of this trait in him to Colonel Wilks. "He is," said the General, "insensible of the strong impressions in his own favour, which his conduct, his character, and his abilities have made upon all the persons who have at present any power in India,"—the reference being to the Governor-General, the Governor of Madras, Sir Barry Close, etc. (letter dated 9th September 1804). In another letter, dated 13th February 1802, he wrote to Sir Barry Close, of Pūrnaiya's business-like despatch of public business in language which deserves to be recalled. "Pūrnaiya's abilities have," he said, "astonished me; he is so different from another man of the same kind whom I before dealt with. I mean Ball Kishen Bhow. He has done everything that I could wish him to do." A remarkable point about him was, he did his duty and never enquired as to what others thought of him or his work, or even how he stood with those who were above him. "It is impossible," wrote General Wellesley on 27th February 1802, to Josiah Webbe, the Resident, "for a man to be more ignorant of European policies than Purneah is; indeed, he does not appear to me to have had any knowledge of the late orders from Europe, and the proposed changes of men and measures at Madras, which were so likely to affect his own situation. I attribute his salutary ignorance upon these points to his not having any communication with Madras *dubashes*, who know everything." To whatever cause his ignorance was due, intrigue did not lie in his way. Colonel Wilks was equally emphatic in his opinion of Pūrnaiya. "Every trait in the character of the Dewan," he said in his Report to the Governor-General, dated 5th December 1804, "marks him as an extraordinary man." By thus describing him, he did not mean to represent him, he says, "in the visionary view of a character without a fault," but as one, "very far surpassing the reasonable expectations of experienced men." "And," he added, "if an order of things has been established, competent upon the whole to correct abuses, when discovered, it may seem to your Lordship (Marquess Wellesley) to constitute some approximation to the sober views and practical ends of good Government."

Pūrnaiya was a thoroughly typical Brahman with all the virtues of his race. Intercourse with him was, from all accounts, most agreeable, his manners being almost delightful. He is said to have understood English without knowing it—either to read or write. He was well read in Sanskrit and Kannada, and Persian, he probably knew as well as any Muhammadan nobleman of his day. His official correspondence was usually in Persian and his letters—some of which have survived—were couched in a style which should have deeply impressed the persons to whom they were addressed. Lord Clive in one of his many letters adverts to this admirable feature of his correspondence. Commencing a long letter to him on 28th April 1802, he refers in the very first paragraph to the pleasure which he invariably experienced from the perusal of his friendly communications. That this description was not intended to be a mere compliment to Pūrnaiya is evident from Pūrnaiya's letters themselves: they were pointed, brief and businesslike. There was, as might be expected, a poetical flavour about them which made the reader enjoy them. Pūrnaiya's intelligence was evidently of a high order though not without, as it would appear, a trace of cunning. This cunning, however, was of an innocuous nature and did nobody any ill. Added to this, he had a sense of humour, which enabled him easily to avoid the pitfalls that lay before him. Occasionally, he was almost witty in his conversations. Many an anecdote can be narrated to justify this trait in him. On Tipū Sultān proposing to him one day that he should mediate in a matter of importance, he is said to have remarked: Neither you nor I will ever be good diplomatists, I because I never lie and you because you never speak the truth. When the Sultān's mother heard of this, she is said to have fallen into a fit of laughter. Wilks has recorded a story which shows how Pūrnaiya's ready wit saved a Lingāyat from an untimely end. It is an article of faith with the Lingāyats, that if any one of that community loses the *linga* he wears on his body, he ought not to survive that misfortune. A Lingāyat who had by a mischance lost his *linga*, consulted him in the matter and Pūrnaiya gave him a better counsel. It is a part of the ceremonial preceding the sacrifice of the individual that the principal persons of the sect should assemble on the bank of some holy stream, and placing in a basket the holy *lingas* of the whole assembly, purify them in the sacred waters. The destined victim, in conformity to the advice of his friend, suddenly seized the basket and overturned its contents into the rapid Cauvery. "Now, my friends," said he, "we are on equal terms: let us prepare to die together." The discussion terminated according to expectation. The whole party took an oath of inviolable secrecy, and each privately provided himself with a new *linga*. (*History of Mysore*, II. App. IV. 515.)

Pūrnaiya rendered valuable service to Colonel Wilks in one particular matter which deserves special mention. At Colonel Wilks' request, he got prepared a historical memoir of Mysore for use in connection with the writing of his *History of Mysoor*. The best informed persons in the State who were known to possess family Mss. or historical works were assembled by Pūrnaiya for this purpose, and a memoir was compiled from a composition of these authorities. The whole work was carried out under the direction of Pūrnaiya, who was actively helped by his assistant Butche Rao in this work. Wilks in the preface to his work sets down this memoir as the first of the six different authorities he used in the composition of his *History of Mysoor* and acknowledges the help rendered to him by Pūrnaiya, whom he calls "the present able and distinguished minister of Mysoor."

Second period of the reign of H. H. Krishna-Raja-Wodeyar III, 1811-1831.

We now arrive at the second period of the reign of His Highness Krishna-Raja-Wodeyar III (1811-1831).

Residents, Governors-General and Governors of Madras of the period.

During the greater part of this period, Hon. A. H. Cole was the British Resident. He was succeeded in 1827 by J. A. Casamaijor, who had filled different positions at Seringapatam and on the Residency staff. The period also covered the last two years of the Governor-Generalship of the Earl of Minto (1807-1813), the full terms of office of the Marquess of Hastings (1813-1823) and the Earl of Amherst (1823-1828) and the first three years of Lord William Bentinck (1828-1835). In Madras, it covered part of the Governorship of Sir George Barlow (1807-1814) and the tenures of Mr. Hugh Elliot (1814-1820), Sir Thomas Munro (1820-1827), and Mr. S. R. Lushington (1827-1832). Sir Frederick Adam (1827-1832) just began his Governorship when this period of His Highness' reign closed.

Dewans of the period.

The following persons held the office of Dewan during this period :—

Bārgir Bakshi Balaji Rao	April 1811 to January 1812.
Savār Bakshi Rama Rao	February 1812 to October 1812.
Bābu Rao	November 1817 to April 1818.
Siddharaj Urs	May 1820 to February 1820.
Bābu Rao	March 1820 to August 1821.
Lingarāj Urs	November 1821 to November 1822.
Bābu Rao	December 1822 to November 1825.
Venkate Urs	May 1827 to October 1831.

Not much is, however, known of these Dewans. Savār Bakshi Rama Rao was the brother of Bishtopant, the Bishnapah of the *Wellington Despatches.* He had been appointed Faujdar of Nagar Division on the Restoration of the country in 1799. Subsequently, in 1809, when the mutiny of European officers spread to Mysore, he was appointed to impede the progress of the British forces marching from Chitaldrug to Seringapatam. (See *ante*). He was made Dewan at the instance of Mr. Cole, the Resident. He was an highly honourable person and was eventually granted a special pension of Rs. 800 per mensem, in recognition of his meritorious service by the Madras Government. The pension took effect from 1st January 1812, and was enjoyed by him uninterruptedly during a period of twenty-eight years. He also distinguished himself in the war against Holkar, in 1818, and was then rewarded by Krishna-Rāja-Wodeyar III with many valuable *khillats* and presents; including an elephant on which he was allowed to ride in a *howdah*—

a rare mark of honour. (*Nirup* dated 11th March 1818). Bābu Rao, who became Dewan in November 1817, was an equally well-known personage of the time. He had served under Haidar and had been present at the battle of Perambāk at the defeat of Col. Baillie. Subsequently he was in Civil employ. In the latter days of Tipū, he was upheld as a rival of Pūrnaiya and was always considered by him, "as the man of all others in his Government next to that distinguished individual most fit to perform the office of Finance Minister." (Col. Briggs' *Minute* dated 14th May 1832). He filled the office of Dewan on three different occasions and finally retired from service in November 1825. He was, as will be seen below, recalled by Col. Briggs, the Senior Commissioner, and reappointed to the same post in 1832. That he was considered by reason of his character and abilities, fit for that post, there can be no question, as in the Minute quoted above, Col. Briggs speaks highly of him.

On the sudden resignation of Pūrnaiya, His Highness Krishna-Rāja-Wodeyar had to meet a rather trying situation and, from all accounts, he appears to have conducted himself with considerable discretion. With the consent of the Hon. Mr. Cole, he forthwith appointed Bārgir Bakshi Bālāji Rao, a man of talent and ripe experience, to take over the office of Dewan. But he held office only for about nine months, when Rama Rao took his place. Under Rama Rao, the administration was conducted on the lines established by Pūrnaiya, The country was divided into the six Faujdaris of Bangalore, Maddagiri, Chitaldrug, Ashtagram, Manjarabad and Nagar. These were, again, subdivided into 125 *gadis* or Taluks.

System of Administration.

The Faujdaris were under the Dewan, who managed them with an office consisting of 18 Departments, all personally subordinate to him. These administrative divisions continued to the end of His Highness' reign under succeeding Dewans. There was, during this period, little change in the system of administration as devised by Pūrnaiya. A full account of it—under the heads of *Land Revenue, Sayur, Panch Bāb, Civil Justice, Criminal Justice*, and *Police*—will be found in *Volume IV*, Chapter I of this work. According to a *Hukkumnāma* dated 26th March 1819, issued by His Highness, it would seem that he took personal interest in every part of the District administration. (See *Annals of Mysore Family*, II. 57—78).

Wars of the period.

Between 1810 and 1824, His Highness' Government took a prominent part in the operations against Amīr Khān, in the Pindari war of 1812-17; in the final operations against the Pindaris in 1818; in the pursuit of Peishwa Bāji Rao, in 1800; and in the suppression of the insurrection at Kittoor, in 1824. In all these wars, the Mysore Horse distinguished itself, and His Highness was again and again thanked by the Government of India for the valuable services rendered by him. Sir John Malcolm has testified to the successful character of His Highness' administration and the manner in which they contributed to British victories in the field at the time. "It is important to remark," he has said, "that this change (from Pūrnaiya to His Highness) has in no degree affected the efficiency of the Mysore Horse which served during the campaigns of 1817 and 1818 in the countries of Malwa and Rajputana with as much zeal, fidelity and gallantry as they had before displayed in the Dekhan during the Mahratta wars of 1803." (See his *Political History of India*, 1784-1829, I. 544-7). These wars are briefly referred to below in so far as they relate to the part played by Mysore troops.

Operations against Amīr Khān 1810.

In the operations against Amīr Khān, an old soldier of fortune who had been at one time an adherent of Jaswanta Rao Hōlkar but subsequently turned independent, a contingent of Mysore Horse (1,500 strong) took part in the occupation of Seronje, his capital, under the command of Colonel Barry Close. Amīr Khān fled to Indore, and with it the army broke up.

Operations against the Pindaris, 1816.

Similarly, the Mysore Horse distinguished itself in the suppression of the Pindaris, during the period of 1812-17. Early in November 1816, a body of Pindaris, computed at about 2,500 men, under the command of one of their principal leaders named Buksoo, left Nimawar, in Mālwa. Nimawar is on the Godavari opposite to Scindia's fort at Hindia, and was one of the headquarter camps of the Pindaris. It crossed the Nerbudda, and advanced in a south-easterly direction by Seonee and Ramteak, leaving Nagpore on the right, and Chunda on the left. It then passad Yedalabad and Beder, and penetrated as far as the Krishna, plundering as it went. On reaching the Krishna, it turned up along the left bank for some distance, and then struck north towards the district of Nuldrug, which it entered early in January 1817. At this time, Major Robert McDowall, 2nd battalion 24th regiment, was moving about in the Nizām's districts of Beder, Naudair and Nuldrug, with a small field force consisting of part of his own battalion, some companies of the 2nd battalion 15th regiment under Captain Williams, and a body of *Mysore Silladar Horse* under Annajee Rao. On the 14th January, when marching towards the town of Omergh in Nuldrug, he received information to the effect that the Pindaris were in the neighbourhood of the village of Moorli, about 8 miles towards the south-east. Leaving his camp at Omergh under the protection of 80 men, the Major marched about 9 P.M. with 325 rank and file and 1,000 Silladar Horse, and about 3 A.M. on the 15th he surprised the Pindaris in their encampment, and dispersed them with considerable loss.

They continued their flight until evening, when they made a short halt, after which they resumed their retreat taking the most direct line for the Godavari. Their loss was estimated at about 500 men killed, wounded and taken prisoners; 800 horses, of which half were very good, were captured, and about 200 were killed and wounded. Two of the chiefs, named Cawder and Moomdee, besides several other leaders, were wounded, but they were carried off by their men by being tied on their horses. All their booty was left behind, except what they had about their persons, and a large quantity of arms, principally swords and spears, were abandoned.

The inhabitants rose upon the plunderers during their retreat and captured a number, all of whom were executed by order of the Nizām's Government.

Mahratta War, 1817-18,

A detachment of Mysore Horse distinguished itself in the Mahratta War of 1817-18. They took an active part in the capture of Dossanah, 35 miles north-west of Dhoolia, by Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Scot. The *pettah* being taken by assault, the garrison surrendered on condition of being allowed to carry away their private property. The fall of Dossanah, which was considered a great strong-hold, created a great impression at the time. Prinsep speaks of its "gallant storm" as having contributed to the expulsion of the adherents of Trimbakji Danglia from the Kandeish.

Operations against the Pindaris, 1817.

A detachment of the Mysore Horse (400 strong) formed part of the 3rd division of the Deccan Army under Brigadier-General Sir John Malcolm. The detachment was commanded by Captain Grant, Madras Cavalry, and took part in the combined movements against the Pindaris beyond the Nerbudda and in the defeat of Hōlkar's Army at Mahidpoor in November 1817. Sir John Melcolm marched on the 18th November in search

Capture of Talyne.

of Chetoo, an adherent of Hōlkar, and proceeding by Ashta, he arrived at Mynapoor on the 24th and detached 1,200 Mysore Horse, under Captain Grant, against the fort at Talyne, distant 32 miles. Captain Grant making a forced march reached the place at day-break on the 25th and surrounded it. A reinforcement came up during the day, and the garrison composed of a small body of horse and foot under the command of Wahid Khān, the adopted son of Chetoo, seeing no chance of escape, surrendered at discretion.

Battle of Mahidpore, 21st December 1817.

At Mahidpore, the British artillery had been at first overmatched by the enemy's, the loss on the British side being heavy. The enemy's guns were soon captured, though they were well served and laid, the gunners depressing them as the troops advanced, and pouring in a very heavy fire of grape and chain shot. The left infantry Brigade moved forward about the same time as the others with the object of turning the right of the enemy but before it could reach their line, the brigades of Cavalry (H. M's. 22nd Light Dragoons 100, 3rd Light Cavalry 385, 4th Light Cavalry 282, 8th Light Cavalry 330, detail 6th Light Cavalry 18, Mysore Horse, 3,284) charged in two bodies, completely routed the enemy's horse, and captured most of the guns. A body of infantry in the centre, with some twenty guns, still held the ground, but they soon gave way. The defeat in all parts of the field was then complete. The regular cavalry, when following the flying infantry, suddenly caught sight of Hōlkar's camp in a hollow to their right, upon which they turned down towards it in the hope of a valuable capture, leaving the pursuit to be continued by the Mysore Horse. The camp, however, turned out to be empty and the Cavalry finding themselves to be exposed to the fire of the battery of thirteen guns posted behind a ravine on the same side of the river, but some distance

Vittul Pant Tautiah Jogh, the Minister of Hōlkar, on the other. (An independent account of this battle will be found in the *Asiatic Journal* for July 1818. See also Sir John Kaye's *Life of Malcolm*, II.)

Final operations against the Pindaris in Mālwa, January and February, 1818.

Lieutenant-Colonel Heath, commanding at Hindia, having received information on the morning of the 25th January, 1818, to the effect that Chetoo, the Pindari leader, with about 1,500 men, was at Kunnode, about 25 miles from Hindia, with the supposed intention of crossing the Nerbudda in order to join the Peishwa, marched (with a detachment, part of which was made up of the Mysore Silladar Horse under three Sirdars), and succeeded in surprising their camp that same night. Favoured by the darkness, most of the Pindaris escaped, but they were completely dispersed. Chetoo, with about 500 men, flew northwards, but he never recovered from the effects of this blow, by which he was deprived of the whole of his baggage, besides two elephants, 110 camels and 130 horses. His standards of red silk with a white crescent in the centre, measuring thirteen and a half feet by eleven and a half feet, was taken. He subsequently joined Appa Sahib, and escaped to Assirghar, but being refused admittance into that fortress, and having been deserted by his followers, he fled northwards, and turned into a forest, where he is supposed to have been killed by a tiger (February 1819). His son gave himself up to Sir John Malcolm, who stayed on in Malwa with the 3rd Division (which consisted of the 3rd Light Cavalry and 2,000 Mysore Horse under Lieutenant-Colonel Russell) to co-operate with the Grand Army from Bengal, and to carry out the instructions of the Governor-General regarding the settlement of that province.

In pursuit of Peishwa Bāji Rao, 1818.

After the memorable action at Sewnee, the pursuit of the Peishwa Bāji Rao was taken up by Brigadier-General

Doveton who had followed him relentlessly, allowing him neither time to rest nor to feed his horses. The Peishwa reached Dhoocote, about 7 miles west of Assirghur, with 5,000 horse and 4,000 foot, when it was determined to attempt to capture him. A select detachment (among them one squadron of 7th Cavalry and 1,000 Mysore Horse) was under orders to march whenever the moon should rise, but the enterprize was given up in consequence of a communication to the effect that the Peishwa had entered into a negotiation with Sir John Malcolm respecting the terms of surrender.

Return of Mysore Horse, 1820.

The Mysore Horse returned to Mysore about March 1820, when the Madras troops were relieved in Mālwa.

Dispute regarding Booty captured by Mysore Horse at Battle of Mahidpoor, 1817.

As stated above, the booty captured during the war of 1817-18 became the subject of violent contention. A brief account of the same, largely based on Colonel Wilson's resumé of the original correspondence, is all that is needed here of this subject.

Part played by the Mysore Horse.

The Mysore Horse, under Captain James Grant of the 5th Cavalry, after taking up the pursuit left to them by the regular cavalry, speedily overtook the baggage, and captured seven elephants, and two hundred and eighteen camels, together with a quantity of jewels, miscellaneous articles, horses and money; the total value of which was estimated, by the Resident in Mysore, at about twenty-six lakhs of *pagōdas* (Rs. 91,00,000), exclusive of one and-a-half lakhs presented by the captors to H. H. the Mahārāja of Mysore. The Commander-in-Chief of Madras subsequently estimated the value of the whole at about one million pounds sterling.

Booty claimed by Sir Thomas Hislop as general prize, 1818.

On the 8th December 1818, the Madras Government, at the instance of the Commander-in-Chief, requested the Governor-General to cause the restitution of the booty in order that it might be made part of the general prize fund; and the decision of the Supreme Government in the case of a complaint made by Major Robert MacDowall against the Silladars on the occasion of the surprise of the Pindari camp in the Nizam's country, on the 15th January 1817, was cited as a precedent.

Disallowed by the Governor-General.

The Governor-General, in his reply, dated 2nd January 1819, disallowed the claim on the following grounds, *viz.*:—That the Mysore Horse had, like other irregular troops of a similar description, been allowed the privilege of retaining possession of property captured by themselves in the field, and were in consequence of that privilege, excluded from participation in the general prize fund. That upon the occasion in question the Mysore Horse had been actively engaged in completing the destruction of Hōlkar's broken army when they made the capture.

That the case of Major MacDowall did not apply, inasmuch as the Pindari camp had been taken by the native infantry of the detachment, who, without halting to secure it, had pressed forward in pursuit of the enemy, whereas the Silladars, instead of charging the flying Pindaris, as ordered by the Major, remained behind, plundered the camp, and carried away the booty.

Sir Thomas Hislop remonstrates on certain grounds.

Sir Thomas Hislop, being dissatisfied with this decision, remonstrated against it in a letter, dated 12th February 1819, on the ground that the Governor-General in Council had no knowledge of the circumstances which had enabled the Mysore Horse to gain exclusive possession of the booty; and he proceeded to explain, that when the line of the enemy had been broken by the infantry, and afterwards put to flight by the cavalry, he, the Commander-in-Chief, had sent an order for all the troops to form upon the 1st Brigade, then about to advance upon the enemy's camp. That this movement, which had been necessary to complete the defeat in that part of the field, had prevented the cavalry from capturing the booty, which, had they not been ordered off the line of pursuit, must have fallen into their hands. He went on to say that the Mysore Horse had not been engaged in the attack, but only in skirmishing on the line of march, in assisting to guard the baggage, and in the pursuit; for which reasons, he urged that the troops, which had borne the brunt of the fight, ought not to be deprived of their share of the fruits of the victory by others who had done so little.

Their accuracy doubtful.

The assertion that the cavalry, in quitting the line of pursuit, had acted under orders was never satisfactorily established, although it was admitted by Lord Hastings for the sake of the argument. Adverting to the relative positions of Sir Thomas Hislop and the cavalry at the close of the action, it seems scarcely possible that the latter could have received any order until after they had abandoned the pursuit, on coming in sight of Hōlkar's camp, presumably with the object of plunder, for they were not then aware that all valuable property had already been removed from it. The remarks of Colonel Blacker, himself an Officer of Cavalry, are against the presumption of any such order, and he was of opinion that the Cavalry would have been more usefully employed in the pursuit, than in going to the right of the field where there was already more than sufficient force. (See Blacker's *Mahratta War*, 150 and 155).

The Governor-General in Council adheres to his decision, 1819.

The Governor-General in Council, in a despatch dated 8th April 1819, informed the Madras Government that Sri Thomas Hislop's appeal contained no argument tending to alter his opinion. He pointed out that the matter at issue was not to be decided with reference to the comparative merits of the troops engaged, but in conformity with a certain recognized principle, which he had already explained, and proceeded to repeat:

"Our determination founded itself on usage, and clear equity. It has been the uniform custom to exclude the auxiliary cavalry from participation in the distribution of prize money to the regular army. This was done on the plea that from the nature of their services, the irregular cavalry must get much booty which they never could be influenced to bring to general account.

"They were, therefore, to be satisfied with such gains as they could collect in their desultory operations. Though there was this ostensible reason for the refusal to admit them as sharers, the arrangement was not advantageous for the auxiliary horse, because they were shut out from participation in the more important treasures taken where fortresses surrendered; or in the donations issued to the regular troops in return for military stores made over to Government. That upon a particular occasion the plunder acquired by the auxiliary horse went to an extraordinary amount, as is surmised to have been the case at Mahidpoor, cannot alter the terms of an established rule.

* * * *

"Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Hislop informs us that, when the enemy were routed on the ground which they first occupied, thay made a show of rallying in a retired position where they had some artillery. The regular troops, as was incumbent, were led to the latter point to complete the enemy's disorder and prevent their attempt at retrieving the day. The Mysore Horse were ordered in a different direction to pursue the baggage which had taken that other route; the object of the order being, that by the capture of the baggage, including treasure, Holkar should be deprived of the means to make new levies, and prolong the contest. What the Silladar Horse effected was, as we apprehend, the duty distinctly committed to them. Is it pretended to have been held out to them, that if they brought their expected capture to the common stock, they should participate in the general distribution? No such thing is intimated; and it is obvious that they were supposed to be acting on the known established terms, till the suspicion of their having gotten an enormous prey, excited the question whether their right could not be impugned."

Sword and Belt of Hōlkar.

Another reference of a somewhat similar character was made about the same time. Amongst the property captured by the Silladars, there happened to have been a sword and belt believed to have been worn by Hōlkar. These were presented to Sir John Malcolm by the Mahārāja Krishna-Rāja-Wodeyar in acknowledgment of the kindness and consideration with which he had treated the auxiliary troops. Sir Thomas Hislop took serious offence at this, and, in a minute dated 18th December 1818, he solemnly protested against the gift, adding that the sword was a suitable trophy to be presented to His Royal Highness the Prince Regent. Nevertheless, the action of His Highness was confirmed by the Governor-General in Council on the same grounds as those on which his decision regarding the prize had been founded, and an appeal preferred by Sir Thomas Hislop to the Court of Directors was unsuccessful. It is understood that the sword has been long preserved in the Malcolm family as a precious heirloom.

Thanks of the Governor-General (Marquess of Hastings).

The services rendered by the Mysore troops in the campaigns of 1817-1818 won the approbation of the Marquess of Hastings (Earl Moira), then Governor-General of India. He sent His Highness Krishna-Rāja-Wodeyar III a number of letters, in one of which he very warmly thanked His Highness for the help he had extended for "promoting the welfare and happiness of the people living in the British Territory." (Letter dated 19th December 1817). "Your sincerity shines," he added, "to the best advantage when I see that Your

Highness has not only carried out the Treaty obligations but has also gone so far as to help this Government with Your Troops and ammunition even beyond the limits of expectation." (*Ibid.*) At the end of the War, Earl Moira wrote his final letter, dated the 27th March 1818, in which he complimented and thanked His Highness for the valuable aid he had rendered. "I take this opportunity," he wrote, "to express my pleasure at the distinguished services rendered by the Mysore Troops and on account of the zeal and sincere love shown by Your Highness towards this Government. And I hope that Your Highness has, by this time, become fully aware of the success achieved by your Troops along with the British Forces. I am also informed by the British officers about the valour and tactfulness which your Troops have shown in performing their duty which it gives me great pleasure to bring to Your Highness' notice." (Letter dated 27th March 1818.)

Grant of Jaghirs to Bakshis Rama Rao and Bhima Rao, 14th October 1818.

Bakshi Rama Rao and his nephew Bhima Rao, who commanded the Mysore Horse in these Wars, were on 14th October 1818 rewarded by His Highness the Mahārājah by the grant of Jaghirs yielding annual revenues of Rs. 6,000 and 4,000 respectively.

Insurrection at Kittoor, 1824.

In suppressing the insurrection at Kittoor, about 20 miles from Dharwar, in October 1824, in which Mr. Thackeray, the Collector, lost his life, two contingents of Mysore Horse were requisitioned, both for guarding the frontier at Harihar and also for the reduction of the place. For the latter purpose, 700 of the Mysore Horse joined the British and the Company's troops at Belgaum under the command of Colonel Deacon. The fort was invested and taken, a large quantity of treasure and valuables (subsequently valued at over Rs. 12 Lakhs) falling into the hands of the captors.

Seringapatam ceases to be a Military Station, 1830.

In 1830, Seringapatam ceased to be a Military Station on the reduction of the "Seringpatam Local Battalion," the gun Carriage Manufactory being removed in June of the same year, from it to Fort St. George.

Relief for Members of the Ursu Community.

His Highness took a personal interest in the education and well being of the members of the Ursu community, who during the usurpation period, had been despoiled of their riches and reduced to poverty. His Highness brought them together, provided for their accommodation and means of livelihood by settling salaries and pensions on them.

His Highness' visit to Bangalore, October 1811.

His Highness paid, in October 1811, a State visit to Bangalore, travelling in the company of the Hon. Mr. Cole, the Resident. His Highness held a *durbar* at the Palace in the Bangalore Fort on the occasion. The visit proved a great success, a large number of European ladies and gentlemen having been thus given an opportunity to offer their respects to him. His Highness took a keen interest in the development of Bangalore and extended hearty support to the scheme of making it the seat of a cantonment. He granted the necessary lands for the purpose from time to time as required by the Supreme Government.

Tour through the State, 1820-1821.

In the year 1820-1821, His Highness travelled through the State, visiting in his progress most of the Foujdaris, including Ashtagram, Nagar and Madhugiri.

Construction of bridges across the Cauvery at Sivasamudram, 1829.

One Triplicane Ramaswami Mudaliar, who had seen service under Col. Wilks, the Resident, built (or rather re-built) two bridges across the Cauvery at Sivasamudram. He is said to have expended several thousands of pounds on the work, for which he received from the British Government, in 1843, the title of *Janopakar Kām Karta* (the constructor of work useful to the people) as also an estate of five villages, yielding about Rs. 800 annually. His Highness the Mahārāja granted him in 1829, seven villages, yielding annually Rs. 900, in recognition of his meritorious services. These bridges are no more, having been washed away a couple of years back by floods and are under reconstruction now. They were, according to Mr. Bowring, fine specimens of Indian workmanship, being composed of hewn-stone, supported on colossal pillars twenty feet high, firmly fixed in the rocks of the river, while they were so constructed as to resist the force of the current during high floods, which are truly formidable. (See *Eastern Experiences* 47-48; also *Annals of the Mysore Royal Family*, II. 84).

His Highness' Administration; misapprehensions and differences.

About 1814, some differences arose between the Hon. Mr. Cole, the Resident, and His Highness the Mahārāja, mostly due, as they would now seem, from a misapprehension of the financial position. The large balances left by Pūrnaiya in the Treasury had been, it is said, expended, and that benefactions to temples had increased. There seems no ground for these suggestions. As regards the expenditure, the subsidy had to be paid, under the Treaty, regularly every month and even so adverse a critic as the late Mr. Lewin Bowring has openly acknowledged that His Highness had paid it scrupulously on the due dates. "It does not appear," he says, "that he (His Highness) at any time failed in paying the subsidy due by him to the British Government." (*Eastern Experiences*, 189). During His Highness' reign, he had to maintain an efficient army, which under the Treaty of Seringapatam of 1799, as amended by the Supplementary Treaty in 1807, was obligatory on him. As already stated, these forces had proved immensely useful in the wars in which the British were engaged between 1810 to 1824. (See *ante*). These wars meant also additional expenditure, apart from maintenance charges. Next, there were at least two years of serious distress—1816-17 and 1823-24. The latter year was really a year of famine. The ordinary expenditure averaged about Rs. 70 to 90 lakhs per annum. The total receipts averaged as follows during the decades mentioned :—

1801	...	Rs. 77 lakhs.
1800–1810	...	Rs. 86¾ lakhs.
1810–1820	...	Rs. 86¼ lakhs.
1820–1830	...	Rs. 76 lakhs.

As the expenditure went up to Rs. 90 lakhs, some years proved deficit years. Moreover, owing to low prices, the grain collected as the Government share, fetched very low prices. If Pūrnaiya spent large sums on public works, His Highness did not lag behind the standard set up by him in this connection. Between the years 1811-12 and 1830-31, His Highness' Government expended something like 8,50,272 lakhs of Kantirai pagodas, on public works. This means, on an average, about 42,514 Kantirai pagodas. An examination of the annual expenditure incurred during these twenty years shows that on an average not less than 22½ lakhs of Kantirai pagodas was expended on them, though in some years, this expenditure appears to have mounted up to even 68½ lakhs pagodas.

Sir Thomas Munro's visit to Mysore, September 1825.

His Highness' well-known generosity and his interest in temples and other religious institutions appears to have created a misunderstanding in certain quarters. This was wholly unfortunate as it affected political relations as well. In 1825, the "misunderstanding" and "irritation," as Sir Thomas Munro, then Governor of Madras, put it in a minute dated 8th November 1825, on the part of the Hon. Mr. Cole, had reached such a stage that Sir Thomas deemed it necessary " by a personal visit, to remove, if possible, the causes of irritation."

Sir Thomas arrived at Mysore on 16th September 1825 and paid a visit to His Highness. In the Minute above referred to, he sets down what took place at the interview. He held that there was no substance in the suggestion of the Resident that accounts had not been furnished by His Highness' Government. He held that they "had not been furnished from the time of Purniah, and because they were probably not ready." At the same time, he put it to His Highness that by the furnishing of accounts, the Company's Government would be enabled to know "the true state of affairs," which would put an end to "vague reports" and avoid "interference" with the affairs of His Highness' Government. He also assured His Highness that any suggestions made by him were not intended to interfere with his Government. He explained that it was his wish that His Highness "should be under no alarm about the security of the Treaty, but set his mind at rest regarding it, because it was not the intention of the British Government to alter it on any point; that by keeping it unchanged, many advantages accrued to both States." He suggested to His Highness that expenditure should not exceed the receipts; that he should accumulate "a treasure of ten or twelve lakhs of Canteroy pagdoas" and that "when this was accomplished, there would be room for again replacing the diminution which the present state of things might render it necessary to make in some of the departments." At the same time, Sir Thomas took occasion to restore cordial relations between the Hon. Mr. Cole and His Highness which had been somewhat ruffled by the rude behaviour of one of the former's servants. After reviewing the situation, Sir Thomas held that no case had been made out for interference by the Company's Government. He wrote :—

"By the orders of the Supreme Government, our superintending influence is to be exercised with caution, delicacy, and moderation; and it is supposed that the reasonable interposition of our advice, combined with the disposition of the Executive Administration to cultivate the good opinion of the Company's Government, will always be sufficient to prevent the occurrence of any flagrant abuse."

In regard to alleged over-expenditure for religious purposes, after a careful examination of the statement prepared by the Hon. Mr. Cole, Sir Thomas held that there was no ground for this allegation. He wrote:—

"As the expenditure by the Rajah under the heads of pagodas, Brahmans, Fakirs, etc., is double what it was in Purniah's account, I wished to have suggested a considerable reduction to the Rajah, but the design was given up because it appeared to the Resident upon further enquiry that Purniah did not show all his disbursements for these heads and that the whole was so little less than the Rajah's expenditure that it was not advisable to make any alteration."

Hon. Mr. Cole succeeded by Mr. J. A. Casamaijor, 1827.

The Hon. Mr. Cole was, in 1827, succeeded by Mr. J. A. Casamaijor as Resident.

Disturbances in Nagar, 1830.

In 1830, symptoms of certain disturbances began to show in the Nagar country. The people of this part of the State were rather of a turbulent type and never paid their dues to Government with any degree of regularity. The outstanding balances of revenue had accumulated to upwards of thirteen lakhs of rupees. Large remissions to the extent of seven-and-a-half lakhs were made in 1828. His Highness disapproved of these remissions and displaced the Faujdar by another from head-quarters. The latter discovered that much fraud had been practised in the remissions, and re-imposed the claims, which naturally excited dissatisfaction in those affected. The previous Faujdar's party, also, fearful of the consequences to themselves if the inquiries which his successor was pursuing should expose the corruption and malversation they had practised during so many years, connived at the seditious proceedings of a pretender to the throne of Nagar. This man, whose real name was Sadar Malla, was the son of a common *raiyat* of Kumsi. Before the age of twenty, he had been concerned in several robberies and spent two years in jail. He afterwards entered the service of a Jangama who had been priest of the last Nayak of Bednur and was possessed of his seal rings. These, on the death of the priest, Sadar Malla got hold of, and assuming the name of Būdi Basavappa, wandered about the country secretly giving out that he was a descendant of the Nagar family. About 1812, he was imprisoned for some time in Kanara for robbery, and on release, obtained a passport bearing the seal of the Zillah court, in which was entered his name as he himself gave it, Būdi Basavappa Nagar Khavind. This document was now exhibited as a *sannad* from the East India Company recognizing his claims. These deceptions were effectual, and when the discontent to which we have alluded was at its height, taking advantage of it to promise a full remission of all balances and a reduction of the assessment, he was, about April 1830, formally recognized by several *patels* as the sovereign of Nagar.

In August 1830, a force in the name of Sadar Malla attempted to surprise the fort of Anantapur, but failed. At the same period, the *raiyats* in various places assembled in *Kuta* or indignation meetings. On the ground of these commotions, the new Faujdar was recalled, and the former Faujdar restored. He made use of troops to disperse the *raiyats* at Hole Honnur on the 7th December, and several were killed and wounded. But they rallied near Honnali and were joined by larger numbers from all parts, who openly espoused the cause of the pretender. The Faujdar again attacked them with a regiment of horse and broke up the assembly. Sarja Hanumappa Nāyak, the Pālegar of Tarikere, now suddenly left Mysore and joined the insurgents, seizing on Kaldroog and Kamandroog. The Faujdar of Bangalore also reported his Division to be in a general state of discontent. Strong reinforcements of troops were sent to the disturbed districts in the Bangalore, Chitaldrug and Nagar Divisions; and His Highness the Mahārāja set out with a considerable force on the 13th December for Channarayapatna, where it was proclaimed that the grievances of the *raiyats* would be inquired into. Investigations were made by the Dewan for some days; several persons were hanged, others flogged or punished otherwise. Meanwhile there were encounters in various parts between the insurgents and the troops. In January 1831, His Highness' camp was established at Hebbur, and the Dewan was despatched with troops against Kamandrug, while Annappa, an officer of cavalry, was appointed to supersede the Faujdar of Nagar. Annappa maintained an arduous conflict for several weeks with the insurgents, and was forced to take refuge in Anantapur. Here he remained till nearly starved, when addressing his troops, he said, "Rather than die in this way of starvation, let us go and fight and die like soldiers." They responded, and sallying forth on the Shikarpur road, fought their way stoutly for fifteen miles to Masur in the Company's territory, whence they retreated to Harihar. The operations against Kamandrug failed, but Kaldrug was taken in February. British aid was now applied for, and a regiment started from Harihar. At the same time, Lieut. Rochfort, of the Resident's escort, taking command of the Mysore troops, captured Kamandrug on the 3rd of March, the Pālegars escaping during the assault. Hence Lieut. Rochfort marched to Shimoga, and hearing that a large body of insurgents had taken Honnali, he proceeded there and took it by assault on the 12th. He now marched west, and carrying several stockades, temporarily recovered

Nagar (or Bednur) on the 26th, and Chandragutti on the 6th of April. Meanwhile enriched by the plunder of district treasuries and other depredations, the insurgent leaders were joined by bodies of armed men, both horse and foot. Attracted by the hope of plunder, 1,500 Kandachar peons of the Bedar caste also deserted to them.

Owing to the increasing strength of the insurgents, the entire Subsidiary Force was employed. One regiment had to retire from a fortified barrier at Fettepet, but the British forces being concentrated at Shimoga, moved on the 31st of May by a circuitous route to Nagar, which was finally taken on the 12th of June, and a death-blow given to the disturbances. By the next month, the majority of the *raiyats* had returned to their villages under the protection of letters of *cowl*. But the leaders continued at large with marauding bands, committing outrages and raising disturbances for some months longer. Sarja Hanumappa Nāyak, the Tarikere Pālegar, offered a strenuous resistance, which he continued till 1834, when he was seized and hanged.

Causes of the disturbances; Lewin Bowring's opinion.

Mr. Lewin Bowring has remarked that these disturbances in Nagar were due in great measure to the faulty system of renting out large tracts of country to the highest bidder, a practice which led to great oppression and discontent, the renters being generally outsiders, and as rapacious as they were venal. (*Eastern Experiences*, 162). But the system had been long in vogue and was not unknown to other parts of the State or to Southern and Western India generally. It has further to be remarked that similar disturbances occurred at the same time in Kanara, the people of which part are closely allied to those in Nagar. In both cases, writes Mr. Bowring, oppressive taxation was the alleged ground for the discontent which prevailed, a feeling which was certainly fomented by the Tarikere Pālegar as also by the pretender to the Nagar throne, called Būdi Basavappa. (*Ibid*, 163.) The Supreme Government, however, attributed the disturbances to alleged maladministration by His Highhess, and made it the cause for taking the power out of his hands. As Mr. Bowring has remarked, the action of Lord William Bentinck, then Governor-General, has been questioned, for "it does not appear," that His Highness "intentionally oppressed his subjects, or that he even did actually fail to pay the subsidy due to the British Government, while it is certain that the people of that part of Mysore (*i.e.*, Nagar) where disturbances broke out were indifferently loyal and prone to disaffection." (*Ibid*, 162-163.) Mr. Bowring, indeed, has definitely stated his opinion that he does not consider that these disturbances were themselves "a sufficient justification for depriving the Rajah of his sovereign power." (*Ibid*, 190.) And if this alleged ground is taken away, there was none other that could, with justice, have been, in the light of the evidence available, be urged against him, especially in view of conditions prescribed in Articles 4 and 5 of the Subsidiary Treaty of 1799, which alone would have justified interference for taking over a part or whole of the country for purposes of direct management by the Company's Government.

Resumption of Administration; a mis-statement corrected.

In the last edition of this work (I. 428), Mr. Rice, following what is noted in Para 37 of the Historical summary of the *Mysore Administration Report* for 1872-73, says that the Governor-General ordered the formation of a Committee, consisting of Major-General Hawker, Col. W. Morison, Mr. J. M. Macleod and Lieut.-Col., (afterwards Sir Mark) Cubbon to investigate the "origin, progress and suppression of the recent disturbances in Mysore," that their report showed that the misgovernment of the Mahārāja had produced grave and widely spread discontent, that the revenues were rapidly falling and that maladministration was rampant in all departments of the State, and that the Governor-General Lord William Bentinck, therefore, determined upon acting on the fourth and fifth articles of the Subsidiary Treaty. This means that the appointment of the investigating committee was the first step the Governor-General took and that their report having brought to light rampant mal-administration, it was as a consequence of the Report that he determined upon acting on the 4th and 5th articles of the Subsidiary Treaty. The fact is quite otherwise. It was in October 1831, when His Highness the Mahārāja Sri-Krishna-Rāja-Wodeyar Bahadur III was celebrating the Dasara in that year, that Lord William Bentinck wrote (*vide* letter quoted in *General Memorandum on Mysore, 1833*) to His Highness asking for the surrender of the Administration and His Highness made immediate surrender. The Report which the Committee appointed as aforesaid submitted to Lord William Bentinck is dated 12th December 1833. Soon afterwards Lord William Bentinck termed the assumption of Mysore as a "distressing subject" (*vide* His Excellency's letter to His Highness dated 8th April 1834). He wrote thus to His Highness from Ootacamand under that date:—

"My esteemed friend,—When I had the pleasure of conversation with you at Mysore, I promised so soon as I could find a short period of leisure to communicate further with you on the distressing subject of the assumption of the Mysore Dominions.

"My sentiments and views in this matter I have confided to the Resident at your court in the fullest and most unreserved manner. That gentleman is charged by me with a proposition to Your Highness of the most vital importance to your interests. For the particulars of that proposition, I beg to refer you to Mr. Casamaijor who leaves this place immediately for the express purpose of conferring with you on the subject.

"I should wish for an early communication of your sentiments and I sincerely trust that your decision may be such as will be most conducive to your own comforts."

In his despatch of the 14th April 1834, addresed to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, Lord William Bentinck remarked as follows:—

"By the adoption of the arrangements which I advocate, certain doubts will be removed which I cannot help entertaining both as to the legality and the justice, according to a strict interpretation, of the course that has been pursued. The Treaty warrants an assumption of the country with a view to secure the payment of the subsidy. The assumption was actually made on account of the Raja's misgovernment. The Subsidy does not appear to have been in any immediate jeopardy. Again, the Treaty authorises us to assume such part, or parts, of the Country as may be necessary to render the funds which we claim efficient and available. The whole has been assumed, although a part would unquestionably have sufficed for the purposes specified in the Treaty; and with regard to the justice of the case, I cannot but think that it would have been more fair towards the Raja had a more distinct and positive warning been given him that the decided measure, since adopted, would be put in force, if misgovernment should be found to prevail."

Accordingly, in his letter to His Highness the Mahārāja dated the 14th May 1834, Lord William Bentinck said:—

"I have made a communication on the subject to the authorities in England and should they sanction the arrangement, it will immediately be carried into effect. In that case, the Fouzdaries of Manjarabad, Mysore and Ashtagram will be made over to Your Highness on the Conditions specified by Mr. Casamaijor and cited in your letter to me. The remainder of the Territory or so much of it as may suffice to satisfy the claims of the Company will be made over to the British Government. Intimation of the pleasure of the Home Authorities on this head will probably be received before the expiration of the present year."

Lord William Bentinck's successor, Lord Metcalfe, in his letter dated the 5th April 1835, in reply to His Highness' reminder, wrote:—

> "My friend, you appear to be disappointed because the expectation held out to you by his Lordship that the resolution relative to the affairs of Mysore would reach this country from England by the close of the past year, has not been fulfilled; but you will readily admit that the realization of this expectation depended upon circumstances wholly beyond His Lordship's control. I sincerely hope, however, that your mind will not be kept much longer in a state of suspense, and that the decision of the Home authorities may be conformable with your inclination."

The Governer-General Lord Auckland, in his letter to His Highness, dated 28th March 1836, announced the decision of the authorities in England to say that it was thought that His Highness' interests would be best served by maintaining the then undivided and beneficial Administration of His Highness' Territories until such salutary rules and safeguards were matured and confirmed in practice and would afford just ground for confidence to the subjects of a stable form of good Government.

From the foregoing, it is evident that:—

(1) The Administration was taken over by Lord William Bentinck before he received the Report of the Committee he nominated to enquire into the causes of the disturbances in Mysore and not afterwards;

(2) That on a perusal of that Committee's report, when it reached him, His Excellency saw the harshness of the measure he had adopted in assuming the Territories of Mysore in entirety;

(3) That consequently he made immediate proposals to the Home authorities to set things right; and

(4) That the assumption was quite a temporary measure and intended for the time being.

The matter has been referred to at some length here because it is of primary importance as affecting the circumstances of the reign and reputation of so popular and sagacious a sovereign as His late Highness Srī-Krishna-Rāja-Wodeyar III. At any rate, it seems high time to set it forth in its true light, and to give no room for misconstruction or misunderstanding. This is the more necessary as the true facts can easily be put historically so as to serve all interests concerned and yet offend none.

Notice of Resumption.

Lord William Bentinck, having determined upon acting on the fourth and fifth articles of the Subsidiary Treaty, addressed a letter to His Highness in which after recounting at some length the objects of the Subsidiary Treaty, he went on to say :—

"I have in consequence felt it to be indispensable, as well with reference to the stipulations of the treaty above quoted, as from a regard to the obligation of the protective character which the British Government holds towards the State of Mysore, to interfere for its preservation, and to save the various interests at stake from further ruin. It has seemed to me that in order to do this effectually, it will be necessary to transfer the entire administration of the country into the hands of British officers ; and I have accordingly determined to nominate two Commissioners for the purpose, who will proceed immediately to Mysore.

"I now therefore give to your Highness this formal and final notice, and I request your Highness to consider this letter in that light; that is, as the notice required by the treaty to be given to your Highness of the measure determined upon for the assumption and management of the Mysore Territory in the case stipulated. I beg of your Highness, therefore, to issue the requisite orders and proclamations to the officers and authorities of Mysore, within ten days from the date when this letter may be delivered to your Highness, for giving effect to the transfer of the territory, and investing the British Commissioners with full authority in all departments, so as to enable them to proceed to take charge and carry on affairs as they have been ordered, or may be hereafter instructed."

To His Highness, in accordance with the Treaty, the sum of one lakh of Star Pagodas *per annum* was allotted for his private expenses.

(iv) PERIOD OF MYSORE COMMISSION 1831-1881.

Resumption of Administration and after. His Highness, who received this communication at the time of the Dasara (19th October 1831), peaceably surrendered the reins of Government, and continued to reside in his palace at Mysore. The Governor-General vested the Government in the hands of two Commissioners, the senior of whom was appointed by himself, and the junior by the Madras Government. The Senior Commissioner who possessed what was termed a casting-vote, and was therefore enabled to overrule his colleague on every point, was aided in financial matters by the Dewan, which latter post was not abolished until 1834. (The Dewan at the time was one Mr. Venkataramanaiya. He retired on 14th May 1832 and was succeeded by Bābu Rao, who remained in office till 19th April 1834. The Commissioners, it would appear, had originally intended to leave in the Dewan's hands almost as much power as he had had under His Highness the Mahārāja, but the Governor-General did not concur in this view of their duties.) Up to June 1832, the Commissioners were under the Government of Madras, but in that month they were made immediately subordinate to the Government of India.

The following is a list of these Commissioners, with their dates of office:—

SENIOR.	JUNIOR.
Colonel J. Briggs, 4th Oct. 1831	Mr. C. M. Lushington, 4th Oct 1831
,, W. Morison, 6th Feb. 1833	,, G. D. Drury, 18th Feb. 1832
	,, J. M. Macleod, 16th June 1832
	,, Col. Mark Cubbon, 17th Feb. 1834

It was soon found that a Board of two Commissioners, who naturally constantly differed in opinion, was an agency ill-adapted for the organization of a proper system of Government.

Accordingly, in April 1834, one Commissioner, Colonel Morison, was appointed for the whole State. But the office of Resident was still maintained, and thus a dual control continued to exist.

Of the two Commissioners, Lieut.-Col. Briggs, the senior of the two, belonged to the Madras Army, and was the author of a work on the land-tax of India, showing an intimate acquaintance with that complicated subject. Mr. C. M. Lushington, the Junior Member, was a brother of Stephen Rumbold Lushington, the then Governor of Madras. He was at the time the second Puisne Judge of the Sudder Adawlut Court at Madras. Mr. Edmund Smith, of the Madras Civil Service, was appointed as their Assistant. Previous to his appointment, Mr. Smith had been, for some three years, acting as an Assistant to the Chief Secretary to Government and as Dy. Persian Translator to Government. He, however, did not stay for long in that post, for in 1832, he was succeeded by Mr. P. B. Smollet, of the same service. Mr. Lushington took over charge in October 1831, he being joined in December cf the same year by Col. Briggs. Immediately Mr. Lushington took charge of his duties, he appointed one Venkataramanaiya, who had been sent as Dewan to deliver charge of the State. Next, with a view to retrench expenditure, Mr. Lushington (1) abolished the regiment of 500 Burgir Sepoys who had been organized since the days of Pūrnaiya, (see Col. Morrison's *Notes on Mysore*, No. 39, Military); (2) resumed all the grants made to religious institutions with a view to examine the legality of their origin ; and (3) did away with the Sudder Court. On Col. Briggs' arrival, however, he found he could not agree with Mr. Lushington in what he had done.

He reversed Mr. Lushington's decisions in all these matters.

Was Resumption of Administration justified?

Whether the circumstances justified the Resumption of the administration of the territories by the Supreme Government under Articles 4 and 5 of the Subsidiary Treaty need not detain us long. Lewin Bowring has, as mentioned above, suggested that the disturbances that occurred at about this time, did not justify such a step. Whether alleged "misgovernment" to which also he refers (*Eastern Experiences*, 190-191) was such as to entitle the Supreme Government to act on those Articles has been discussed by many distinguished writers. It is unnecessary to go into details and it ought to suffice if it is stated:—

(1) That the subsequent Rendition of the State to His Highness' son and heir shows that the case for resumption did not rest on a secure basis.

(2) That the greatest authorities, including Mr. John (afterwards Viscount) Morley of Blackburn and many others were for the Rendition shows at least the *prima facie* case against the assumption that the resumption ordered by Lord William Bentinck could be justified.

(3) That even Lord William Bentinck subsequently thought that the step taken by him was not altogether justified.

(4) That the subsequent correspondence shows that His Highness' position was not, as Sovereign, altered and that the administration was still only conducted in his name and on the basis that the Rendition would be inevitable.

"In fact," as Mr. Lewin Bowring writes, "the sovereign rights of the Raja were on all occasions acknowleged, and the treaties with him at all times enforced, even at considerable inconvenience to both Mysore and British territory, as regards judicial procedure" (*Eastern Experiences*, 204.) More than this, in a Minute dated 14th April 1834, the Governor-General (Lord William

Bentinck) raised this question in a direct manner and answered it thus:—

> "Has the Company's Government assumed the management of the Mysore country on its own account or is that country still managed for and on behalf of the Rajah? Is the Subsidiary Treaty of Mysore virtually cancelled or is it still in full force? The answer must undoubtedly be that the management has been assumed for and on behalf of the Rajah and that the Treaty is still in force."

He held, in the same Minute, that there had been no "final assumption of the Mysore country" and that the assumption made by the Company was something very different from the "final assumption" which would abrogate the Treaty. (See Para 4 of the Minute quoted; also Para 9.)

And (5) that the resumption itself was, from the time it was given effect to, partial and even the Administration was directed to be conducted on Indian lines. The fact that this direction was not, later, strictly adhered to, was due to circumstances unconnected with the alleged cause of the resumption itself.

The Court of Directors themselves, in their Despatch dated 25th September 1835, referring to the measures taken to pacify the country after the disturbances of 1831, acknowledged that they, as much as the Governor-General, only contemplated the continuance of the assumption of the administration of the country till the object of establishing permanent good government in it had been accomplished. (See Despatch dated 25th September 1835, Para 20.) The Government of India so far recognized the sovereignty of Krishna-Raja-Wodeyar III that they refused to alienate any land on rent-free tenure *without his consent* duly obtained. (See Letter from Secretary to Government of India, Pol. Department, to the Commissioner in Mysore, dated 28th November 1836.)

Lord William Bentinck's visit to Mysore, March 16, 1834.

Lord William Bentinck, on receipt of the Report of the Committee appointed by him for enquiring into the origin of the disturbances in the Nagar District, came to Mysore (*via* Nilgiris) with a view to acquaint himself with the exact position there. He arrived at Mysore on March 16, 1834, and stayed for a short time in the Bungalow on the Chamundi Hill in Mysore City. He had interviews with His Highness, as the result of which he eventually made two important proposals to the Court of Directors:—(1) that only half the territory should be administered by the British Commission for securing the subsidy, and (2) that not more than four European officers should be appointed under the Commission for carrying on the administration as the Indian Agency should be retained so that the ultimate reversion of the administration to His Highness may not be attended with difficulties. There is reason to believe that Lord William was convinced that the disturbances had nothing to do with His Highness' rule over his Dominions. As a matter of fact, the Committee's searching investigation attributed them to the want of adequate care in the exercise of his powers by the Resident. The *Bengal Chronicle*, a Calcutta newspaper of the time, styled it "mismanagement on the part of the ex-Resident," (the Hon. Mr. A. H. Cole), who, it said, was guided by "non-interference or anti-subsidiary theories." It seems clear from the Report of the Committee that His Highness did not receive that amount of friendly co-operation and counsel that the Subsidiary Treaty itself (in Article 14) prescribed and which had always been steadily kept in view by successive Residents at His Highness' Court and given effect to by them in a manner which conduced to the benefit of both the contracting parties. It is greatly to be feared that Mr. Cole, good, able and experienced as he was, failed to realise the true character of his duties and was guided less by considerations of prudence than by the authority and power which he supposed he possessed by virtue of his position. The Bentinck Committee, composed of some of the ablest officers, Civil and Military, of the time found in fact that "the disturbances that had occurred were greatly attributable to the withdrawal of the advice of the British Resident." The Hon. Mr. Cole was virtually declared to have failed in his primary duty. This finding made such a deep impression on Lord William Bentinck that he ever felt a pang over what he had hastily done in the case of His Highness. He went so far as to put on record the expression of his sorrow for what he had done under a grievous misapprehension of facts. He acknowledged also that the "severe" ultimatum he sent to His Highness was the result of "the exaggerated representations of the Madras Government" to which the superintendence of Mysore was then entrusted. Indeed, Lord William Bentinck not only expressed doubts about the legality of his assumption of administration, but also repented of what he had done, and spoke after his return to England, of this act as the only one throughout his whole career the retrospect of which disturbed his conscience! In later times, partizan writers tried to justify the assumption on different grounds, every one of which can, without fear of contradiction to-day, be said to be wholly devoid of reason. It is now acknowledged that the subsidy was never in danger; that the Supreme Government acted hastily; that the excuse of subsidy failing, the plea of mis-government was set up, although such a contingency was not referred to in the Subsidiary Treaty itself, on which the action taken was actually based; then the story of an alleged and promised "bequest" was started; this, again, being denied, the Dalhousian maxim of "lapse" was next thought of; this led in turn to the denial of the Sovereign right of Adoption; which finally ended in the open, but unjust, suggestion of "annexation" in the alleged interests of the subjects! Thus one error led to another and threatened eventually the very existence of the State, for no valid reason whatsoever. But His Highness proved equal to the occasion and supported as he was by firm British friends and well-wishers, he never ceased to hope and to believe that the Government of his country would some day be restored to his hands. (See below under *Story of the Reversion.*)

Third part of the reign of Krishna-Raja-Wodeyar III: The British Commission, 1831-1868.

With this we enter on the third part of the reign of Krishna-Rāja-Wodeyar III (1831-1868). One of the first acts done by them, the Commissioners, was to determine their position under the Treaties governing the relations between Mysore and the Company's Government. In a letter, dated 21st February 1832, Colonel Briggs, the Senior Commissioner, intimated to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras that under the Subsidiary Treaty of 1799 and the Supplementary Treaty of 1807 explanatory of the third Article of the same, that (1) the only pecuniary demand to which His Highness was subject to was the payment, under Article 2 of the Treaty, of seven lakhs of pagodas in twelve equal monthly instalments and that (2) under Article 5 of the Subsidiary Treaty the Company's Government were bound, so long as they remained in charge of His Highness' territories, to render to His Highness a true and faithful account of the Revenue (and produce) of the Territories so assumed and (3) that the Company's Government were bound to pay to His Highness from the territorial revenue not less than the sum of "one lac of Star Pagodas, together with one-fifth part of the net revenues of the whole territories, the remaining four-fifths being made available under the 5th Article for the expenses of war or preparations for hostilities by either of the contracting powers. But as this latter clause had

The position of the Commission and the scope of its duties and responsibilities.

been abrogated by the Supplementary Treaty of 1807 and commuted by it for the maintenance of 4,000 horse, the revenues of the State though under the management of the Commission, were "not liable to any other pecuniary demand beyond the annual subsidy of seven lacs of star pagodas." Col. Briggs, at the same time, pointed out that the public debt of His Highness' Government was to be met from the public revenues and not chargeable to what was payable to him for his own personal expenses which were to be considered in the light of a sum chargeable on the Civil List which he was in every case entitled to receive in full, as his private income, it being left to him to regulate his expenses according to his means, his convenience and his pleasure. He also suggested that early steps should be taken to pay off the troops and public establishments and to reduce the establishments, which he said, "though not greater than in the time of Purniah, seems to exceed much what the country will now bear."

Reforms introduced by the British Commission, May 1832.

Three months later, in May 1832, the Commission introduced various reforms both with a view to reduce expenditure and to give effect to the objects with which the Commission was appointed:—

(1) The Dewan in charge, one Venkataramanaiya, was called upon to tender his resignation, and to submit an account of all receipts and disbursements, made under his authority. In his place, Bābu Rao, who had been previously Dewan, was recalled and re-appointed. His establishment was divided into two Departments (Dufters) with 43 clerks and 10 munshis.

(2) Morāri Rao, the son-in-law of the late Dewan, who was in charge of Feryad Cutcherry, was removed from that place and Lall Singh was appointed in his place. This person had seen service in the country since the days of Marquess Cornwallis, whose army he had accompanied and had subsequently served in the British establishment both as a soldier and as an Agent in a political capacity.

(3) A Court of Huzur Adālat was established to which Rām Rāz, a man of talent and learning, was appointed Chief Judge. A proclamation was, at the same time, issued notifying the establishment of this Court throughout the State. Rām Rāz, however, did not long serve in this high office. He died in the year 1833 and was succeeded by Seshagiri Rao, a much respected Indian gentleman who had been formerly Dewan of Cochin.

(4) At the same time, circulars were issued to the Amils and Fouzdars detailing their respective duties as officers of justice.

(5) Another proclamation was issued calling the attention of all classes to the continuance of the orders of 1826 in regard to the levy of stamp duties which were retained as a just mode of meeting the cost of administering justice.

(6) Steps were, at the same time, taken to get the Supreme Government to sanction the expenditure involved in maintaining the Huzur Adālat.

(7) The office of Treasurer was ordered to be held by Kuppannah, brother-in-law of Pūrnaiya, on his furnishing security for two lakhs of pagodas.

(8) From the savings of the Dewan's Cutcherry, a Huzur Cutcherry was brought into existence, to work directly under the British Commission.

(9) Steps were also taken to draw up distinctly the relative duties of all the departments in order that memoranda bearing on them may be furnished to their respective heads for their guidance and to the District Officers requiring them to address all letters on subjects connected with the respective Departments.

(10) All accounts were also ordered to be kept by all Departments so as to correspond with the European months in order to facilitate the business of the Commission.

Aims and objects of the new Reforms.

The aim and object of the Commission in introducing these reforms was to make everyone to look to them for orders and not to the Dewan, who was made primarily responsible for financial matters. Further, through the new Huzur Cutcherry, the Commission sought to obtain that sort of information which could not be acquired in any other way and for getting a correct insight into the past and present condition of the finances of the country. The Commission, in effect, as desired by the Governor-General, took the place for the time being of the Ruler of the country and made themselves the focus from which all orders emanated, the Dewan being reduced to the position of a mere Departmental head charged with the duty of confining his attention "strictly to questions belonging to the Finance Department, to the formation of annual or other settlements and to the issuing of orders to the officers in immediate subordination to him." Any aid the Dewan required in the discharge of his particular duties, he was to obtain through written memoranda addressed to the Commission, through their Secretary, who issued the requisite orders, if necessary, to the Department concerned to furnish its assistence. The Commission were thus determined not to transfer to any other hands any measure of responsibility that belonged solely to them as a Board. Each Department was accordingly to receive orders from the Board only through its Secretary and to issue them in the name of the Commission, all private communications being "strongly discountenanced." (See Minute of Proceedings of the Board of Commissioners for the Government of Mysore, dated 14th May 1832.)

The Huzūr Adālat: its origin and powers.

As regards the Huzur Adālat, it was intended to be the Supreme Court of Justice at the capital. Its formation had been urged by the Governor-General on 27th February 1831 and communicated in a Minute dated 24th April 1831. It was essentially based on the system brought into force by Pūrnaiya, agreeably to the instructions of the Governor-General, in this behalf, though a regular Code based on that evolved—in the light of the best Hindu usage—by Elphinstone, as sole Commissioner for the Satara State, was also introduced for facilitating judicial administration on definite lines. Under this system five Courts were recognized:—The Village Court, the Cotwal's Court, the District or Amildar's Court, the Fouzdari or Provincial Court, and the Huzur or Supreme Court. These Courts exercised both Civil and Criminal powers. The defects observed in Pūrnaiya's system, on the criminal side, were rectified. The systems prescribed by the Madras Code of 1816 and by the Satara rules, were judiciously combined for the purpose of Mysore, and these together with what was found to be best in the practice of the country were utilized for the drawing up of a Code for Mysore for the guidance of these Courts. (*Ibid*).

Other Reforms contemplated by the Commission.

At the same time, reductions in the military garrisons throughout the country were contemplated; the reorganization of the Barr (or infantry) Department was also kept in view, a report on this and the Sawar, Anche (Post) and Kandachar departments being called for from Colonel Conway, who was in charge of them. (*Ibid*).

New system in force, June 1832.

These reforms were given effect to without delay and the new system came into force from about the beginning of June 1832. (For further information, See *Volume IV*, Chapter I, of this work.)

Pacification of Nagar.

Immediately Dewan Venkataramanaiya was removed and Bābu Rao took over charge, the Commission first initiated a movement to pacify the country, which had become somewhat unsettled owing to the disturbances in Nagar. The Rt. Hon. Mr. S. R. Lushington, the then Governor of Madras, had arrived at Mysore and had taken up his residence at Yelwal, near Mysore. Though the disturbed area had been divided into 12 military departments and no fewer than 500 cavalry and 1,200 regular infantry, besides irregulars, had been distributed in the several garrisons, the objective aimed at, *viz.*, the apprehension of those who were disturbing the peace of the country, had not so far been effected. Martial law prevailed in the area, the *killedars* and officers commanding detachments acting on their own information and often making calamitous mistakes as to persons and property. Colonel Briggs mooted with Mr. C. M. Lushington, the Junior Commissioner, and Mr. Casamaijor, the Resident, the subject of an amnesty to the principal chieftains involved in the disturbances. As this was not agreed to by them, he, in consultation with Major-General Hawker and others acquainted with the affairs in the State, suggested to the Rt. Hon. the Governor that a Proclamation should be promulgated in Nagar to end the disturbed state of affairs. This was agreed to and was publicly notified with the announcement that, if after its promulgation, any persons should molest the inhabitants, or plunder the country, they would be apprehended and tried and, on due conviction, be punished with the utmost severity of the law. This practically ended the disturbances, those concerned in them, except a few ringleaders, including the Pālegars of Tarikere, who demanded impossible terms, returned to their homes and renewed their domestic occupations. Col. Briggs' Proclamation, however, was later disowned by the Rt. Hon. the Governor, who issued another Proclamation, "describing the Polegar chiefs as common robbers for the seizure of whom he proposed that rewards should be offered" and "recommended that the inhabitants should be encouraged to employ fire-arms and other weapons to protect themselves from the Polegars." Subsequently, however, Col. Briggs was permitted to proceed in person to Nagar to secure the submission of the Pālegars and to pacify the country. This he was able to do, not without some trouble, by adopting a conciliatory method. First, he suspended Annappa from office and made it known throughout the country that he was so suspended because he had attacked one of the Pālegars without authority. This had a good effect. Next, by restoring the pensions to which the Pālegars of Tarikere were entitled, he won them over to allegiance. The rest of the people then dispersed to their homes. Thus, without shedding "a drop of blood," peace was restored with the aid almost exclusively of the inhabitants of the disturbed area itself. (See Minute of Senior Commissioner, dated Chitaldrug, August 4, 1832.) At the same time, Būdi Basavappa, who had escaped, made overtures to voluntarily surrender himself if he was recognized as the Pālegar of Nagar. But Col. Briggs, convinced of his being altogether an imposter and "not being a member of the House of Nagar Polegars," refused to hold out any such promise. At the same time, he was still so extremely influential, that he was being helped with men and money by his agents. To counteract his evil influence, "secret measures" were taken to effect his capture.

Resignation of Col. Briggs.

Meanwhile the serious differences of opinion that had arisen between the senior and junior Commissioners reached the Governor-General. To such an extent, indeed, had this disagreement proceeded that Col. Briggs had expressed his earnest desire to be relieved from the position of Senior Commissioner. He had also suggested that the existing constitution of the Commission should be modified and that the entire authority should be vested in a single Commissioner, disclaiming at the same time all wish "of being himself nominated to such an office." Though Lord William Bentinck did not agree to the suggestion, he directed the transfer of Colonel Briggs as Resident at Nagpur. His Lordship, in accepting his resignation, remarked that "it was no more than an act of justice to that officer to record his sense of the

Appreciation of his services.

energy, activity and zeal which he has displayed in the discharge of the duties of Senior Commissioner. So far as his Lordship is able to judge, the exertions of Lieut.-Col. Briggs have been judiciously directed and his successful efforts in restoring tranquility to the province of Naggar (Nagar) entitle him to great commendation." (See letter from W. H. Macnaghten, Secretary to the Governor-General, to the Commissioners for the Affairs of Mysore, dated 13th November 1832).

An estimate of his services to the State.

Before we take leave of General Briggs, it has to be remarked that he had a vigorous personality and the bearing of a true soldier. He was remarkably assiduous and brought to his task both freshness and sincerity. By close application to the duties of his office, he was able to discern and unmask the real state of affairs. He found the several mis-statements which had crept into official reports and had helped to give birth to the annoyances to which His Highness had been subjected. He confirmed all the grants and charitable endowments conferred by His Highness, as they had been, in his opinion, made on valid grounds. Col. Briggs entirely agreed in this particular matter—on which had been built up a wholly baseless charge against His Highness' administration—with the finding of Sir Thomas Munro in 1825. (See *ante.*) His Highness remembered his eminent services to the State and his personal goodwill towards him for many years after his departure from the State. Col. Briggs rose to be Major-General and eventually became a Member of the Court of Proprietors of the East India Company, in which capacity, he offered a stout opposition to Lord Dalhousie's policy of annexation. He is now best remembered as the translator of Ferishta's famous Persian history. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society and took a prominent part in the restoration of the administration of the State in 1865-7, forming one of the deputation to the then Secretary of State for India led by Sir Henry Rawlinson. He died in 1875, his *Memories* being published by Major Evans Bell in 1886.

Lieut.-Col. W. Morison, C. B., succeeds him.

Col. Briggs' place was taken by J. M. Macleod, the Junior Commissioner, until the arrival of Lieut.-Col. W. Morison, C. B., when he was directed to revert to his previous position of Junior Commissioner. (*Ibid*). In April 1834, Col. Briggs' suggestion of a single Commissioner was adopted and given effect to, Col. Morison being nominated to the post. He continued in that office till about June 1834, when he left for Calcutta. An account of the administration of the country as it was conducted during his time will be found in *Volume IV*, Chapter I, of this work. A few salient points, however, may be noted here. A number of changes were introduced in the Administration in accordance with the instructions of the Governor-General conveyed to the Commissioners in a letter dated 14th April 1834. Agreeably to these instructions, four European Superintendents superseded the four Indian Fouzdars. They were ordered to conduct the revenue, magisterial and certain judicial duties of the country including the custody of the judicial records. They were also to superintend every Department of Civil Government within certain limits. While exceedingly unwilling to introduce unnecessary changes in the system of Government hitherto followed, it was deemed necessary to order certain improvements in the administration of Civil and Criminal justice. The Superintendents were to respect all ancient usages and institutions of the country, especially those of a religious nature. The Amils were to exercise Police but no magisterial powers. Village watchmen were to be continued to report all serious offences to the Amils. The Superintendents were to be vested with the power of superintend-

Reform of Administration ordered by Lord William Bentinck, 14th April 1834.

ence over all matters Civil and Criminal, all matters of difficulty being referred to the Commissioner. Corporal punishment was on no account to be inflicted. Death sentence was to be restricted to murder, plunder on the frontier and to gang robbers. Col. Briggs' system of (administering) civil justice had given powers to Patels in judicial matters. This was ordered to be done away with as "mischievous," as Patels were usually renters of Villagers. Appeals from Amils were to be heard by Principal Sudder Munsiffs, one or two of whom were to be attached to each Superintendent's jurisdiction. Their monetary jurisdictions were also fixed and regular rules drawn up for the conduct of their business.

In regard to revenue administration, the Superintendents in their revenue capacity were to revise the whole of the existing system of settlement and subject to the orders of the Commissioner, they were to see that the Amils protected the rights of each *raiyat.* To achieve this object, they were to control the Amils in their respective jurisdictions, check all collections and disbursements and investigate all complaints preferred against them or their subordinates. The renting system was to be gradually discontinued; opportunity was to be taken to convert payments in kind to a money rent, especially on dry lands; assessments were to be collected in instalments at harvest time and receipts given to *raiyats*; various returns were to be called for to show demand, callections and balances due; repairs to tanks were to be carried out to avoid fall in the revenue; and an investigation into Inām lands was to be carried out as also into arrears of land revenue due. The Superintendents were also to hear complaints once a week. The general policy to be observed in carrying out these reforms was laid down to be not only that the "Native forms should be preserved but that Native Agency should be adhered to as much as practicable." The Commissioner was to assimilate his position to that of the Board of Revenue at the Presidency in regard to Revenue matters, and was to be aided by the European Superintendents and the Officers of the Dewan's Cutcherry. After the new system came into active operation, the services of the Dewan were to be dispensed with.

Reforms approved by the Court of Directors, 25th September 1835.

The Court of Directors, in their Despatch dated the 25th September 1835, approved of the Governor-General's decision to appoint a sole Commissioner and four European Assistants as Superintendents to attend to the details of the internal Government. They insisted on the efficient superintendence of the work of the Amils. They also suggested that the Commissioner should be instructed to afford "security to the cultivators against future exaction." They recommended in particular that *Pattas* or leases should be granted to the cultivators at moderate rates, and through such leases to fix the demand upon the *raiyat* for a period of years. This, they remarked, would enable the Supreme Government "to attain the ends for which they assumed the Government of the Mysore country." (Directors' Despatch dated 25th September 1835, para 29.) They also approved of the provisions made by the Governor-General for the due administration of justice through the new tribunals established by him. At the same time, they did not agree that the levy of an institution fee in the case of suits of more than Rs. 10 and on appeals was equitable. "We are aware," they wrote, "that the fee is intended to check litigation, and not to levy a tax for the benefit of the State; but its imposition is contrary to all just principle, and the attempt to check litigation may in reality operate to prevent an injured party from obtaining redress for a wrong. We therefore wish you to reconsider the mode of preventing improper litigation." (*Ibid*, Para 63.)

Indian Administration ordered to be continued.

The instructions of the Governor-General to the Madras Government on the assumption of the administration had been to the effect that "the agency under the Commissioners should be exclusively native; indeed, that the existing native institutions should be carefully maintained." These views were confirmed by the Court of Directors in their letter above quoted (dated 25th September 1835), in which they stated that they were "desirous of adhering, as far as can be done, to the native usage, and not to introduce a system which cannot be worked hereafter by native agency."

His Highness' rights to one-fifth revenue settled.

Lord William Bentinck also settled that the one-fifth of the revenues to which His Highness was entitled under the Subsidiary Treaty, was to be the sum so arrived at "after all the charges of the administration of the country shall have been defrayed." (See his Minute dated 14th April 1834.) It was specifically stated that as the Treaty was not abrogated by the assumption of the administration, the Company's Government was entitled "under all the circumstances to the stipulated Subsidy which being a distinct alienation might fairly be excluded from any calculation of the revenues of Mysore." (Lord William Bentinck's Despatch dated 14th April 1834, para 9.)

Reorganization of the Military Forces.

Col. Conway drew up his report on the organization of the Military forces on 22nd April 1833 and forwarded it to Government. Though in reviewing it, Col. Morison expressed certain differences of opinion, he entirely agreed with him in thinking that there had been deterioration in the character of the Silladars, which he set down to the evil example of the Buckshee, who was in charge of them. Col. Morison recommended that the whole of the Silladars (3,500) should be kept up on the existing footing. He agreed that one Buckshee was quite capable, as at present, of managing it and that even if finances permitted it, no European officer need be appointed for its ordinary management. "In the event ef war beyond the frontier," he said, "an European commandant, aided by one staff officer, would be requisite." Any such appointment of an European officer during ordinary times would, he was persuaded, only mean "a divided authority" ending in discontent among the troops. But he recommended that there should be a Military Assistant to the Commissioner, who should be allowed to attend to all details "arising out of communications received from the Buckshee and to inspect all the remount horses brought by the men." He was, however, to have no military authority but only to act as Assistant to the Commissioner in the Military matters. (See for further details Morison's *Notes on Mysore,* Nos. 39 and 40.)

Change in the Residency.

In 1834, Casamaijor, was transferred as Resident at Travancore, his place at Mysore being taken in June of that year by Col. J. S. Fraser, who also held the posts of Commissioner and Military Commandant of Coorg. In 1836, he succeeded Casamaijor at Travancore, being in turn succeeded in Mysore by Col. R. D. Stokes. Both these won the esteem and friendship of His Highness the Mahārāja and did much to soften the acerbities of the situation.

Change in the Commissionership: Col. Mark Cubbon succeeds Col. Morison, June 1834.

Meanwhile in June 1834, Col. Morison was transferred to Calcutta and was succeeded in the post of sole Commissioner by Col. (afterwards Sir Mark) Cubbon. Colonel Cubbon continued in this office for twenty-six years, during which period the administration of the State was conducted on lines which won universal admiration.

The history of the State during his administration is that of a people made happy by an illustrious member of the patriarchal school of Indian Administration, who conducted it, "in a manner honourable to the British name" on the lines of a benevolent despotism worked through the agency of selected British Officers. During this period, peace and order prevailed; peculation died out and affairs generally were conducted with such prudence and economy that though the land tax was greatly reduced and different kinds of vexatious imposts swept away, the revenue largely exceeded the expenditure. The rise in the revenue, however, was gradual and did not prove irksome to them from whom it was raised. In addition, the abuses in the working of the land revenue, which had crept in since the time of Pūrnaiya, were removed; the payment of the assessment was made as easy as possible to the *raiyat* by dividing it into five instalments, payable with reference to the periods of harvest; the system of *batayi* or payment of assesssment in kind, which exposed the *raiyat* to numberless exactions, was in great measure abolished, and the land assessment in many cases was lowered. The growth in the revenue helped to pay off State debts aggregating Rs. 85 lakhs; credit was restored, and a nest-egg of Rs. 40 lakhs was invested in British Government Securities. At the same time, the country was opened up for traffic by inexpensive but practicable roads and all transit duties were abolished.

Rai Raaya Rai Kollam Venkata Rao, Special Assistant to Sir Mark Cubbon.

Sir Mark Cubbon had invaluable help in his work from a remarkable Indian Assistant in the person of Mr. Venkata Rao, subsequently well-known as Rai-Raaya-Rai Kollam Venkata Rao. He was a Brahmin from Kumbakonum and was the father of Dewan Bahadur Raghunatha Rao, who himself rose to be the Dewan of two States. He succeeded Bābu Rao, who, chosen by General Briggs for the Dewan's post, had died in 1834. The post of Dewan was, thereafter, abolished and his establishment was amalgamated with the Commissioner's office, the Dewan's place being taken by a functionary called the Huzur Head Sherestedar. Kollam Venkata Rao was appointed to the new post and he was later given the designation of Native Assistant to the Commissioner. In 1838, however, he went to Travancore as Dewan. His place, with the old name of Huzur Head Sherestedar, was taken by one Surappayya. The latter died in 1840, in which year Kollam Venkata Rao rejoined his old post, as Special Assistant to the Commissioner for the Government of Mysore. In this position, he proved of immense service to Sir Mark Cubbon. His knowledge of the work of the Revenue Department was both intimate and real and he besides possessed certain "peculiar and rare qualifications" which attracted the notice of high European officers of the time. He combined in himself, as General J. S. Fraser put it, just those qualifications which were wanted for a successful administration—"every capacity (particularly in the Revenue Department), and conciliation and kindness with a gentlemanly manner and deportment." General Fraser, indeed, was so taken up with him and his abilities, that he requisitioned for his services for Haiderabad, to which place he himself had been accredited as Resident in 1838. He desired to displace Chundoo Lall, the famous Dewan of that place, by Venkata Rao, whom he described in his letters as "a man of great ability," and whose administrative talents, especially in the Revenue and Finance Departments, he referred as being of "a first-rate order." (*See Memoirs and Correspondence of General J. S Fraser*, by Col. Hastings Fraser, I. S. C., 153-154). Sir Mark Cubbon entirely agreed in this estimate of Venkata Rao, and though sorry to part with him, he complied with the request of General Fraser, on the distinct and explicit recommendation of the Government of India that he was to be appointed as Assistant to Rajah Chundoo Lall. General Fraser desired to retire Chundoo Lall and secure the nomination of Venkata

Rao as his successor. But as this idea could not be easily carried out, it was decided to appoint him as his Assistant to bring the Haiderabad financial administration into order. "It was after conversing with him (Venkata Rao)," wrote General Fraser on 14th July 1842 to Lord Ellenborough, then Governor-General of India, "for an hour or two that Lord William Bentinck remarked it was such men who might be placed with advantage in the Supreme Council of India." (*l.c.*, *Memoirs*). Venkata Rao was accordingly given six months' leave of absence to proceed to Haiderabad, ostensibly on a private visit, but really to take up the new post offered to him. (*Ibid*, 75). But as misfortune would have it, he became seriously unwell with dropsy and returning to Bangalore, almost immediately thereafter, died there. In intimating the sad news to Lord Ellenborough, General Fraser expressed how his expectations had been disappointed. "The British Government," he said, "has lost in him one of the ablest Native servants that it has ever been my lot to meet with during my career in India." (*Ibid*, letter dated 13th July 1843). Such was the Special Indian Assistant of Sir Mark Cubbon and some meed of praise is due to him for the great success that attended Sir Mark's administration of Mysore. He is at present remembered by a Chuttram founded by him in Bangalore, which is now situated on the Krishnarajendra Road in the City. The title of *Rai Raaya Rai* was bestowed on him in 1838, just before his departure to Haiderabad in recognition of his valued services. A Madras *Government Gazette* notification issued in this connection from Fort St. George, dated April 19, 1838, ran as follows:—

> "The Hon'ble the Governor-General of India, having taken into consideration the eminent zeal, ability and integrity displayed by Venkata Rao, in his capacity of Native Assistant to the Commissioner for the Territories of Mysore, has been

pleased, as a mark of the favour of the British Government to bestow upon him the title of *Rai Raaya Rai*; and the same is hereby notified for general information by the order of the Right Honorable the Governor-in-Council."

Venkata Rao's successors in Mysore in the post of Native Assistant were the following:—

(1) Kola Krishnama Naidu, who had for some time served as head of the English Department in the Palace and subsequently as a Munsiff in the British Commission. He served from 1844 to 1858.

(2) Kola Vijayarangam Naidu, brother of Kola Krishnama Naidu, from 1858-1866; and

(3) Arunachala Mudaliar from 1866 to 1868.

Administrative changes between 1834 and 1843; abolition of the Residency, 1843.

During the ten years that elapsed between 1834 and 1843, certain administrative changes were introduced. One of these was the abolition of the post of the British Resident in Mysore, which had been created at the time of the Restoration of the State about June 1799. Major (afterwards Major-General) R. D. Stokes, who had proved so successful in his post, continued in that post till 1843, when it was abolished. There is reason to believe that the position of the Resident proved impossible in view of the larger powers wielded in the administration by the Commissioner. In actual working, that close and unreserved intimacy between the Resident and the Commissioner that was necessary was not realized. Their individual ideas in regard "to the future destiny of the Mysore country," as it was described, evidently also differed. While the Commissioner might have been guided in regard to these by those derived from the Supreme Government, the Resident being probably unaware of them, could not have had any conception of them to guide him in his own attitude in regard to various matters affecting the personal *status* of His Highness. Thus, His Highness' rights to adjudge all disputes among his own immediate relations (Rājpindis) which had been conceded to him, in 1834, was questioned in 1839. (See Letter from General J. S. Fraser to Major Stokes, dated 7th March 1939, in Hasting's Fraser's *Memoirs and Correspondence of General J. S. Fraser*). Difficulties of this kind, personal and political, induced the Government of India to decide on the abolition of the post of Resident in 1843. Major Stokes proved accordingly the last of his line during the Pre-rendition days. He kept up, after his retirement, an intimate private correspondence with His Highess the Maharaja from his residence in Ireland. In a letter dated in 1836 to Sir Frederick Adam, General J. S. Fraser wrote of him thus :—

> "I am very glad to find that the Rajah likes Major Stokes, and that the latter is proving himself, so far as I can judge from his letters, an honest friend and a very judicious adviser to the Rajah.........................It strikes me that, under the circumstances in which the Mysore Country is now placed, Major Stokes is as good a Resident there as any one I know, either civil or military, could be; and the same sound sense and judgment will render him perfectly capable of conducting the same duties when he shall have a rather more independent part to play than at present." (*Loc. Cit.* Hasting's Fraser's *Memoirs*, 27.)

The loss of so good a friend and adviser was, as might be expected, keenly felt by His Highness the Mahārāja. Indeed, the abolition of the post of Resident was not at first welcomed by His Highness, but it brought him into closer relations with Colonel Cubbon, the Commissioner, and from 1847 they continued on the most friendly terms. Before this, however, in 1844, in a letter to Lord Hardinge, the Governor-General, His Highness urged his claim to the restoration of his kingdom, to which the Directors in 1847 returned a negative reply.

Lord Dalhousie's visit to Mysore 1855; Reforms introduced into the Administration.

With Lord Dalhousie, who became Governor-General in 1848, His Highness the Mahārāja kept up a continuous correspondence. In 1854, he invited him to his capital to be present at the sixtieth anniversary of his birth, which he intended to celebrate with due solemnity. (Letter dated 10th February 1854). Hearing of his arrival on the Nilgiris, in April 1855, he once again invited him to visit his capital. (Letters dated 5th April 1855 and 25th October 1855). On 30th October 1855, Lord Dalhousie arrived at Mysore and stayed there a couple of days. He recorded his opinion that the administration had been highly honourable to the British name and reflected the utmost credit upon the exertions of the valuable body of officers by whom such great results had been accomplished.

Changes due to Campany's renewal of Charter in 1854.

Several changes were soon after introduced, arising out of the renewal of the Company's Charter in 1854. A Judicial Commissioner was appointed and departments were formed for Public Works and Public Instruction.

Whatever might have been Lord Dalhousie's views on or about the restoration of the State to His Highness (see below), he kept up his correspondence with His Highness. On receipt of the news from him of the fall of Sebastapool, His Highness celebrated the victory at his capital by the distribution of sugar to the populace and by the firing of a Royal Salute from the ramparts of his fort. (Letter dated 16th January 1856). There is no doubt he treated Lord Dalhousie as his true friend. (*Ibid*). In acknowledging his letter announcing his retirement in 1856, His Highness characterized his administration as "almost unparalleled in Indian History" and as permanently establishing his fame throughout the world. His Highness also returned thanks for the promise made by him to bring his "approved course of conduct" to the notice of Lord Canning, his successor. (Letter dated 19th May 1856.)

Correspondence with Lord Canning, successor of Lord Dalhousie. Assistance rendered during the Great Mutiny, 1857-8,

With Lord Canning, His Highness kept up a similar friendly correspondence. The Sepoy Mutiny broke out in 1857 and the safety of Southern India was assured by the exemplary conduct of His Highness, who proved a firm friend of the British. In November 1858, he placed, at short notice, his country house at the disposal of the Commissioner for removing into it the Public Treasury at Mysore. "As I am protected by the British Government," he wrote to Sir Mark Cubbon, "I consider my life and property as bound up in their own welfare and stability. You may, therefore, rest assured that as far as possible, I shall at all times be ready to render any assistance it may be in my power to afford." (Letter dated 14th November 1848). His Highness' ready compliance elicited an immediate acknowledgement. "It will be my duty," Sir Mark Cubbon wrote to His Highness, "to bring to the notice of the Right Honorable the Governor-General of India my sense of obligation to your Highness for your cordial co-operation in providing for the public safety against the ill-disposed and bad characters assembled in the town of Mysore, bent on mischief." (Letter dated 16th November 1858). He also contributed to the success of the British arms by rendering assistance to the passage of His Majesty's troops towards the disturbed Districts. He also caused to be placed at the disposal of the Supreme Government two thousand Silladar Horse "to aid in the supression of the Rebellion." (Letter dated 15th March 1860).

The following extract from a letter of Sir Mark Cubbon dated 2nd June 1860, well sums up the sterling services rendered by His Highness at this critical hour in the history of the British in India:—

"To no one was the Government more indebted for the preservation of tranquility than to His Highness the Rajah, who displayed the most steadfast loyalty throughout the crisis, discountenancing everything in the shape of disaffection, and taking every opportunity to proclaim his perfect confidence in the stability of English rule. When the small party of Europeans arrived at Mysore, he made manifest his satisfaction by giving them a feast. He offered one of his Palaces for their accommodation, and as a stronghold for the security of the treasure; and even gave up his own personal establishment of elephants, &c., to assist the 74th Highlanders in their forced march from the Neilgherries to Bellary, for the protection of Ceded Districts, a proceeding which, although of no great magnitude in itself, produced great moral effects throughout the Country. In fact, there was nothing in his power which he did not do to manifest his fidelity to the British Government, and to discourage the unfriendly."

On receipt of the above communication, Lord Canning thus warmly acknowledged His Highness' services, in a letter dated 28th June 1860:—

"Your Highness' wise confidence in the power of England and your open manifestation of it, the consideration and kindness which you showed to British subjects, and the ready and useful assistance which you rendered to the Queen's troops, have been mentioned by the Commissioner in terms of the highest praise. I beg your Highness to accept the expression of my warm thanks for these fresh proofs of the spirit by which your Highness is animated in your relations with the Government of India. I shall have much pleasure in making them known to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India."

His Highness' services brought to the notice of Her Majesty the Queen.

His Highness' "loyal conduct and good service" was brought to the notice of Her Majesty the Queen and Her Majesty's "acknowledgments" were caused to be conveyed to His Highness in the Secretary of State's Despatch dated 31st August 1859.

Proclamation of Assumption of sovereignity by Her Majesty the Queen.

On receipt of Lord Canning's letter dated 25th October 1859, announcing Her Majesty the Queen's Proclamation that she had taken upon herself the direct Government of Her Indian Territories, His Highness wrote back to state that the joyful intelligence had been received by a salute of 21 guns fired from the ramparts of the Mysore Fort and the Proclamation itself was duly proclaimed at Mysore with every demonstration of loyalty and respect before a vast concourse of people, sugar being distributed throughout the City and its suburbs. (Letter dated 24th December 1858). His Highness also wrote a felicitous letter to Lord Stanley, then Secretary of State for India, reminding him of his visit to Mysore some eight years before, and announcing to him how the Proclamation had been joyously received by him at his Capital and requesting him to convey the information to his father, the Earl of Derby. (Letter dated 31st December 1858). This was followed by an equally beautifully worded letter to Her Majesty the Queen herself in which His Highness described the Royal Clemency as "an act which could only emanate from the heart of a British Queen." (Letter dated 31st December 1858.)

Celebration of the Sixtieth anniversary of His Highness' accession to the Throne, 28th June 1859.

On 28th June 1859, His Highness celebrated the Sixtieth anniversary of his accession to the Throne, an event which was marked by joyous rejoicing and thanksgiving. (Letter dated 15th June 1859.)

Attempted transfer of of Superintendence from Supreme Government to Madras Government, 1860.

About the beginning of 1860, an attempt was made to transfer the superintendence of Mysore affairs from the Governor-General to the Government of Madras, then under Sir Charles Trevelyan, thus reversing what had been done in 1832. This proved so distasteful to Sir Mark Cubbon, that he forthwith tendered his resignation of office as Commissioner and requested to be relieved as soon as it might be found convenient. (Letter dated 5th March 1860). It also gave cause to a spirited protest from His Highness the Mahārāja. First, he objected to the transfer on the ground that it had been made without any reference "to himself as if he had no longer any interest in the matter or any interests to uphold,"—a kind of procedure which, he said, filled his mind "with apprehension and alarm." Secondly, he remarked, he did not see how his interests or those of his country were to be bettered by the transfer. Perfect tranquillity has, he said, reigned in the country at a time when disaffection on the part of his people would have thrown Southern India into a blaze. "But my conduct," he protested, "and that of my people during that dreadful period, exhibit the complete success of the administration as at present carried out." Thirdly, he expressed a grave fear that such a step as this would adversely affect his future and the future of his country. "Such a measure as this," he said, "if introduced, would possibly interfere with the claims that I and my heirs have for the restoration of the Government of my country as it is evident that the contemplated change is with the view of introducing alteration in the form of Government, which would render it difficult for me or my successor to conduct the administration hereafter with a native agency." Fourthly, he urged that whereas Mysore had prospered under the Supreme Government for many years, when it was last transferred to the control of Madras, the reverse had proved the case. Fifthly and finally, His Highness remarked that "it would require very strong reasons to justify the risk of making the change now proposed." (Letter dated 15th March 1860). This respectful but emphatic protest produced a profound impression on Lord Canning. He wrote back to say that His Highness' sentiments had been received by him with the "truest respect" and that he did "not hesitate to suspend the execution of the orders" which had been issued by the Secretary of State for India in Council for the transfer of the superintendence from the Supreme to the Madras Government. He also added that he would "immediately" make known to Her Majesty's Government

His Highness' feelings in the matter. (Letter dated 30th March 1860). On the same date, Lord Canning sent out a lengthy Despatch to the Secretary of State, in which he urged the recalling of the order issued. He wrote:—

> "I feel it to be impossible, in the face of such an appeal coming from so venerable and loyal a prince, and couched in terms so dignified, and so respectful, to persist in the immediate execution of your orders without submitting the case for your reconsideration."

He remarked that it would be both "ungenerous and impolitic" to set aside His Highness' feelings in the matter. The transfer of superintendence, he added, was not "worth purchasing at the cost of ending and alienating the Sovereign of the Country." He suggested that the first measure towards Mysore by the direct Government of the Queen should be something very different. "Surely," he urged, "it is to be desired that it should not be such as to draw from the Rajah an emphatic protest and refusal of consent, in which he will carry with him, reasonably or unreasonably, the sympathy of his fellow Princes." Needless to state, Lord Canning's letter had the desired effect. He had the pleasure, on 28th June 1860, to announce to His Highness that agreeably to his feelings, Her Majesty's Government had passed orders "directing the transfer should be cancelled."

Resignation and death of Sir Mark Cubbon, 1861.

Not only was His Highness gratified with this cancellation but Sir Mark Cubbon also withdrew his resignation and continued in service for nearly another year. Early in 1861, however, Sir Mark was attacked with serious illness which compelled him to resign and seek rest in his island home. His resignation, which he made known to His Highness the Mahārāja on 1st March 1861, was a great shock to the latter. The news was received by him with sincere regret. It meant the severance of the official relationship which for a period of twenty-six years had so cordially subsisted between the two great worthies. "Although I was in some measure," wrote His Highness, "prepared to receive this communication, yet when it came, the sensation it produced in me was inexpressibly distressing and painful—the more so—as it conveyed the intimation that your departure from the Country was to be without a personal interview with me, and without the last interchange of a friendly farewell." Sir Mark, indeed, was too unwell to go to Mysore to take leave of His Highness and had to leave Bangalore (on 16th March 1861) direct to Madras to catch the first vessel sailing to England. His heartfelt desire to reach his native shores was, however, never fulfilled. He died, on the voyage home, at Suez, in April 1861, at an advanced age, having spent the whole of the century in India. He left Mysore full of honours as full of years and his memory is still cherished with affection by the people whose affairs he administered so successfully and so long. His Highness, in a letter breathing the highest sentiments of regard and esteem, thus referred to his administration:—

His Highness' appreciation of his services to the State.

"The zeal and ability you have displayed in your administration of its (the State's) affairs, the great improvements you have introduced without changing the native system of administration, the continued prosperity of the country and happiness of the people have been the theme of admiration and praise in everybody's mouth. In fact, your administration of it has been so perfectly consistent with the wishes of the Sovereign and his people that I have specially noticed it in my letter to His Excellency the Right Honourable Lord Canning, dated 23rd ultimo (this has been printed in the *Parliamentary Blue-Book, 1866*, 1-3), and I will only add that you have earned for yourself a world-wide fame, and have enrolled your name with those of the Duke of Wellington and other great statesmen, who by their generous rule and wise policy have established for themselves a name and reputation in this Country which can never be obliterated."

Sir Mark was the son of a Manx clergyman, and came out to India in 1801, at the age of 16. On arrival, he joined his uncle Major Wilks, at the Mysore Residency, and there gained an early acquaintance with Indian customs and habits. Before long he was appointed to the Commissariat Department at Hunsur, and became the head of it when Colonel Morison was made Resident of Travancore. The latter officer returned to Mysore as Senior Commissioner in 1833, and was next year appointed to the Council of the Governor-General at Calcutta. A complimentary order issued in November 1839, on his departure to England, says, "His Lordship in Council would particularly draw the attention of the young officers of the Madras army to the career of Colonel Morison." He was transferred from the line to the artillery solely on account of his talents, and made Instructor. He afterwards became Surveyor-General and when the Commissariat Department was formed, Commissary-General. His subsequent appointments have been mentioned above. He was the first Madras Officer, since the days of Lord Clive, selected for a seat in the Supreme Council. Colonel Cubbon who was Junior Commissioner, at the time of Col. Morison's departure succeeded him and became the Sole Commissioner in Mysore.

General Sir Mark Cubbon was a statesman of the old school, and, says General Dobbs, was particularly in his element when engaged in disentangling webs of local intrigue. In this he fought the local people with their own weapons, with one noble exception—he abhorred and never resorted to espionage, and often spoke of the failure of Europeans who descended to such tactics. He was intensely conservative, but his strong reluctance to change was corrected by his wide reading of the public journals, which were then few in number. To his deputies, in all matters in which he considered they possessed practical knowledge, he allowed great liberty in exercising their own judgment, and was generous and kind hearted in support of them. He was passionately fond of horses, and kept up to fifty or more, chiefly Arabs, in his stables as pets. To encourage the production of high-bred animals, he had a number trained for the races, but did not run them, preferring to pay the fines. Though he did not go to Church, he was particular in enforcing observancy of Sunday as a day of rest in all courts and offices, and would not receive Indian visitors on that day. His favourite retreat was Nandidroog, where he spent several months in the year.

We obtain a delightful picture of him in 1858, at the time of Lady Canning's visit. Her companion, the Hon'ble Mrs. Stuart, writes :—

> "At seven in the morning (22nd March) drove up, through the lines of the 60th Rifles, to General Cubbon's charming bungalow at Bangalore. We found the whole house prepared for us, the chivalrous old man of 74 having put himself into a tent. He is a very handsome, keen-eyed, intelligent man, and the quantity of anecdote of the deepest interest that he has told us has been more entertaining than I can describe."

Lady Canning, writing from Nandidroog, says :—

> "I am visiting a charming old General, Sir Mark Cubbon, 1,500 feet above the table-land of Bangalore, and with a view over about 150 miles of country on all sides. It is cool fresh air and a very pleasant spot, and the old gentleman is very delightful. He has been all this century in India, but seems to know all that has gone on all over the world, and is the most *grand siegneur* old man I almost ever saw." (*The Story of Two Noble Lives*, by A. J. C. Hare.)

His remains were conveyed by Dr. Campbell, the Durbar Surgeon, who had accompanied him on the voyage, to Isle of Man, where he was met by Colonels Macqueen and Haines, old Officers of the Mysore Commission, and the body was laid to rest in the family vault in a public funeral in which the whole island took part. As the mourners left the tomb, "There lies," said the archdeacon, "the greatest man this island has produced for centuries back." An equestrian statue, by Baron Marochetti, was erected to his memory at Bangalore by public subscription, and stands in front of the Public Offices.

His Highness' presents to Her Majesty the Queen, 1861.

With the approval of Lord Canning, His Highness despatched, on 13th March 1861, a number of presents, through Dr. J. C. Campbell, the Durbar Surgeon, to Her Majesty. These included a number of jewels peculiar to India, various insignias of royalty, animals reared within the precincts of His Highness' Palace and a large portrait of His Grace the Duke of Wellington, painted for His Highness "soon after the siege of Seringapatam whilst His Grace was yet a young man" and which His Highness had "always highly priced." (Letter dated 13th March 1861.) These were duly presented to Her Majesty, who commanded the despatch, through Dr. Campbell, of "a few specimens of the manufactures of Great Britain and other articles" which Her Majesty requested the acceptance of by His Highness "as token of Her friendship and esteem." In sending these and in acknowledging His Highness' assurances of friendship, Sir Charles Wood (afterwards Lord Halifax), then Secretary of State for India, wrote to His Highness thus :—

"From Your Highness these good words are specially gratifying. For more than sixty years you have been the faithful ally of the British Government who felt assured, when trouble recently overtook them, that as Your Highness was the oldest so would you be the staunchest of their friends, if evil and misguided men should seek to sow sedition in Your Highness' Country. By the blessing of God, the Southern Peninsula remained undisturbed, but Your Highness nevertheless was enabled to contribute to the success of the British arms by the assistance which you rendered to the passage of Her Majesty's Troops towards the disturbed Districts, whilst by your personal bearing in this critical juncture, you encouraged and sustained the loyalty of your subjects and helped to preserve the tranquillity of the Country."

This letter, so well couched and so well conceived, was received with due solemnity and read in open Durbar by His Highness, who was deeply touched by this expression of "the feeling of regard and seteem with which the Queen of England and of India" saw fit "to regard her distant and humble ally." (Letter dated 20th April 1862).

Mr. C. B. Saunders, Offg. Commissioner; arrival of Mr. L. B. Bowring, Commissioner, 1862-1870.

Sir Mark Cubbon handed over charge to Mr. C. B. Saunders, the Judicial Commissioner, who conducted the administration till the arrival in February 1862 of the new Commissioner, Mr. L. B. Bowring, and the latter, with the interval of a year's leave in 1866-67, during which Mr. Saunders again officiated, held office until 1870. During this period of seven years, many radical changes were effected. A quarter of a century of progress had resulted in an increase of population and wealth. With the growth of intelligence and business, a system of administration which had answered well during the period and had evoked the gratitude of all, became more and more inadequate. For though the territory had been opened out with roads and the finances put in order, yet, in other matters, such as law and justice, police and jail management, survey and settlement of land, education, public works, irrigation, medical aid, sanitation, forest conservancy and the like, Mysore though blessed with a large surplus, was far below the standard of a British Province. Such was the situation, when Mr. Bowring took over charge of the office of Chief Commissioner. He was a distinguished member of the Bengal Civil Service and had been Assistant Resident at Lahore in 1847 and subsequently in the Punjab Commission.

He had been, during 1858-1862, Private Secretary to Lord Canning, a position in which he had won laurels. Both by experience and by training, he was eminently the man for the times. He found an overflowing treasury and he considered the stage had been reached at when a thorough change in the administration was necessary. Convinced that the patriarchal system was no longer suited, he determined upon introducing a system of administration more in consonance with the spirit of the times. Himself an old Punjab Officer, he resolved upon remodelling the local administration on the basis of the system prevailing in that province. The reorganization, however, was carried out by him with care and judgment, and the administration approximated more or less to that obtaining in British territory, and in the absence of competent Indian agency, free use was made of the agency of British Officers. The Punjab too was not blindly followed; in matters of survey and settlement of land, the Bombay system was found more suitable, and in dealing with *inām* or tax-free tenures, the principles followed were those in force in Madras. In a word, the new administration, as introduced by Mr. Bowring, has been well described as the scientific result of the administrative experience of the three provinces of Madras, Bombay and the Punjab.

Non-regulation system displaced by Regulation system.

It was in these circumstances that the non-regulation system gave place to the regulation system in the State in 1862. The result was eminently beneficial. The State was now formed into three Divisions, sub-divided into eight Districts, each division being placed under a Superintendent with enlarged powers and each District in charge of a Deputy Superintendent, aided by Assistant Superintendents. The department of finance underwent at the same time a sweeping reform, and in place of the large discretion previously allowed to officers of all grades in regard to the disbursement of moneys, the Indian Budget system of audit and accounts was introduced. Surplus revenue was no longer hoarded, but spent liberally on Public Works. In 1863 was commenced a much needed revenue survey and settlement, for the purposes of obtaining an accurate land measurement, of regulating the customary land-tax, and of preserving all proprietory and other rights connected with the soil. In conjunction with this, the period of assessment was fixed for thirty years, thus securing to the cultivator the full advantages of a lease for that period without burdening him with any condition beyond that of discharging the assessment for the single year to which his engagements extended. Soon after, it was found necessary to form an *inām* Commission, to inquire into the validity of titles to lands held by individuals or religious institutions as real or pretended endowments. The conservation of the numerous irrigation channels and of the valuable forests of the country received attention; and as judicial work grew heavier, judicial assistants were appointed, one for each District, for the disposal of civil suits. Education was greatly extended, miles and miles of admirable roads were constructed, rivers bridged, public offices erected, municipalities established, sanitation and conservancy looked after to an extent previously unknown. Jail administration was thoroughly reformed and the Bangalore Central Jail became a model institution. In short, there was scarcely a branch of the administration but came under the scrutiny and reforming hand of the untiring and energetic head of the Government. The effect was magical. Prosperity increased. Capital was attracted and coffee planting began on a large scale and mines came to be developed.

The Story of the Reversion

His Highness the Mahārājah had been for years bent on getting his kingdom restored to him. Apart from the justice of his claim, with the advance of years, the fear became all but universal that the Supreme Government was not unwilling to see the assumption of administration converted into annexation. At first, Lord William Bentinck, who assumed the administration, seems to have suggested a partial annexation, which did not meet with approval. His proposal, made in the beginning of 1834, was to restore the Districts of Mysore, Ashtagram and Manjarabad in full sovereignty to His Highness the Mahārāja and to annex the remainder of the country as an equivalent for the subsidy. A new treaty was also to be concluded to give effect to this proposal. (Letter of Sir Frederick Adam to Col. J. S. Fraser dated 17th April 1834, see l. c. *Memoirs.*) The Court of Directors, however, did not approve of this idea. They were wholly against any proposal that aimed at the dismemberment of the State. In after times, as mentioned above, Lord William Bentinck deeply regretted the hastiness with which he had acted with regard to Mysore, and is known to have more than once said that it was the only act of his Indian administration that he looked back upon with regret. He put it on record that what he had done had been carried out under a grievous misconception of facts, and that he had been misled into action by the "exaggerated representations of the Madras Government" of the time. In his Despatch to the Court of Directors, he could not help expressing "certain doubts both as to the legality and the justice, according to the strict interpretation, of the course that had been pursued." He gave as a reason for these doubts that the Treaty warrants an assumption of the Country with a view to secure the payment of the subsidy, "whereas the subsidy does not appear to have been in any immediate jeopardy." Then, again, the Treaty only authorised the assumption of part or parts of the Country, whereas the whole was assumed. The reply of the Court arrived in 1835 when Sir (afterwards Lord) Charles Metcalfe was Officiating as Governor-General and was made known in 1836 to His Highness by Lord Auckland, who, in that year, succeeded to the Governor-Generalship. Lord Metcalfe himself is said to have spoken of the assumption as " a harsh and unprovoked measure," and it is evident from the wording of his letters to His Highness that he favoured his claim to a restoration of his rights. Like Bentinck, he was for restoring to His Highness the administration, care being taken that the administration was properly conducted. The Court of Directors were, however, against any sudden cancelment of the existing order. That they were for eventual restoration there can be no doubt whatever. In their Despatch of 1835, they not only affirmed that " Native usage should be respected but also expressed their desire " not to introduce a system which " cannot be worked hereafter by Native agency *when the Country shall be restored to the Rajah.*" Lord Hardinge, when Governor-General (1844-48), wrote a despatch in which he conveyed his doubts as to the Company's right to keep the Country when there was no longer any cause for anxiety about the subsidy. Lord Auckland, in communicating the view of the Directors, was accordingly reasonable in the choice of his language, though particularly careful not to commit himself to any precise date for the restoration of the administration to His Highness. The administration, he wrote, was to remain on the existing footing until the arrangements for the good Government of His Highness' Territories should " have been so firmly established as to be secure from future disturbance." His Highness had no reason to expect a more friendly disposal of his claim at the hands of Lord Dalhousie as his declared policy was against the perpetuation of Indian States generally. Lord Dalhousie is, in fact, known to have favoured annexation as advocated by the smaller politicians and this was, as it was said at the time, to be expected from one who had, in the course of his eight years' administration, annexed ten kingdoms or principalities. In a minute he wrote on the subject, he said that " as His Highness was sixty years of age at the time and had no male heirs and had never declared his intention to adopt one, the Kingdom would lapse to the original donor." He also observed that the treaties by which the Kingdom was bestowed on His Highness were silent " as to heirs and successors. No mention is made of them, the Treaty is exclusively a personal one." How baseless this suggestion was in the light of the treaties of Mysore and Seringapatam of 1799, will be found adverted to below. From Earl Canning, His Highness was justified, for many reasons, in looking for a statesmanlike treatment of his claims. But Lord Canning had, in the case of Mysore, developed almost an obsession. He had firmly come to believe that Mysore should become British Territory—an exception to his declared policy towards Indian States generally. With this fixed idea implanted in his mind, he had not even extended to His Highness the right of adoption, which, under his famous Despatch, reckoned as second only to the Queen's Proclamation, was accorded to all the other Princes and Chiefs of India ranking above a Jaghirdar. The reason assigned was that His Highness was not personally governing his Territories at the time of the Proclamation of that Despatch! Yet, at the same time, there had been repeated declarations from successive Governors-General that the assumption of the administration was, under the Treaty, illegal. The transference of superintendence from the Supreme to the Madras Government, ordered in 1860, was, as we have seen, suspected by His Highness as a step in the annexation proposal which was in the air at the time. Lord Canning had himself given currency, when requesting the Secretary of State for India, to re-consider this decision, to a strange story which, as was subsequently made known in the voluminous Press writings and political pamphleteering of the time, was wholly an invention. It had been circulated that His Highness was an old gentleman, past sixty and of a family known to be short-lived. He had, it had been added, no son, and had adopted no heir. "It has been supposed," wrote Lord Canning, "that he will bequeath his kingdom to the British Government. I say "supposed" because there is no formal or official evidence of his purpose; but I know for certain that such was his intention, because early in 1858, and whilst Upper India was still in full rebellion, the Rajah seized an opportunity of conveying to myself, through an entirely private channel, not only the strongest protestation of his loyalty, gratitude and devotion to the Government, but a distinct and earnest declaration, more than once repeated, of his wish that everything that he possessed should at his death pass into its hands." This is what he says he had heard from a "channel" which he describes as "private" but he soon discovered from His Highness himself (*vide* his letter dated 15th March 1860 protesting against the transfer of superintendence to Madras) that the whole story was a fiction and that His Highness entertained no such sentiments as those ascribed by him. (*Vide* Lord Canning's letter dated 30th March 1860 to the Secretary of State for India.) "I beg of you," Lord Canning said, "to compare this declaration with the passage in his letter now enclosed, in which the Rajah expresses grave fears that the measure announced from England (transfer of superintendence) will interfere with the claims which he and his heirs have for the restoration of the Government of his country." Despite this clear and unequivocal statement, Lord Canning still preferred to believe the story of the "supposed" bequest and hoped for its realization. Though he thought that it was "very little desirable that more Provinces should be added to those which are already under the absolute rule of the Queen in India," he appears to have made an exception in regard to Mysore. He said that the case of Mysore "lying in the midst of the Madras Presidency, and already bound to us in a way which is not convenient or satisfactory, is quite exceptional." So he desired that the "bequest" "should not be defeated." Yet, it was the same statesman who penned the following words of prophetic wisdom in the self-same year, 1860:—

> "Should the day come, when India shall be threatened by an external enemy, or when the interests of England elsewhere may require that her Eastern Empire shall incur more than ordinary risk, one of our best mainstays will be found in those Native States. But to make them so, we must treat their chiefs and influential families with consideration and generosity, teaching them that, in spite of all suspicions to the contrary, their independence is safe, and we are not waiting for plausible opportunities to convert their country into British Territory, and convincing them that they have nothing to gain by helping to displace us in favour of any new rulers from within or without."

His Highness' *Kharitas* on the subject.

These words and the sound policy underlying them have been fully justified, though Lord Canning forgot both, when he suggested in hardly veiled language the absorption of Mysore, despite a solemn Treaty then but three score years old and to the enactment of which there were still living witnesses. But at the time we are writing of, these real sentiments of Lord Canning in regard to Mysore were not known, either to His Highness the Mahârâjah or his British advisers. His Highness had seen the control of India pass on 1st November 1858 from the Company to the Crown and a new atmosphere had been created by this change. His Highness too had by his supremely statesmanlike conduct at an hour of crisis won the goodwill of British administrators in

Mysore and statesmen in England. The resignation of Sir Mark Cubbon, after quarter of a century of successful administration, was daily being expected. The country was in a perfect state of tranquillity and the revenues stood at Rs. 93 Lakhs, the highest that had so far been reached. The purpose of assumption of the administration had thus been achieved and nothing remained but to hand it back to its rightful Sovereign. Encouraged accordingly by these circumstances and by the friendly terms in which Lord Canning had in the previous year acknowledged his steadfastness during the Mutiny and supported his objection to the transference of the superintendence to Madras, as well as by his proclaimed goodwill towards Indian Princes, His Highness thought the opportunity favourable for definitely formulating his claim to the restoration of his country. He accordingly addressed a *Kharita* to Lord Canning on the subject on 23rd February 1861, in which after briefly reviewing the circumstances of Mysore since the Restoration in 1799, he desired the retransfer of the administration of the country to himself, the avowed object for which the administration had been temporarily made over to the agency of the British having long since been accomplished. Lord Canning, in his reply dated 11th March 1862, the day before he left for England, took exception to the claim put forward, and rejected it, stating that the treaty with His Highness was a personal one, that what the British gave to him might be taken duly from him and "whilst the British Government had been careful to satisfy the right which it originally conceded to your Highness...... ....it is equally alive to its obligations to the people of Mysore and to the responsibility for their prosperity and welfare of which it cannot divest itself." This reply (parts of which will be found summarised in Aitchison's *Treaties*) expressive of deep disappointment, with traces of anger and something of discourtesy as well, contained sentiments, so utterly averse to his avowed policy, that it was given out at the time (in one of the leading organs of British public opinion) that Lord Canning was not its actual author, "for it seems to have been despatched in haste, and was, indeed, the last important act of his public Indian life, in all other respects so eminently meritorious." It reached His Highness the Mahārājah a few days before the exquisitely written letter of Sir Charles Wood, Secretary of State for India, acknowledging, on behalf of Her Majesty the Queen, His Highness' loyal services during the trying days of the Mutiny. Both the letters had been read in Durbar by the command of His Highness and the striking differences between the two, both in their language and in the impressions they created on those who heard them when read, were thus delineated by His Highness in his reply to Sir Charles Wood, dated 20th April 1862, owning receipt of his letter and the presents sent to him by Her Majesty:—

> "The letter and the presents were delivered by Dr. Campbell (the Durbar Surgeon) in the presence of Mr. Saunders (the officiating Commissioner) and the leading officers engaged in the administration of my kingdom and, as Her Majesty's Gracious and Queenly words fell upon their ears, I could read in their faces that they fully sympathised with the delight I must feel in being so honoured, and that one and all hoped that I should now be consoled for very different words from another pen which had been read upon the same spot only a few days before.
>
> "And I did feel that consolation.
>
> "I feel that although Lord Canning's facts could be (and would be) easily explained, and his arguments refuted, the best answer to the letter of the Viceroy was the letter of that Viceroy's Sovereign."

Untenable views of Lord Canning

True to his word, His Highness addressed Lord Elgin, the successor of Lord Canning, his *Kharita* dated 20th

April 1862, in which he fully met and answered every argument that had been advanced by Lord Canning. The matter then went up to the Home Government, whose decision, dated 17th July 1863, however, proved adverse. While matters were at this juncture and His Highness was deliberating on the next step to be taken, the death was annonnced, on 21st November 1863, of Lord Elgin. This event was a matter of sincere grief to His Highness and led to some further delay in his arriving at a decision. Major-General Sir William Denison, the Governor of Madras, became *Officiating* Governor-General. He had visited Mysore in the preceding June, but had even then acquired a reputation for the unfavourable view he took of Indians generally. The Home Government, using him as their mouth-piece, affected to be puzzled as to the possibility of ever restoring to His Highness his former power, because no provision was to be found in the Treaty for such a contingency! And yet the Treaty clearly enough indicates that only a temporary occupation was ever contemplated, for it provides that *so long as any part or parts* of the Mysore Kingdom shall remain under the control of the Company's Government, the Governor-General shall render to His Highness a true and faithful account of the revenue collected in his Territories. His Highness, however, was not deterred by these somewhat damping circumstances from once again urging his rightful claim to restoration of the administration. After considerable deliberation, His Highness addressed, on 25th January 1865, a fresh *Kharita* to Sir (afterwards Lord) John Lawrence, the successor of Lord Elgin in the Governor-Generalship, in which he set out in some detail the grounds of his claim to re-assume the administration of his Dominions. He also followed it up by another *Kharita* dated 1st February 1865, in which he intimated that he was reluctantly compelled to carry his appeal to Her Majesty the Queen through the medium of Dr. Campbell, who had once before gone on a mission on his behalf to England. Lord Lawrence transmitted copies of these communications to the Secretary of State for India. In informing His Highness of this, Lord Lawrence expressed the view that he could not countenance the case as formulated by His Highness. This induced His Highness to address his *Kharita* dated the 4th July 1866 to substantiate his position. Meanwhile, His Highness desired in due conformity with Hindu custom and religion, to adopt a son as his heir and successor, to inherit his country and hold it as its Sovereign. He had made known his intention in this connection in February 1864, but the Supreme Government, while recognising his right to adopt so far as his private property was concerned, informed His Highness on 29th March 1864 that no authority to adopt a suceessor to the State had ever been given to him, and that no such power could now be conceded. This decision was upheld by the Home Government, despite Her Majesty's Proclamation of November 1st, 1858, which contained the express clauses "we desire no extension of our present territorial possessions," "we shall respect the rights, dignity, and honour of native princes as our own" etc., and despite also the fact that the famous circular letter dated 14th October 1860 regarding "adoption as affecting the succession to the Native States and Principalities of India" had been addressed to the Commissioner in Mysore as well and been acknowledged by him (*vide* letter dated 15th October 1860), though not extended to His Highness in person. Notwithstanding this decision, His Highness adopted, on the 18th June 1865, Srī-Chāmarajēndra-Wodeyar Bahadur, a child of 2½ years of age, and a member of the Bettadakote family (he was the third son of Chikka-Krishna Arasu, a descendant, by adoption, of Katti Gōpāla Rāj Arasu, father of Lakshmi-Ammanni, the wife of Krishna-Raja II, who signed the Subsidiary Treaty of Seringapatam in 1799) as successor to all his rights and privileges, including the Sovereignty of Mysore. His Highness furnished due intimation of the fact to the Commissioner of Mysore, His Excellency the Viceroy and Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India. The Mysore Question, as it was then called, thus assumed a double aspect—the restoration of the administration and the recognition of the adoption.

Soon the question became widely known in India and a visible change came over the minds of Indian Princes, whose fears had been so assiduously set at rest, by the Queen's Proclamation and the Adoption Despatch. The Mysore Case, as it was called, became a test question. Everything turned, in their opinion, on how His Majesty's Government were going to settle it. That would show to them if disparity existed between the words and deeds of British Statesmen and Indian Administrators. Two of the greater Princes, Holkar and Scindia, had written to England, although their own rights of adoption—and this is well worth noting as indicative of the prevailing distrust felt by the generality of the Princes at the time—were assured to them so far back as the Governor-Generalship of Lord Ellenborough. Visvanāth Nārāyan Mandalik, well-known at the time as a scholar and a publicist, took up the cause of His Highness and in a closely reasoned pamphlet, entitled *Adoption vs. Annexation*, reviewed the theory and practice of adoption according to Hindu Law and criticised the doctrine of lapse, showing how it was untenable and had no foundation in the customs of the country. He wrote:—

V. N. Mandalik on the Doctrine of Lapse.

> "A glorious opportunity now awaits the British Parliament to show practically that it will right the wronged. I allude to the case of Maharajah of Mysore, which I see is to be brought before the British Nation. The Maharaja's cause, or in other words that of British faith, is warmly and judiciously

advocated by five members of the Indian Council. But natives of India are grieved to see a person like Mr. Mangles employing arguments as puerile as they are unjust. Whoever heard a Treaty such as that of Mysore called a deed of gift? Still more strange is it to read that the words "shall be binding upon the contracting parties as long as the Sun and Moon shall endure," do not imply perpetuity to Indian minds. The Indian mind is shocked at such sophistry in high quarters. As to policy, I say for the safety both of India and England—for, our welfare is intimately connected with that of Great Britain—that political honesty and fair dealings is the best policy. I would request members of Parliament to fling away mere ephemeral political expediency (to use Mr. Mangles' own expression), and look well deeply into the past and the future. Weigh the words of Sir G. Clerk, Sir F. Currie, Mr. Eastwick, and the other dissenting members. You are now looking at the events of 1805 from the stand-point of 1866. Take note that your conduct will be watched by the people of India. Do justice even if the Heavens fall. The good of the people, which the annexationists talk of to excuse their injustice to the Princes of India, is a mere stock pretence, and this is well shown by Sir F. Currie and others. Has the good of the People been considered when ephemeral political expediency pointed the other way and have not People been banded over bodily to alien Rulers when it suited the interests of the British Government?

"The Maharajah of Mysore is a Sovereign under a specific Treaty. If he breaks it, let him by all means be punished *in accordance with that Treaty*. But for the British Nation to permit mere land-hunger to turn itself from the scrupulous observance of Treaties, is like a descent from the spiritual to the material—a lapse from monotheism into idolatry, which must in time corrupt the Governors and the Governed, to the certain ruin both of India and England."

Sir Charles Wood's despatch.

Lord Lawrence had evidently made up his mind on "annexation" and had even won over so high-minded, able and amiable a Statesman as Sir Charles Wood, then Secretary of State for India, to his views. Lord Lawrence had proved a true disciple of Lord Dalhousie.

in his application of the doctrine of lapse and to that view he had converted Sir Charles Wood as well. In his Despatch dated 17th July 1863, Sir Charles propounded the extraordinary theory that the Treaty of Seringapatam of 1799 "contains no condition under which the administration of the Maharaja's possessions, if once assumed by the British Government, was to be restored to His Highness." This argument received special attention at the hands of Mr. (later Viscount) John Morley in a critical article he wrote in the *Fortnightly Review* of the time, which will be found noticed below in the proper place. Not only that; it was differed from, along with certain other reasons put forward by him, by six of Sir Charles' own colleagues on the India Council, among whom were Sir Henry Montgomery, Sir George Clerk, Sir Frederick Currie, Sir John Willoughby, and Captain W. J. Eastwick. Even in the Cabinet, the Despatch had had only a qualified approval, because there had been an influential minority against it in it. Immediately whispers of these differences in the Cabinet and the India Council became known, public opinion in England was greatly stirred. Meanwhile, Lord Palmerston, who had been Prime Minister since 1859, died on October 18, 1865, and Earl Russell became Premier on the following day. In 1866, the Derby Ministry came into existence, with Lord Cranborne (afterwards famous as Marquis of Salisbury) as Secretary of State for India, displacing Sir Charles Wood in that office. Almost immediately thereafter, a deputation was (in 1866) organized against the idea of "annexation." Headed by Sir Henry Rawlinson, who had seen considerable service in India and Persia and had been a Director of the East India Company and subsequently, in 1858-59, a Member of the original Council of India, waited on Lord Cranborne and urged on him a reconsideration of the whole case relating to Mysore, more particularly as modified by the adoption. Later in the same year, a petition signed by several old Indian Officers and others well-known in the public life of England—including Sir Henry Rawlinson, Mr. (afterwards Sir M. E.) Grant-Duff, Colonel Sykes, (Chairman of the Court of Directors in 1856), Major Evans Bell, and Mr. John Dickinson (Chairman of the Indian Reform Society in London, in succession to John Bright) and many others—was presented to the House of Commons by Mr. John Stuart Mill, praying that "Your Honourable House will take such steps as may seem in your wisdom most efficacious for ensuring, with the least possible delay, the re-establishment of a Native Government in the tributary State of Mysore, with every possible security for British interests and for the prosperity and happiness of the people of the country."

His Highness' renewed attempt to secure recognition of his rights.

Though the Government of India declined to recognize the adoption or to accord to the adopted son the honours and privileges due to the heir to the State of Mysore, His Highness stood adamant in his determination to urge his claim once again. As mentioned above, he transmitted, on the 4th July 1866, a fresh *Kharita* to substantiate his position both as regards himself and his adopted son and heir. Meanwhile His Highness made known to certain of his British well-wishers—Lord Harris, who had been Governor of Madras from 1854 to March 1859; His Grace the Duke of Wellington, son of the first Duke; the Rt. Hon. Lord Stanley M. P., who had been Secretary of State for India, and others—the differences that had arisen between himself and the Supreme Government in India relating to the true interpretation of the Treaties entered into by him and the Company and sought their goodwill and support in his appeal to Her Majesty the Queen. (Letter dated 1st February 1865.) The British Press took up the matter and put forward the just claims of His Highness in a manner at once fair and convincing. There was outspoken but responsible criticism from some of the ablest-edited British journals of the time. Almost every aspect of the case was urged threadbare and hardly any ground was left for loose thinking in a matter which was considered vital in the interests of British good faith and political policy in India.

Comments in the British Press: the views of the *Examiner*.

Thus, the *Examiner* in its issue of April, 1, 1865, after setting out a brief reference to the history of Mysore since the Treaty of Seringapatam of 1799 and to the unhappy diplomacy of the Madras Government in connection with the sequestration of the Mysore Administration in 1831, attacked pointedly the unjust suggestion of Lord Dalhousie that the Treaty of 1799 was an exclusively personal one with His Highness the Mahārājah.

> "No heirs are certainly named, for an obvious reason. It would be contrary to Hindoo law to do so, since the Hindoo sovereign names his own heir, having, moreover, the legal right of adopting one, while, even in his failing to do so, the power rests with his eldest surviving widow. But the Treaty contained the words still stronger than those of heirs. It was called "a Treaty of perpetual friendship and alliance," made to last "as long as the Sun and Moon shall endure." And so, Lord Dalhousie's limits to the endurance of the Sun and Moon were confined to the lifetime of a single Prince of short-lived generation! His Lordship's hopes have been signally defeated. The man of sixty-two whose shortness of life was reckoned upon, still lives at seventy-one, and openly and publicly affirms his determination to exercise his lawful right of naming his own heir."

After remarking that Lord Canning was wronging himself when he was attempting to act contrary to his own avowed views in regard to Indian States, it turned to the question whether it was really true that the

Supreme Government had had no *quid pro quo* in restoring His Highness' territories in 1799. It said:—

> "It has been said that we have received no valuable consideration for our grant of Mysore to its Native Prince. If this were true, it would assuredly be no excuse for a most flagrant breach of good faith. But it is not true, for we have received the full value of what we bargained for, the fame of generosity, humanity and moderation, the avowed and proclaimed price which the framer of the engagement himself stipulated for, with the admitted loyalty of the donee and his family in the long period of sixty-five years. We have even got something more substantial, an annual tribute of a quarter of a million a year, so punctually paid that up to the present time it has amounted to the handsome total of £16,500,000. For very shame, let us hear no more of Mysore annexation."

Allen's Indian Mail.

Allen's Indian Mail, a well known British weekly of the time, in its issue of April 22, 1865, wrote equally cogently. After blaming the Madras Government for converting the Nagar disturbances "into a justification of the assumption of the entire management of the country," it showed how wholly illegal was such an assumption. Adverting to Canning's exclusion of His Highness from the right of adoption on the plea that his territories were not personally governed by him at the time of the Proclamation of the Adoption Despatch, it remarked that it was a decision that could not be defended from any point of view. It said:—

> "If the Treaty did not contemplate the reinstatement of the Rajah, if once superceded, nor the Adoption Despatch confer upon him the right to name an heir, how came it that Lord Canning was so anxious that His Highness should "bequeath his Kingdom to the British Government?" If he had the power to will away his territories, surely he had power to adopt an heir. The noble Earl, however, attached great importance to the bequest of the Country "in full sovereignty to the Crown, by the free will of the ruler, and in a spirit of loyal attachment to the British power." In truth, the Rajah

has never been backward in testifying his "loyal attachment," and even Lord Canning sent him his "warm thanks" for the good services rendered by him during the critical period of the Indian Mutiny. The only valid objection to the reinstatement of the Rajah lies in the fertility of his Kingdom, and its general desirableness as a British possession. The spirit of annexation still sits in the Council Chamber, and perverts the judgment of otherwise upright and incorruptible statesmen. But there is one point which seems to have been overlooked by each successive Viceroy. If the Native Kingdom of Mysore, constituted in 1799 out of the joint spoils of the East India Company and the Nizam, is to cease and determine on the death of His Highness, it is not the British Government alone that will come into inheritance. The Nizam will certainly be entitled to reclaim his moiety and if that claim be not allowed, Her Majesty's Government will simply be guilty of a gross act of robbery and spoliation. But it cannot be that the British Parliament will carry its culpable indifference on the subject of Indian questions to such an extreme as to silently acquiesce in the absorption of this Native Kingdom. It would be an act that would shake all faith in the sincerity of the Queen's Proclamation, and would go far to undo all that has been done and won by the liberal policy inaugurated on the final suppression of the Mutiny. And Parliament must do something more than record its votes. It must see that its decrees are carried into execution. It is useless to order the restoration of Mysore unless that order be executed. The principality of Dhar is still kept back from its lawful ruler, and so will it be with this fine table-land unless very peremptory injunctions are issued for its immediate restoration to the venerable Rajah."

The Morning Standard.

The *Morning Standard*, of November 22, 1865, exposed the injustice done to His Highness from first to last. After characterizing Lord William Bentinck's notice to His Highness as "couched in terms of great severity," it pulled to pieces the entire fabric of the "annexation" plea. Referring to the Commission system of administration set up, it wrote :—

"This measure was avowedly temporary, and in the exercise of the sole right to which the Government could pretend—that of interference in the event of having reasonable ground to anticipate failure in the payment of the subsidy; but even then such interference would be limited to the part or parts of the Territory that might need assistance, the occupation of the entire State being never provided for by the Treaty. However, the hold then gained has never been relaxed, but only tightened from time to time. Thus the office of Resident has of late years been abolished, the principality being ruled by a Commissioner exercising all the powers of the Governor of a Province; and of late, in official correspondence, even the style of Rajah of Mysore has been denied to this unfortunate Prince, who is now described simply as the Rajah residing at Mysore. To say that His Highness took his own part in the matter and tormented the Government with appeals, is only to say that he was an Eastern Prince with a grievance. By judicious management the finances were restored to a prosperous footing, and then surely the British Power could have no doubt about the payment of the subsidy. But this excuse wanting, a plea of misgovernment was set up—although such a contingency was not referred to in the Treaty and incapacity for rule on the one side was made a pretext for retaining it on the other. From 1834 to 1847 the Rajah never ceased to claim his restoration. Three Governors-General—Lord William Bentinck, Sir Charles Metcalfe, and Lord Hardinge—admitted that his supersession was inconsiderate, unduly severe, and of doubtful legality. Neither the Supreme Government nor the Home authorities ever rejected or contested his claim, but only postponed their consent to a more convenient season, placing before him the prospect of reinstatement as soon as an orderly administration had been established. It was not until 1847 that the determination to deny the claim became apparent; and since that period, it has been either ignored or met with a decided negative. Yet, in 1857, the Rajah, who has never failed in his loyalty through all his troubles, was so zealous a supporter of British interests as to win a letter of thanks from the Government for his conduct. The first great blow which he received was, curiously enough, from Lord Canning, who seems to have been strangely misled in reference to the case. In reply to a memorial from the Rajah, Lord Canning just before his departure from office, wrote to him a formal refusal of his claims upon grounds which are for the most part clearly untenable. His Lordship declares that the Marquis Wellesley when making the Treaty, retained the right of conquest and prescribed the details of partition of the Territory which was acquired by British arms: that the Subsidiary Treaty was necessarily subordinate to the Partition Treaty, and that the British Government, in the exercise of the rights of conquest which they had acquired, had the same power to take away what they had to give; that the Rajah forfeited his position by misgovernment, and that the Treaty being a personal one, does not apply to his descendants, even though they be natural-born heirs. Such is the substance of Lord Canning's argument, which is fallacious in several important particulars. Lord Wellesley, if not surrendering the rights of conquest, at least made those rights subservient to the conditions of the Treaties and his successors have no justification for falling back upon those rights in order to break those Treaties which are clearly broken by the retention of Mysore. And even if the Treaties allow the lapse, the State must fall, not to the British Government only, but to the British Government and the Nizam—the contracting parties to the partition and subsidiary settlement. It is true that the protectorate of the State was given to England, as having had the largest share in the conquest: but in the case of its reversion, the Nizam would resume his original right; and, after all, the Nizam who is so coolly ignored by Lord Canning, contributed no less than 20,000 men, with establishments in proportion, in aid of British arms. To deny him his share now is not precisely the treatment which we should give to an European ally, or that an European ally would consent to accept; nor, indeed, is it to be supposed that the Nizam will give his concurrence to the arrangement. But whatever action the Nizam may take in the matter, the Raja's claim has plainly legality on its side, and cannot be rejected or ignored without not only grievous injustice to the claimant, but infinite mischief to ourselves. For, let Mysore become British Territory, and nothing will persuade the "princes, chiefs, and people of India," that the assurances given to them in the Queen's Proclamation are not all moonshine, the Adoption Despatch so much waste paper, and British honour a thing to be talked about in time of difficulty, but having no existence when we are strong enough to do without it."

The Daily News.

The *Daily News*, true to its traditions, wrote, in its issue of August 2, 1866, complimenting Lord Cranborne on his first public speech after his taking over the Secretaryship for India. That speech had been an elaborate protest against the annexation policy which came none too soon from him. It was the initial success that presaged the final victory. "India cannot be really tranquil," it remarked, "so long as the Native Princes entertain the slightest suspicion that the all-powerful British Government is disposed to avail itself of any plausible pretext for annexation." But the best part of the article is devoted to an exposition of the speciousness of Sir Charles Wood's Despatch. Writing on this aspect of the matter, it remarked :—

"Sir Charles Wood was by no means a popular minister, and yet, without one protest from Parliament, and barely one protest from the English Press, he was allowed to commit himself to a measure of annexation which, in the opinion of those who know India best and have her interest at heart, will affect the welfare and even the security of our whole Indian Empire, by spreading terror and distrust among the Native States. Until a deputation on the subject went up the other day to Lord Cranborne, no public protest had been made. This silence, moreover, was maintained by Parliament in face of the fact that, even by his own Council, here in England, Sir Charles Wood was vigorously opposed. Five of its ablest and most experienced members—Sir George Clerk, Sir Henry Montgomery, Sir John Willoughby, Sir Frederick Currie, and Captain W. J. Eastwick—all earnestly protested against the annexation of a loyal and friendly State as both dangerous and unjust. Now that the Mutiny is beginning to be forgotten, India is forgotten with it. There is, again, as much point as ever in the old saying, that a broken head in Whitechapel creates a greater sensation among Englishmen than does a revolution in Hindoostan. Not that there is much reason to apprehend that a revolution, or even a riot, would be the immediate result of the annexation of Mysore. The danger lies in the effect the measure would produce upon the minds of the Native Princes, by giving just ground for their suspicion that the policy of annexation is still alive; and hence the paramount necessity that the new Secretary of State for India should take the earliest opportunity of repudiating this policy. As appeared from the debate in the House of Commons, the wildest rumours are afloat in India about "the designs entertained by officials in high places upon Scindia and Holkar," and "the danger in which even the past services of the Princes of Rajpoot States were being forgotten." We know nothing as to what is meant by this allusion to Rajpoot Princes, but the rumour about Scindia and Holkar is perhaps traceable to the fact, in itself sufficiently alarming, that they have both written to England in urgent remonstrance against the annexation of Mysore. Such a fact speaks volumes, and we cannot wonder that the wildest rumours are based upon it; and however absurd these rumours may appear to Englishmen, who know into what utter disfavour the annexation policy has fallen in England, and who even believe it to be dead, it is not at all difficult to understand why among the natives such rumours should obtain general credence. They have no key to the rapid changes in English public opinion, and they know that only a few years ago the annexation policy was in full force and favour, producing effects the memory of which it will take generations to efface.......

"They may well give credence to the wildest rumours about "the designs of officials in high places" upon Holkar and Scindia, and the Rajpoot Princes. If the Queen's "oldest and staunchest ally" is thus treated, who can be safe? Holkar and Scindia may well write to England, for they enjoy in full the friendship and alliance which have proved so perilous to the Rajah of Mysore. It is marvellous that a man of half Sir Charles Wood's capacity should not have seen that this one act, giving as it so palpably does the lie to all our professions, would completely undo whatever good effects may have been produced by the Queen's Proclamation and Lord Canning's despatch, and that the natives would look upon these and all future assurances as idle pledges made in the hour of our weakness, to be thrown to the winds in the hour of our strength. And in this case what becomes of Lord Canning's hope, that "should the day come when India shall be threatened by an external enemy, or when the interests of England may require that her Eastern Empire shall incur more than ordinary risk, one of our mainstays will be found in the Native States, which will serve as breakwaters to the storm that might otherwise sweep over us in one great wave?"

Commenting on Lord Canning's unjust exclusion of His Highness from the benefits of the Adoption Despatch, the *Daily News* wrote:—

> "We have heard it argued that as the Native Princes know that Lord Canning did not send his Adoption Despatch to the Rajah of Mysore, they are prepared for the annexation of the Kingdom. But it is no secret in India, whatever it may be in England, that Lord Canning withheld his Adoption Despatch from the Rajah because he then believed that the Rajah intended to bequeath Mysore to the British Government, and he saw it would interfere with this intention if he sent the Rajah a formal permission to adopt, since the people of Mysore would naturally wish this permission to be given effect. This argument, therefore, begs the question at issue as completely as does the other stock argument of the annexationists, that we are bound to take possession of Mysore "in the interests of the people." The Rajah has formally declared that he has no wish to alter the present system of administration, and, apart from his wishes, there is a Treaty empowering us to introduce into Mysore such regulations and ordinances as we may deem fit. Nor is there anything to prevent our taking the Rajah's heir, now a mere child, educating him on English principles, and surrounding him with able and enlightened advisers."

The Morning Star.

The *Morning Star* of August 2, 1866, pointed out the wrong attitude taken up by Lord Lawrence in the matter. After describing him as a "disciple of Dalhousie" and as such bent on annexing Mysore, it strongly criticised his letter of the 29th March 1864 stating that His Highness had any right to adopt a son and heir to his Territories. It went to the length of calling attention to its—what it called—"arrogant terms" and showed how it was totally opposed to the definite pledges contained in the Queen's Proclamation and the terms of the

Adoption circular of Lord Canning. It wound up by saying :—

> "Those who remember the Queen's Proclamation......... and Lord Canning's Despatch.........................will..........
>
> ....see how completely the Governor-General's letter is at once an act of usurpation and a breach of a solemn and binding contract. Besides, upon what ground of legal right does the Viceroy claim to give or refuse the Prince that power to adopt a successor which the Calcutta Foreign Office says has been withheld? It is not conferred upon us by the Treaty which placed him on the Throne; it has not been surrendered by him; and it is therefore clearly a right inherrent in the sovereignty.
>
> "Should the annexation of Mysore be accomplished, it will prove as fruitful of disaffection as the greased cartridges or the annexation of Oude. Many of the most enlightened and experienced public men whom India has produced, or who have made a reputation in connection with Indian politics, are profoundly convinced of the injustice, as well as danger, of the policy which Sir John Lawrence threatens to pursue towards Mysore. We were glad that some of them—men like Sir Henry Rawlinson, Mr. Grant-Duff, Col. Sykes, Major Evans Bell and Mr. Dickinson—have lost no time in memorializing Lord Cranborne on the subject; and we hope that the new Secretary of State will be able to revoke the approval which, it is believed, a majority of the late Cabinet gave to the mischievous projects of Lord Dalhousie's favourite pupil."

Fortnightly Review: John Morley's views.

But by far the weightiest contribution to the proper elucidation of the principles and policy underlying His Highness' claim, was made by Mr. (afterwards Viscount John) Morley in an issue of the *Fortnightly Review* dated September 15, 1866. He remarked that the determination of the Mysore case would "mark the turning point of the career of England in India." He drew attention to the fact that although Lord Wellesley reserved in the Subsidiary Treaty of 1799 the right to administer part or parts of the Mysore Territory in case of non-payment, or probable non-payment, of the promised fund, he had previously in the Partition Treaty of the same year, "guaranteed the separate existence of the Mysore State, along with the other conditions of that Treaty "as long as the Sun and Moon endure." He next elucidated the meaning of this phrase thus :—

> "It has been contended, by the way, that this is only an otiose Oriental phrase, but such a pretence is sufficiently dissipated by the fact that it was not an Oriental, but Lord Wellesley himself, who dictated the clause."

On the basis of the two treaties, he held that the following propositions were established :—

> (1) a separate State of Mysore was set up; (2)the Sovereignty was conferred upon the representative of the old line of the Rajahs who had ruled it; (3) the new Ruler agreed to do certain things; and (4) the Governor-General reserved the right of remedying any neglect to do these things."

He held that the assumption of the administration in 1831 was hardly necessary, for the Subsidiary Treaty had provided for the other party—the Company—suggesting ordinances which His Highness was bound to promulgate and execute, a power it had refrained from making a friendly use of. Indeed, he agreed with the Commission appointed by Lord Bentinck to inquire into the causes of the disturbances of 1831, which had afforded the plea for the assumption of the administration, that the "disturbances that had occurred were greatly attributable to the withdrawal of the advice of the British Resident." These being the facts. he held that a Government, which did not carry out its obvious duties could not deny His Highness the exercise of his rights of sovereignty and adoption. He suggested that the assumption of administration had been dictated by a mistaken policy. "The policy of the Indian Government," he said, "prompted by men of the old school like Sir Thomas Munro and Sir Mark Cubbon, was in the last degree selfish, grasping and hollow." But he graciously added:

> "We have no right to sit in judgment on men for not being in advance of the mental habits of their time. But the least that we can do is to show that political ideas have advanced, by repairing whatever, by good fortune, it is still possible, the evil that has been inflicted."

Morley next considered two definite issues:—

> "(1) whether the British Government had any legal right to annex Mysore and (2) whether, granting it had the right, its general position towards Indian States countenanced the expediency of availing itself of it.

"There is," he said, "a pitiful kind of so-called statesmanship popular in England, according to whose canons, the second of these questions is superfluous. This policy consists in standing on the narrow edge of our technical right, and disregarding anything like a sagacious balancing of our interests against our rights." He was for sticking to a technical right only when it lies in the course of what is politically expedient. Judging from this point of view, he said, Sir Charles Wood's despatches on the Mysore question laid far greater stress "on the considerations of what we may find ourselves empowered to do, than upon those considerations of what it is to our advantage to do."

On the first question, he remarked that the rights of His Highness and of the Company were derived from the two treaties of 1799. The question really turned on the interpretation of the memorable Fourth Article in the Subsidiary Treaty, which, in his opinion, gave the Company simply the right to take all measures necessary for the security of the subsidy. That article accordingly did not give the Company any further power over His Highness' dominions or his sovereign rights over them. That, he said, was the way the Treaty had been interpreted by successive Governors-General from Lord William Bentinck to Lord Hardinge and even by the Court of Directors themselves, up to indeed 1847. Sir Charles Wood was, in his opinion, wholly wrong in brushing aside all this cloud of witnesses and arguing against His Highness that there was no provision in the Treaty under which "the administration of his possessions, if once assumed by the British Government, was to be restored to His Highness. Criticising this view, Morley wrote :—

> "It is hard to imagine even a minister of Sir Charles Wood's long and varied official experience condescending to such a sophism as this. As if it were not plainly implied, on the most elementary principles of construing such documents, that the Administration of the Raja's possessions was to be restored to him as soon as the purposes for which the Treaty authorised its assumption were satisfied. What would be thought of a landlord who, after distraining for rent and satisfying his demand, should decline to quit the premises on the ground that there was no clause in the agreement stating the condition on which he should quit them? With reference to the same paragraph, Sir Henry Montgomery, in recording the reasons for his dissent from the Secretary of State's despatch, justly remarks that "in all fairness, if the Treaty is to be quoted in such rigid interpretation when adverse to the Rajah's claims, it may also be quoted in the same strictness as not authorising the assumption of the entire Country under any view of its real condition at that period."

Next, Morley considered the larger question as to the Sovereignty of His Highness over his territories and how the right of adoption, an incident of such sovereignty, could be refused to him. He said :—

> "We now come to the immediate bearing of this issue, whether, according to the two Treaties of 1799—the Partition Treaty and the Subsidiary Treaty—the Rajah of Mysore is the sovereign Prince of a Hindoo State. For if he is, why should he be deprived of the sovereign attribute of being able to adopt? And if he dies leaving an adopted son, how can his State be annexed as a lapse to the Paramount Power? The history of

the view taken by the Indian Government of the right of the Hindoo Princes to adopt successors to their Territories, shows that this right was respected until Lord Dalhousie's decision in the Sattara case. "The decision in the Sattara case," says Sir Frederick Currie, recording his dissent from the despatch of 1864, "whatever its merits may be, undoubtedly caused surprise and alarm throughout the length and breadth of India; and when this was followed by the proceedings of the Government of India in the cases of Kherowlee, Nagpore, Jhansee, etc., during the same administration, the surprise and alarm became consternation and dismay. Shortly after came the Mutiny, and the disorganization which accompanied it. On restoration of order, some special measures were deemed necessary by Lord Canning, who has succeeded Lord Dalhousie, to allay the alarm, and remove the belief, engendered by the proceedings above alluded to, the annexation of Oudh, etc., that every pretext, however subtle or futile, would be taken to attach and absorb all the remaining chiefships and principalities of India." The chief of these special measures was the publication of the famous Adoption Despatch (April 30, 1860), a document only second in importance to the Queen's Proclamation of 1858, assuming the paramount sovereignty of India. At this time, England first stood "face to face with its feudatories." A great convulsion "has been followed by such a manifestation of our strength as India had never seen, and if this in its turn be followed by an act of general and substantial grace to the Native Chiefs, over and above the special rewards which have already been given to those whose services deserve them, the measure will be reasonable and appreciated." "Our supremacy will never be heartily accepted and respected," said Lord Canning in the despatch, "so long as we leave ourselves open to the doubts which are now felt, and which our uncertain policy has justified, as to our ultimate intentions towards Native States." In order, therefore, to rob our policy of this pernicious uncertainty, an assurance was proposed by Lord Canning, to be given, and in time was given, to every Chief above a certain rank, that the Paramount Power desired to see his Government perpetuated, and that on failure of natural heirs, his adoption of a successor, according to the laws and customs of his race, whether Hindoo or Mohammedan, would

> be recognised, and that nothing should disturb the engagement thus made to him so long as his House is loyal to the Crown, and faithful to the conditions of Treaties. Distinct assurances in this sense were given to the Princes individually. But the Rajah of Mysore was not included in the list of Chiefs to whom this assurance was conveyed. And why? Because it was hoped, and fully expected, in the first place, that the Rajah, being old and childless, would refrain from adopting, and would allow his Dominions to lapse to the English Crown. In the second,—and this has been too much overlooked by people who are content to be guided by what Lord Canning actually did,—it was felt that to give the Rajah permission to adpot would be tantamount to an express invitation. If the Rajah had received this formal and public permission, his omission to avail himself of it would have perplexed and offended his own subjects. They naturally would have expected him to use, in favour of one of his own race, the power thus deliberately bestowed upon him, rather than by his negligence in doing what he had been thus almost bidden to do, to cause the transfer of his Dominions to an alien Government. And in the third place, Lord Canning could not divest himself of the evil influence of the Calcutta Foreign Office, which insisted that the Treaty of 1799 was a personal Treaty, that the Rajah was only set up for his own life, without any intention of continuing his authority to his heirs and successors, and that therefore, he had not the right of adoption admitted to be inherent in a Hindoo Prince. Strictly speaking, we have not bound ourselves by any assurance to the Rajah of Mysore to let him adopt, as we have bound ourselves to other Princes affected by such permission. We have thrown ourselves upon our own interpretation of the Treaties of 1799, and, admitting that there is not "a single instance in which adoption by a sovereign Prince has been invalidated by a refusal of assent from the Paramount Power," we deny, in fact, that the Rajah is a sovereign Prince."

Morley next traversed the theory that the Treaty was an "exclusively *personal* one," on the ground that no mention is made of heirs and successors in it. He remarked:—

> "This is uucommonly ingenious and acute, but when we remember the circumstances under which this so-called

personal Treaty was made, the worth of such a notion is more truly measured. What could Lord Wellesley's object have been in going through the farce of a personal Treaty with a child five years old? What reason was there for setting up the child at all if he were only to play warming-pan for the East Indian Company? The Company needed no fiction of this sort. Their troops were victorious. The Country was theirs, and it was the deliberate choice of the Governor-General to erect it into a State as long as the Sun and Moon shall endure. Lord Wellesley was, of all the Governors-General that ever India has had, the least likely to play a trick, to go through an unintelligible performance of this kind. It is incumbent on those who rely on the personal Treaty argument at least to furnish some comprehensible theory of Lord Wellesley's motives and policy in what, without explanation, seems so meaningless and irrational a proceeding."

On the second question, the expediency of annexation, Morley was equally strong in his condemnation. He wrote:—

"This brings us to the broader and more important point of the expediency of annexing Mysore. Although as a matter of fact we did not expressly include Mysore in the assurance that we had abandoned the policy of annexation, Mysore will be the first opportunity of testing the sincerity of our professions. No amount of reasoning or explanation will convince the Native Princes that if we do not adhere to the non-annexation policy in the case of Mysore, we shall adhere to it in any other case where annexation may suit our purpose. A statesman as distinguished from a low attorney on the one hand, and from a rapacious place-hunter or patronage-seeker on the other, must admit that everything turns in such a case on what will be thought of our policy by those whom it is our interest to conciliate. If, as is distinctly asserted by men of the highest authority and greatest knowledge, such as Sir Frederick Currie, the consequence of annexation would be invincible distrust in the minds of the Native Princes; and if, as all parties now admit, it is of the deepest importance that the princes should remain staunch and loyal to English interests, what can be more deplorable, more hateful, than to find that English and Indian politicians cannot get beyond the one fact that the assurance of the Adoption Despatch was never conveyed to the Rajah of Mysore? The facts should be viewed largely, and with reference to human nature, rather than to principles of hair-splitting. What are the Native Princes likely to think, with their logic deeply infected with the inflammatory sense of self-interest? "If on this, the first occasion," says Sir F. Currie, "since the promulgation of this celebrated assurance of an adoption to any chiefship of consideration and value, the adoption is disallowed, in order that the Province may be appropriated by the British Government, what will be the opinion in the native mind of British faith and British honour? Will not the Chiefs of India believe that the promise of the Viceroy was made in the hour of weakness and danger, to be disregarded when power should be restored and the danger had passed away?" We shall be accused of acting hypocritically from first to last. Lord Wellesley established a Kingdom which he never meant to be maintained. He made a Treaty with the Nizam to last while Sun and Moon endure, but he only meant while it should suit English policy. We assumed the administration of Mysore under the pretext of securing a subsidy, but all the time we never intended to give it back again. We declared that we recognised the right of adoption, and on the first opportunity we decline to do any such thing. We declared that we had given up the evil policy of annexation, and then we annex the first Territory on which we can lay our hands. It is not difficult to see how ugly our conduct can thus, without much forcing, be made to look. And all India is said, on credible authority, to be watching the case. Two of the greatest Princes, Holkar and Scindia, have written home, although their own rights of adoption—and this is very well worth noticing as a sign of their profound alarm—were assured to them so far back as the Governor-Generalship of Lord Ellenborough. The Rajah of Mysore was one of the most loyal of our allies during the terrible rebellion of 1857-9, so that besides general charges of breaking Treaties and Proclamations, we shall be deemed thoroughly insensible of anything like gratitude or goodwill, even for the most enormous services. There is something portentous in all this, when we remember Lord Canning's words, that cannot be too often quoted, that our supremacy will never be heartily accepted so long as any doubts are felt as to our ultimate intentions towards Native States."

Morley then proposed the scheme, which, as will be shown below, was eventually adopted by the Government. He thus described it:—

"There is a course open by which we shall allay the dangerous alarm of the Native Princes, preserve the reputation of the British Government for good faith and gratitude, avail ourselves of the Native social forces for the benefit of the "silent myriads," and make for ourselves an unrivalled opportunity for the infusion of such European ideas as it may be desirable and possible to introduce. The son adopted by the Rajah is a child. Let him be recognised, on the Rajah's death, and instead of leaving him to grow up anyhow, as the present was allowed to do at the beginning of the century, let us surround him with the best European and Native influences that are within reach..................

"When the young Rajah came of age, European influence would still be present in the shape of a Resident and his assistant officers; only the main object should be to leave the general administration as much as possihle in the hands of Native officials. The Residency, if inspired by something better than the sinister ideas of the Calcutta Foreign Office, would be a standing guarantee against the oppression of the population by the emissaries of the Prince..............

What objection could there be, asked Morley, for such an experiment as that, an experiment too which had proved successful in another Indian State, Travancore? And he answered his own question thus:—

"Only this, that the English Government would have fewer places to give away, and as Mysore is a pleasant land, flowing with milk and honey, Anglo-Indian officials would think themselves very deeply wronged if any trifling considerations of Imperial policy were allowed to weigh against their personal interests. In the scale against the official love of patronage and place, let us set the conviction expressed in a recent petition to the House of Commons by a body of men of the greatest consideration both in India and in this Country: "A combined system," they say, "of British possessions and protected States, under which all external and foreign affairs, the general principles of taxation, legislation, commerce and currency, and the relations between the constituent principalities, can be dictated and controlled by the Imperial power, while the details of administration in the dependent States are carried out by Native authorities, has always appeared to your petitioners to be the system best calculated to maintain the supremacy of Great Britian and to secure the peace and prosperity of India: to promote a fair balance between centralized and localized Government, to institute a visible chain of allegiance and responsibility and to provide for the gradual enlightenment of the less civilized religions and races, not only by the example of the good order in the British Provinces and direct guidance by British functionaries, but more effectually by the practical experience and established habits of Native Princes, ministers and officials." The same persons go on to show that there are special reasons why this combined system of British protection and supervision should be tried in Mysore. They find in it the very type and example of what a protected Native State ought to be. Nearly one-third of its gross revenue is available for imperial uses, amounting to one-half of the total payments of the Tributary States. Under its Treaty engagements, the British Government may interpose its authoritative counsel for the improvement and control of the law and administration. And, lastly, all the machinery has been so reformed by the British Commissioners as to be now in the most perfect working order. With reference to the Government of India, people at home are ordinarily content with a very rough-and-ready theory. They suppose that our only business is to superimpose European civilization upon the Oriental barbarism, and that the latter will eventually be crushed out. But this shows what is not, perhaps, a very wonderful ignorance of the working of social forces. In taking all the Government, from its principles down to its lowest details, into our own hands, what are we doing? First: we are forgetting that Hindoos and Mahomedens are not Hottentots or Troglodytes, but a population with ideas and laws and traditions and beliefs and prejudices. We are ignoring all these: and instead of recognizing them as active forces, which may be partially controlled and utilized, we pen them up to burst upon us some day with the accumulated violence of years. Second: We are freeing those high-caste natives, who have unbounded influence over the populace, from any sort of responsibility for the rightful use of such influence. Third: We are leaving ourselves friendless, and without any means of authentic, and wide information as to the concealed working of all those forces which operate none the less powerfully because we choose to suppose that they are extinct."

Opposing the argument that the people of Mysore did not wish for a change in the administration and that the petitions sent up bore signatures of "no value whatever," being composed chiefly of "the Rajah's tradesmen," Morley stigmatized the communications of the Commissioner of Mysore, which had thus described them, as resembling those of "a gossiping maid-of-honour than those of a grave and responsible official." He thus laid bare the injustice of such a phrase:—

"Very likely this is the case. Still not many words need be expended upon the *a priori* probability of a native oriental population desiring the restoration of the representative of a long line of rulers, and preferring to be governed by their own countrymen rather than by people whom they regard, as they might regard, irresistible but odious demons. To the Oriental, the Englishmen, not improved by being one of the dominant race, is a veritable Yahoo. Sir Frederic Currie said in 1863 that from his own experience he cannot doubt the truth of the report that "the people are now anxiously awaiting our decision in this case; that they will be exceedingly disappointed when the truth of this decision is known; and that our philanthropy will cause discontent throughout the length and breadth of the Province." If I had space for digression, I might expatiate upon the marvellously improved interest in the Natives on the part of the Government, who only four years since, to suit purposes of their own, re-transferred large Districts of the Nizam's Territories, that had been eight years in British hands, to what is authoritatively declared to have been a "more corrupt and tyrannical government than even that of Mysore was in its worst times." To convict the Government of hypocricy, however, would be no great triumph. But it is impossible to help seeing the futility of relying on the interests of the people as a plea for not restoring his Throne to the Rajah, when our own system of administration could be carried on by him under the supervision and control of a Resident. It may be said indeed that the Prince thus restored would be a puppet, a mere *roi faneant* in the hands of an English Mayor of the Palace. Even if he were, if this be the form of government most congenial to the natives and most conducive to our own interests in the country, what reason is there why we should not lend ourselves to what, at the most, would be a piece of harmless pageantry? Surely we are not such consistant sticklers for hard fact in all our matters of government at home, as to think compliance with a taste for a royal puppet too dear a price to pay for the invaluable results of disarming the perilous distrust of the other Native Princes, and establishing a model of what a Protected Native State should be."

He then wound with an argument based on general considerations of Indian policy, partly political and partly financial. He enunciated it thus:—

"Apart from theoretic notions of our duty as the superior race in a conquered Country, there is one powerful consideration which even the most high-handed and unscrupulous kind of politicians may be able to estimate. Every increase of the Indian Territory governed directly by us involves an increase of military and civil expenditure. It is the latter item which accounts for the zeal of the officials in the cause of annexation. And we have the testimony of the Earl Canning himself that "we shall not become stronger so long as we continue adding to our European force; and the additions to that force which we already require are probably as large as England can conveniently furnish, and they will certainly cost as much as India can conveniently pay." As it is, we have a peace establishment of about 70,000 British Troops for India. Every annexation may be said, on Lord Canning's authority, to necessitate an increase of this large and expensive force. And in corroboration of this we have the statement of the petitioners against the annexation of Mysore, a statement uncontradicted by the authorities, "that every new Province absorbed since 1848 has proved a burden on the revenues of Her Majesty's older possessions in India; for, instead of any surplus having ever been derived from the States thus annexed, the Imperial Treasury has been constantly called on to supply their deficiencies." In the Rebellion of 1857-9, the number of troops was raised to 122,000. If there is any credence at all to be attached to the reports of the most impartial and experienced of Anglo-Indians, the incorporation of Mysore is just one of those measures most likely to pave the way for renewed disaffection and its disastrous consequences. This is what we are risking; and to gain what? A very slight, and in the long run, very questionable, increase of reveuue from the Mysore Territory, and a few more places to give away to the officials of the India Government. It is for this that we expose ourselves to a drain upon our military resources, which, if it came when we were engaged in any other struggle, would be mortally calamitous. Without this possible drain of 50,000 additional troops, the necessity of maintaining the ordinary peace Establishment makes us confront Europe and the West in the attitude of a man with one arm fast tied up. We have abandoned our legitimate influence in the West in order to annex in the East. We preach moral suasion in Europe, so that we may be free to practise material repression in Asia. We make ourselves despised in one continent, in order to make ourselves hated in another. It would be paying many of our Cabinet Ministers of either party much too high a compliment to say that this is their deliberate policy. They have replaced our old, and in many points our bad system of "Thorough" by the new, and in all points the worse principle of "Drift." There is no such thing as policy."

The Pall Mal Gazette.

The *Pall Mall Gazette* of 26th September 1866, then under the control of Frederick Greenwood, was equally sympathetic in demanding justice for His Highness, Analysing the two Treaties of 1799, it said that the Partition Treaty "guaranteed the rights of the restored Dynasty," while the Subsidiary "fixed the relations between His Highness and the Paramount State." Next, it pointed out that the subsidy was intended to be paid for military defence, within and without the State. Assumption of administration was, it remarked, restricted to any failure or any imminent likelihood of failure to pay the subsidy and such assumption was not contemplated to be anything more than a temporary sequestration. The assumption of administration in 1831 had been made on the plea that "the subsidy was in danger," though, "whether this was actually the case, has been questioned". It remarked that there were abundant proofs on the records of Government to show that the sequestration was intended to be but for a temporary period. Though years passed, order prevailed throughout His Highness' territories, the revenues increased, the surplus was going up, debts there were none and the subsidy was being paid and never could be in danger, the British Government—whom it styled "The Man in Possession"—still remained. Passing on to the services rendered by His Highness, it said:—

> "During all the dark season of our trouble, when he might have wrought grievous mischief to our people, he was firm and faithful to the British alliance. He had great faith in the Queen's Proclamation, great faith in the justice and generosity of Lord Canning. It seemed to him that the hour and the Man both favoured the realisation of his hopes. He reasserted, therefore, his claims with increased emphasis, and it is impossible to deny the logical force with which he argued his case. From the Government of India the appeal was carried in due course to the Queen's Government at Home. But nothing that he could say was of any avail. The "Man in Posession" was a fixture in Mysore."

Characterising the refusal of His Highness' request to adopt as having been as "ruthless" as the refusal to his personal restoration," it remarked:—

> "There is an outcry against this, as much on the score of policy as on the score of justice. It is affirmed, not merely by "interested agitators" on the one side, and "maudlin sentimentalists" on the other but by hard-headed men of ripe Indian experience, that this adverse decision is the greatest blunder that could be committed at the present time.

Mysore is a fine Country, but for all that "the game is not worth the candle." The Princes and people of India have been taught to believe that the old Annexation Policy (which Lord Cranborne declared in the first speech which he delivered after his appointment to the Indian Ministry to have been one of the weightiest causes of the convulsions of 1857) has been irrevocably abandoned. We do not care to inquire what was the intention of that celebrated manifesto, with what restriction it was fenced in, with what reservations and exceptions it was burdened in the minds of its original framers, or what constructions have been put upon it by later interpreters. In India it has been accepted without any emasculations, and we don't hesitate to endorse the opinions of those experienced Indian Statesmen who declare that, after such a declaration, the appropriation of the first Native State worth taking, that has fallen in our way, will be regarded as a rampant violation of the pledges and promises of the Queen. It is not too late to rectify this error. There are petitions now before Parliament which will compel notice, and Lord Cranborne has before him a golden opportunity of acquiring for himself new honours by looking the question fairly in the face, and removing the 'Man in Possession.'"

The good will of the British press.

Such were some of the comments and criticisms on the question in the British Press. (See *Opinions of the Press on the Annexation of Mysore,* published by John Camden Hatten, Piccadilly, London). Reviewing the same after the lapse of sixty-three years, it has to be acknowledged, that the British Press displayed commendable goodwill towards His Highness' just and legal claims and did full justice to it. So insistent was its criticism and so well did it put the case for an equitable view of His Highness' claim and focus public opinion on it that it influenced and shaped very largely Parliamentary opinion on it. The momentous debate in the Commons took place on 22nd February 1867, and the result was a complete triumph to British justice and fairplay. Dr. Campbell, still in London, telegraphed the information without delay on the following morning. He wired, "I heartily congratulate Your Highness. House of Commons decided last night. Mysore Kingdom safe. Prince succeeds Your Highness." This telegram was received *via* Karachi and Madras and gave considerable relief to His Highness. The reversal of the previous decision was won principally on account of five important reasons:—(1) The British people were tired of the Annexation Policy of Dalhousie and were conscientiously against going back on the Queen's Proclamation and the Adoption Despatch of Canning; (2) the British Press stood out unanimously against the Government's decision and incessantly wrote against it both on specific and general grounds; (3) the Derby Ministry had been unable to reconcile itself to the views of the Palmerston Ministry in this matter; (4) the inherent justice of His Highness' cause and the very favourable impression his firm and faithful conduct, especially during a period of severe trial to the British cause, had left on the public mind generally in England; and (5) the points of policy involved in the determination of the question were felt to be far too important to be brushed away too lightly. The ground for the success was largely cleared by the dissenting colleagues of Sir Charles Wood on the India Council, every one of whom had a record of public work in India and the East too great to be neglected. Next, some of the greatest Anglo-Indian administrators, including some of the best among those who had served on the British Commission in Mysore, were against the perpetuation of any injustice to His Highness and his ancient Dynasty and they lent weighty support to the cause of His Highness. Then, again, there was the public support of persons of commanding influence like Mill and others, both in and outside of Parliament, which helped to mould public opinion in favour of reversion. There were, however, two persons who deserve to be singled

The previous decision reversed by Parliament.

The chief causes which led to the reversal.

The leading British Supporters the work of Campbell and Bell.

out for special mention in this connection and they were Dr. John Colin Campbell, the Durbar Surgeon, and Major Evans Bell, the well-known publicist. These two were, in some respects, the exact antithesis of each other. Dr. Campbell was an acute and watchful Scotchman, who did his work quickly and without noise. He had been an officer of rank and standing in Her Majesty's Indian service, a true supporter of both His Highness' interests and those of the British Government. Having retired after thirty years of service, of which sixteen had been spent at His Highness' Court, he was thoroughly acquainted with his case. He had been on the most intimate terms of friendship with Sir Mark Cubbon and had fully enjoyed the confidence of that great and good administrator. His Highness—as he himself freely acknowledged in a series of letters dated 1st February 1865—had been indebted to him for much wise counsel over many years, a counsel bestowed as freely as it was needed in times of great disturbance and anxiety. His Highness' high opinion of Dr. Campbell had been publicly endorsed by C. B. Saunders, Officiating Commissioner, in a letter to the Governer-General dated the 31st January 1865, on which date Dr. Campbell retired from the service. "The Maharaja's encomiums," wrote Mr. Saunders, "on Dr. Campbell are not underserved. Dr. Campbell was in the confidence of the late Commissioner Sir Mark Cubbon, while he has ever been a steady friend of His Highness, and it is no exaggeration to say, that any influence he has possessed has been exercised beneficially." Such was the person chosen by His Highness to act in his cause in Britain and the cause was served by Dr. Campbell in the most loyal, faithful and honorable manner. History knows nothing of it,—so silent was it and yet so honest and heart-felt. But it lay in getting fair-minded English publicists and politicians to see the justice of His Highness' cause and contribute their meed towards its vindication. And he won as he deserved. A true Scot, he never made any boast of his work and he slips out of the history of this period as silently as he enters it. Providence meant him for the task alloted to him and when his function was over, he simply ceased to exist.

Very different was Major Evans Bell. He was as vocal as Campbell was silent; he wrote himself while Campbell influenced others to use their famous pens; and he declaimed against his opponents while Campbell eschewed public disputation. But Bell was a born fighter. Keen, quick-witted, thoroughly alive to the necessities of the hour and with a conscientious belief in the cause he made his own, he wrote as a dialectician would argue his case before an assembled audience. He wrote much as he spoke. A literary pugilist, he pinched here, there and everywhere—but always subject to the laws of the warfare he made his own. He never once, in the many controversial campaigns he led—a great many of them to success—hit below the belt. His "*Mysore Reversion: an Exceptional Case*" is no more than a polemic; but even as such, it is worth its place in a historical library. Though not a lawyer, Bell put his case with a forensic ability which many a lawyer might have envied. Though attacked, abused and even sometimes scoffed at, he never lost his temper but hit back hard—yet without malice. He was the very type of the old time political pamphleteer, now so scarce. He did much useful service in the Mysore cause. Even the *Saturday Review* admired him and his zeal in behalf of His Highness' just cause. "The history of Mysore," it wrote on 2nd March 1867, "has been told in a spirited volume by Major Evans Bell, who, after urging on public grounds the restoration of the Native Sovereignty, has now, since his retirement from the service, become the avowed agent or advocate of the Rajah." His *Remarks on the Mysore Blue-Book* which was written in the year following the *Mysore Reversion*, is cast in the same mould and is in every respect typical of its author. Bell was a steady supporter of the Indian cause, and in particular the cause of Indian States. His work for Mysore will long be remembered as it was done willingly and in what he described as the conscientious discharge of public duty.

General Briggs' services in the cause.

Another person of interest who took a prominent part in the reversion was General Briggs, the first Commissioner of Mysore. (See *ante*). Though 82 at the time, he retained a vivid recollection of His Highness and the unfavourable manner in which his rights had been handled. As a consistent opponent of Lord Dalhousie, and his policy, he joined Sir Henry Rawlinson's deputation to the Secretary of State for India and added to its strength, as much by the weight of his years as of his experience. According to the British journals of the time, he is said to have expressed his sentiments on behalf of His Highness and his claims "vehemently" and that his arguments were felt to be "most judicious, wise and feelingly persuasive and consequently carried more weight with them." On hearing this, His Highness heartily thanked him in a special letter (dated 5th May 1867), in which he recalled his earlier recollections of him and his services to the State and to himself personally, and added:—

> "It had always been a matter of much delight to me to know that the whole of your career in India at the head of many important offices, which you filled, had indeed acquired you much fame and the high esteem of being on the one side a real well-wisher of the Government and its subjects and on the other side a zealous lover of justice and a true friend to Native Princes."

The North-cote Despatch.

To continue the story, the Derby Cabinet took steps to give effect to the Resolution of the House of Commons.

Early in April 1867, Viscount Cranborne stated in the House the final decision to which the Government had come, influenced by the belief that the existence of well-governed Indian States is a benefit to the stability of British rule; and on the 16th of that month Sir Stafford Northcote, then Secretary of State for India, sent out the Despatch to the Governor-General which decided the future of Mysore. After stating that no hope could be held out that the previous decision regarding the reinstatement of His Highness the Mahārāja himself would be reversed, he went on to say:—

"Without entering upon any minute examination of the terms of the Treaties of 1799, Her Majesty's Government recognize in the policy which dictated that settlement, a desire to provide for the maintenance of an Indian dynasty on the throne of Mysore, upon terms which should at once afford a guarantee for the good government of the people, and for the security of British rights and interests. Her Majesty is animated by the same desire, and shares the views to which I have referred. It is her earnest wish that those portions of India which are not at present under her immediate dominion may continue to flourish under native Indian rulers, co-operating with her representatives in the promotion of the general prosperity of the country; and in the present case more especially, having regard to the antiquity of the Maharaja's family, its long connection with Mysore, and the personal loyalty and attachment to the British Government which His Highness has so conspicuously manifested, Her Majesty desires to maintain that family on the throne in the person of His Highness's adopted son, upon terms corresponding with those made in 1799, so far as the altered circumstances of the present time will allow.

"In considering the stipulations which will be necessary to give effect to this arrangement, I have, in the first place, to observe, that Her Majesty's Government cannot but feel a peculiar interest in the welfare of those who have now for so long a period been subject to their direct administration, and that they will feel it their duty, before replacing them under the rule of a native sovereign, to take all the pains they can with the education of that sovereign, and also to enter into a distinct agreement with him as to the principles upon which he shall administer the country, and to take sufficient securities for the observance of the agreement.

"It is, therefore, the intention of Her Majesty that the young prince should have the advantage of an education suitable to his rank and position, and calculated to prepare him for the duties of administration; and I have to desire you to propose to the Maharaja that he should receive his education under the superintendence of your Government. I have to request that you will communicate with me as to the mode in which this can best be effected without separating the young prince more than is necessary from those over whom he may hereafter be called on to rule."

The Despatch went on to direct that if at the demise of His Highness, the young prince should not have attained the age fixed for his majority, "the territory shall continue to be governed in his name upon the same principles and under the same regulations as at the present time." Before confiding to him the administration of the whole, or any portion, of the State, arrangements would be made "for the purpose of adequately providing for the maintenance of a system of government well adapted to the wants and interests of the people," and, as regards the rights and interests of the British Government, the Despatch provided for a higher subsidy in these terms:—

"It is sufficient now to point out that, as the cost of supporting Troops has largely increased since the date of the Subsidiary Treaty of 1799, it will obviously be necessary that the terms of that Treaty should be revised and some addition made to the subsidy. The great increase which has taken place in the resources of Mysore since 1799, and more especially since the assumption of the Government by Lord William Bentinck, will prevent such addition being left as an undue burden. The precise terms of the revision may be left to be settled when the young Prince is put in possession of the administration."

Communicated to His Highness.

This Despatch, however, did not reach India for sometime, though meanwhile, by about 25th April 1867, Lord Cranborne's announcement in the Commons was known in Mysore. That announcement, while it satisfied His Highness in so far as it was "a reversal of their (the British Government's) ultimate judgment," he could not but look upon it for the time being "as a bitter disappointment" to himself personally and "as a total denial to do full justice" to his "indisputable rights." (Letter to Mr. F. M. Lewin, dated 25th April 1867). The Northcote Despatch of the 16th April was communicated by Lord John Lawrence to His Highness on the 16th June 1867, with a despatch of his bearing the same date, in which he enunciated the views and decision of Her Majesty's Government in regard to the succession of His Highness' adopted son. In acknowledging Lord Lawrence's cordial congratulations, His Highness wrote:—

His acknowledgment of same.

> "From the recognition of my just claims and from the true sympathy and gracious regard so generously evinced by Her Majesty in the critical position of my affairs, I feel sanguine that my prayer for personal restoration will not be overlooked but will eventually receive all the benign notice and liberal consideration of Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen and of Her Ministers."

His Highness added at the same time:—

> "May I request the favour of your Excellency to be kind enough to convey to Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen of England, to Her Ministers and to those that are the advisers of this wise and universally very acceptable measure, the most unfeigned expressions of my grateful acknowledgments and warm appreciation of a concession agreeable alike to myself and my people."

His Highness held, on 18th July 1867, a special Durbar in his Palace, when he received congratulations from the Commissioner of Mysore in a formal and public manner on the recognition which Her Majesty had been pleased to bestow upon the young prince Chāmarājēndra Wodeyar Bahadur as His Highness' adopted son. His Highness had been celebrating the anniversary of his 74th birthday and a large number of ladies and gentlemen had been invited to be at the Durbar. The young prince was conducted into the room and was received with the usual marks of respect. He was then formally placed on the laps of His Highness by the Commissioner and welcomed as the "rightful heir." His Highness acknowledged the Commissioner's congratulations and requested that his respects might be formally conveyed to Her Majesty and her Ministers for this signal mark of her favour.

Honour to His Highness.

Her Majesty also showed her personal regard for him by conferring on His Highness the distinction of the G. C. S. I. in recognition of his services "rendered to our Indian Empire." The Letters Patent conveying this honour was dated Balmoral, 24th May 1867 and reached Mysore early in September of the same year. Lord Napier, then Governor of Madras, visited Mysore at His Highness' special request and invested him with the insignia of the order.

Arrangements for the education of the young Prince.

Though the Northcote Despatch did not meet with His Highness' cherished wishes in every respect, it gratified him much in so far as it recognised his adopted son's claim to the full rights of sovereignty and the restoration of the Administration on his attaining his majority. Lord Lawrence in his letter of the 16th June 1867 had expressed the hope that the decision would conduce to His Highness' happiness and the happiness of the people of Mysore and had suggested that the great point to aim at was the proper training and education of the young Prince so that he might, when he arrived at man's estate, be fitted by ability and right dispositions to dispense to the people justice and maintain with dignity the exalted position to which he had been called. Even before the receipt of the Despatch, His Highness had taken steps to provide a suitable training to his son. He had applied on 24th April 1867 for the services of Lieut.-Colonel G. Haines, formerly in the Mysore Commission, to act as guardian of the young Prince, and to superintend his education and training. This was approved by Her Majesty's Government on 31st October 1868.

Lord John Lawrence's views on the Northcote Despatch.

There is some reason to believe that the decision of the Derby Cabinet did not meet with the approval of Lord John Lawrence. This measure proved one of the last measures of Lord Cranborne as Secretary of State for India in 1866-67, for early in March 1867 he retired from that position, making room for Sir Stafford Northcote, afterwards Earl of Iddesleigh, one of the most successful of Tory Chancellors of the Exchequer. Lord Lawrence, in a letter to Sir Stafford Northcote, remarked that he could say with perfect truth that he had never been connected with any great measure of annexation and that even in the case of the Punjab, he had been only "concerned in the carrying out of the measure and not in the policy of annexation itself." He also confessed that there was much to say against the absorption of large Native Chiefships, especially on the point which was adverted to in the Mysore debate, namely "the loss of employment to Natives of rank and respectability." "But," he added, "to the mass of the people, it appears to me, as in the case of Mysore, that the change has proved of unmixed benefit. I do not say that there are no points in our administration where the shoe does not pinch. I fully admit that the reverse is the case." That seems to give the whole point away, though he affirmed that "the benefits of our system are great and palpable, and moreover, are appreciated by all the industrious classes." It is remarkable that not all the arguments adduced by the British Press or by Lord Cranborne had had any appreciable effect on him. For we see him, in the same letter in which the above views are formulated, unblushingly stating that "of all the cases in which annexation has taken place, or has been advocated, I know of none in which the argument for that measure has appeared to me so strong as it is in the case of Mysore." This enunciation of unrepentant old views would seem to indicate not only that his knowledge was wholly inadequate but also that the exposition of policy involved in the reversion by Lord Cranborne had had no effect on his mind, wholly wedded as it was to the "annexation" theory. But the statesman that he was, he candidly agreed that now that "we have decided on maintaining the present Dynasty, it only remains for us to carry out that policy in a true and honest spirit." (See B. Bosworth-Smith, *Life of Lord Lawrence*, 385. Letter to Sir Stafford Northcote, dated Simla, June 1867),

True import of the Despatch.

The true import of the Despatch was something very much more than what Bosworth-Smith seems inclined to admit in his *Life of Lord Lawrence*. According to him, the decision settled this much.—"The Treaty rights of (His Highness) the Maharaja should terminate at his death; but that his adopted son, if he turned out well, might be allowed to succeed to the Country, under such conditions as the British Government might, at the time, see fit to impose. Of course, this was a postponement, rather than a settlement of the question. But it got the matter out of the way, saved the consumption of much time and paper and left a matter of future policy to be determined by those who, it might be presumed, would, when the time came, have the best data for doing so." (*Life of Lord Lawrence*, 380). This seems an entire misreading of both the Cranborne decision and the Northcote Despatch, especially when we bear in mind

Paras 4 to 6 of the latter. What it settled was "policy" as enunciated in Para 4 of the Despatch. It conceded in definite terms in the same Para, His Highness' sovereign right to adopt inasmuch as the adopted son was to be maintained on the ancestral throne of His Highness "upon terms corresponding with those made in 1799, so far as the altered circumstances of the present time will allow." Stress was laid on the education of the Prince as it was felt a desideratum; and the existing administration had to be continued as there was need, under the decision, to provide for the interim period, owing to the young Prince's minority. Certain *details* referred to in Paras 5, 6 and 7 were left over to be determined at the proper time and that cannot, by any stretch of imagination, be held to any extent to involve the policy settled by the Cranborne decision.

His Highness' public charities and benefactions.

His Highness' public and private charities were extensive and many-sided. They included the building of new temples, tanks, *Agrahāras* (residential houses), and *chuttrams* (feeding houses for pilgrims and others), restoration and repair of ancient temples, towers, tanks, wells etc. and grants of villages and lands for the maintenance of these foundations; gifts of money, vessels and jewellery of different kinds to the Gods and Goddesses, some of them of inestimable value; monetary grants to the more famous religious places of worship all over India for maintenance of services and for affording aid, in certain cases, to pilgrims frequenting them; grants to different classes of *Mutts* or religious houses; grants for the celebration of religious festivals, for the furtherance of education, for rendering medical aid on modern lines and for the encouragement of poets and *pandits* who flocked to his Court from different parts of the Country. A detailed description of these acts of beneficence will be found in the *Annals of the Mysore Royal Family* (Part

II, 123-181). The following is a brief statement of the same :—

1819.—His Highness visited Sivaganga and made gifts of jewellery, etc., to the temple there. He also restored a five-tongued bell there. He further restored the temples at Sosale, Mugur, Mudukatur, Talkad and Biligiri Rangan Hills and made grants to them. Similarly he arranged for the celebration of festivals at the Siva and Vishnu temples at Madura, Srirangam, Srī-sailam and Tirupati. At the last mentioned place, he restored the two silver umbrellas presented by Rāja-Wodeyar and provided for the feeding of pilgrims frequenting the place.

1819.—Gift of the crown *Krishnarāja-Mudi* to the Melkote temple; provided for various festivals at the temple and the free distribution of rice; and sanctioned an annual money grant as well to it. He also built a residence for his use at the place during the occasions of his visit.

1820.—While on a visit to Subramanya and Udupi in South Canara District, His Highness made notable gifts to the temples there and provided for the celebrations of festivals at both the places.

1820-21.—Restoration of the goddess' temple at Chamundi.

1820-21.—Presentation of *Sri-Kantha-Mudi* to the Īsvara temple at Nanjangud. Restoration of old temples and additions to them.

1822-24.—Conversion of Arikuthāra, the birth-place of His Highness' father, into the town of Chāmarājanagar in his name and the construction of a residence for his personal use there. In 1827, he consecrated the temple built in the name of his father at this place. In 1859, he provided for the car festival of the newly consecrated God. (*E.C.* IV Chamarajnagar 86, 87-90).

1828.—Construction of the big Gōpuram at Chāmundi.

1829.—Extended the Prasanna-Krishnaswāmi temple at Mysore and provided for its festival, etc. A lithic inscription in this temple dated in this year records the fact that His Highness had rendered service in different forms (called the *Navaratna* or the nine-gems of service.) These are thus enumerated:—*Bhūshā-ratna*, gem of adornment, in presenting costly crowns set with precious stones (called *Vaira-mudis*) to the temples of Nanjangud and Melkote; *Dēsā-ratna*, of love of country, by founding Chāmarājnagar and other towns; *Sēvā-ratna*, of devotion to God, in building and restoring temples; *Dāna-ratna*, of charitable gifts, in the presentation of villages, lands, and built houses to the poor, the deserving and the learned; *Pratishthā-ratna*, of consecration of charities, in the consecration of newly built or restored temples, shrines and the consecration of towers and turrets built for them; *Upakāra-ratna*, of service to fellow-beings, in the erection of public dams, bathing ghats, bridges, etc.; *Dharmaratna*, of charity in establishing free feeding houses at the holy centres of Benares, Tirupati and other places; *Kīrti-ratna*, of fame in issuing gold and silver coins in his name; and *Sārasvata-ratna*, of literature, in the publication of commentaries on sacred works and in the composing of literary works of merit.

1829.—Repairs to the Ranganātha and other temples at Seringapatam. Restoration of the statue of Kanthīrava Narasarāja Wodeyar at the Lakshmi Narasimha Temple at that place.

1829.—Repair and restoration of the Pillai Lōkāchārya shrine at Melkote. (*M.A.R.* 1907, Page 14).

1834.—Dedication of Siva shrines at the Nanjangud temple. His Highness also built a suitable residence for his personal use at Nanjangud while there for the purposes of offering worship.

1839.—Performed the *Tulābhāra* ceremony (*i.e.*, weighing himself against gold and distributing the same as gifts.) The weighed gold was in this case used for the presentation of cows and for the endowment of grass farms for the maintenance of the cows for the supply of milk, curds, butter, etc., to the Nanjangud temple.

1845.—Restoration of Vīrabhadra and Mahālingaswāmi temples at Amachāvadi, near Chamarājnagar.

1845.—Construction of the tower of the Nanjangud temple. His queens built various shrines in it in 1854. (*E.C.* III Nanjangud, 1 to 8 and 11-12.)

1848.—Presentation of ornamented vehicles for temple processions at Nanjangud.

1849.—Presentation of different kinds of gold and silver vessels, etc., for service at the Nanjangud temple.

1852.—Presentation of ornamented vehicles for temple processions at Nanjangud.

1852.—Construction of towers at Lakshmi-Ramana temple at Mysore. Gift of processional images to it. His Highness set up an image of Rāja-Wodeyar in it, as by the grace of the goddess of this temple the poison administered to this sovereign had been converted into ambrosia.

1855.—Restoration of Mahābalēswara temple at Chāmundi. Setting up of statues of himself and his Queens as worshippers at the goddess' temple.

1863.—Consecration of a Siva shrine in the Agastēsvara temple at Tirumakudlu-Narsipur.

1820.—Founded the Kathivādipuram agrahāram, near Nanjangud.

1822.—Founded the Dēvāmba, Cheluvāmba and Lingāmba Agrahārams.

1825.—Founded the Nanjamāmba Agrahār in the Yedatore Taluk.

1827.—Founded the Dēvirāmba Agrahār.

1827.—Founded the Dēvāchamba Agrahār.

1828.—Founded the Lakshmayāmba, Kempa-Nanjāmba, Kempa-Dēvāmba and Cheluvāmba Agrahārams.

1830.—Founded the Gaurāmba Agrahār in the Chamarajanagar Taluk.

His Highness also made gifts to the Sringeri, Parakāla, Uttarādi, Vyāsarāya, Rāghavēndraswāmi, Totādri, Ahōbala (1855) and other *Mutts.* Also to the Jain temple at Sravana-Belgola and to different Vīrasaiva Mutts.

His Highness' numerous gifts and those of his queens to temples in Mysore and elsewhere will be found referred to in *M.A.R.* 1912, Para 133-4; *M.A.R.* 1913, Para 115; *M.A.R.* 1914-15, Para 112; *M.A.R.* 1917, Para 147; and *M.A.R.* 1918, Para 136.

He also founded a Hospital in Mysore City, where Western medicine was daily dispensed free of cost to the sick. For providing instruction in English, His Highness established in 1833 a school in Mysore City in which he took considerable personal interest, often presiding over its annual functions. This school was founded at the instance of General Fraser and was presided over by a succession of able teachers until 1840, when it was handed over to the Wesleyan Mission authorities for purposes of management. In 1866, His Highness provided a new building for its location. He was, besides, a great patron of learning. The most eminent literary men of his days, including teachers of logic, metaphysics, and Vēda and Vēdanta received encouragement at his Court. The fall of the Peishwa at Poona made His Highness' capital the chief, if not the only centre, for Oriental learning of every kind. Even if it were possible for him to do so, one in his position could not well have refused support to the learned men who repaired to his Court at the time we are writing of.

The Armoury in the Palace was organized by His Highness and it contains several State gun models, etc., presented to him on his coronation. (See *M.A.R.* 1914-15, Para 112.) The Library of Oriental Mss., *Saraswati Bhandaram*, also organized by him, is a repository of several valuable and rare Mss. dealing with a variety of topics of Oriental lore and learning.

Such were some of the public charities of His Highness Krishna-Rāja-Wodeyar III. They show his munificence and liberality. The making of gifts for religious purposes and for the general public good have long been recognized in India as among the primary duties of kings. What was true of the Hoysala, the Chōla and the Vijayanagar kings was equally true of their successors. If, judging from the standards prevailing in their own days, the kings of the periods referred to did their duties, as became them, His Highness Krishna-Rāja-Wodeyar should be held to have done the same. The suggestion of certain critics that they involved him in debts does not appear to be entirely justified as it is admitted by them that "his expenditure on himself was not, perhaps, excessive" (Bowring, *Eastern Experiences*, 196) and that most of the allowance he drew was expended on public charities, debitable, in the language of modern Exchequer parlance, to Public Works.

His Highness' main characteristics.

His Highness has been described by his contemporaries not only as a clever person but also as refined in demeanour. His conversation was generally seasoned by shrewd and sarcastic remarks. He was fond of jokes, and it is said he kept at his Court a professional Joker. But the "laughing" philosopher had, it is added, a companion in a "weeping" philosopher, whose services were not infrequently requisitioned by His Highness. His Highness was well acquainted with Kannada, Persian, Marāthi and Sānskrit. He spoke fluently—even eloquently on occasions—Kannada, though he addressed the English officials at his Court in Hindustāni with which he was quite conversant. (Bowring, *Eastern Experiences*, 193-4). He excelled in astrology and was a great proficient in the *mantras*. His sincere piety, his even-handed generosity, his friendliness to the poor and the deserving of every caste and creed, his love of learning, his gifts to the learned, his versatility, his steadfastness in prosecuting his aims and objects, his loyalty to his British benefactors and his loving regard for them during their hour of trouble—all these and many other qualities of head and heart made him universally beloved. Though short of stature, he had a pleasant and dignified countenance, while his dress was ordinarily in excellent taste, being less gorgeous than the attire of Sikh chiefs, but more striking than the Princes of Rajputana. His complexion was fair and in the centre of his forehead he wore the royal spot, called the *Tīka*, the emblem of sovereignty, while round his neck was suspended a splendid triple necklace of pearls and girt round his waist was a much cherished sword, with a medallion of the Queen upon the belt. (*Ibid*, 194.) His well stocked Library of Mss. and his Armoury show his culture and tastes.

His Highness' strenuous fight for the rendition of his State will ever be reckoned a memorable chapter in his life's history. The courage, sagacity and the spirit of forbearance he showed in making renewed attempts to get back the administration of his Dominions indicate the strength of his character. He was tenacious to a degree and failure never left any damping effect on him. It is a question if a less strenuous fighter would have been blessed with the success which attended his efforts in winning his kingdom back for his son and heir.

His Highness' demise, 27th March 1868.

His Highness did not long survive the Durbar at which he returned thanks for the good news conveyed by the Northcote Despatch. Within less than nine months—eight months and ten days, to be exact—His Highness' death was announced. He had been ailing for sometime and serious symptoms showed themselves about the close of February 1868. He soon rallied but on 23rd March following, he had a serious relapse, which, combined with his great age, caused serious apprehension. "His wonderfully vigorous constitution" gave some hope but even that gave way to the effects of a swelling in the neck attended by hiccough. His Highness expired in his Palace, amidst the members of his family and relations, on the 27th March at about 11 P.M. His demise was universally regretted, for His Highness was open-handed and generous in disposition and had, besides, many other amiable and personal qualities which endeared him to his subjects.

The receipt of the news at Bangalore and what followed it is thus realistically described by Mrs. Bowring in a letter dated Bangalore March 28, 1868:—

How the news was received at Bangalore.

"A telegram has arrived announcing the Raja's death. He expired at eleven o'clock at night, and at twelve next day his body was burnt according to the Hindu rites. At five o'clock, all the troops at Bangalore, mustering 2,000, were led out on the parade ground, about half-a-mile in front of our house. I did not go myself, but witnessed the scene from the verandah. It was a cool afternoon, the sun being hidden by a bank of clouds threatening rain, or rather rejoicing our hearts and eyes with the promise of it. In the distance, a cloud of dust and a beating of drums announced the arrival of the troops on the parade ground. On every side, crowds of natives in their white dresses were seen trooping towards that point. Major R. arrived in our compound in full uniform, and a few Silladars in their picturesque dresses came curvetting on to the ground. Then appeared the Commissioner (Mr. Lewin Bowring) on his beautiful Arab, in cocked hat and the Windsor uniform. The flag was flying half-mast high, and there was a great commotion among the crows, who doubtless were aware, not of the event, but of the coming rain. Then the bugle sounded to announce the Commissioner's arrival on the parade ground, followed by a salute of thirteen guns, fired in his honor. The wind dropped, and the flag hung motionless against the flag-staff. Somebody, given to feeling fidgety, strained her eyes through an opera glass, but saw nothing but a cloud of dust and an occasional flash of fire, when up sprang the breeze, and out floated again the flag, followed by a salute of twenty-one guns for the young Raja. *Le Roi est mort! vive le Roi!* and down came drops of delicious rain—which is, of course, looked upon by the people as a happy omen." (*Eastern Experiences*, 386-7).

Proclamation issued announcing recognition of H. H. Chamarajendra-Wodeyar as Sovereign, 28th March 1868.

The Commissioner next took the necessary steps to guard His Highness' treasure and records, the regiment at the French Rocks being moved for the purpose. Next, he issued at Bangalore, the Proclamation which had been sent out by the Governor-General in Council. This was publicly read out by the Commissioner on the afternoon of the 28th March in the presence of all the troops of the garrison, and such officials and leading people as could be summoned on so short a notice. Copies of the same were also forwarded by the express to each District with directions to the Deputy Superintendents to distribute them in Kannada at once in all their Taluks so that the people of the State may be speedily informed of the gracious intentions of Her Majesty's Government. The following is the text of the Proclamation which was preceded by another of the same kind issued by the Commissioner:—

"His Excellency the Right Honourable the Viceroy and Governor-General-in-Council announces to the Chiefs and people of Mysore, the death of His Highness the Mahārāja Krishna-Rāja Wodiar Bahadoor, Knight Grand Commander of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India. This event is regarded with sorrow by the Government of India, with which the late Maharaja had preserved relations of friendship for more than half a century.

"His Highness Chamarajandra Wodiar Bahadoor, at present a minor, the adopted son of the late Mahārāja, is ackowledged by the Government of India as his successor and as Maharaja of the Mysore territories.

"During the minority of His Highness, the said territories, will be administered in His Highness's name by the British Government, and will be governed on the same principles and under the same regulations as heretofore.

"When His Highness shall attain to the period of majority, that is, the age of eighteen years, and if His Highness shall then be found qualified for the discharge of the duties of his exalted position, the Government of the country will be entrusted to him, subject to such conditions as may be determined at that time." (See *Parliamentary Blue-Book*, August 1878).

A notification on the same lines was also issued by the Government of India in the Foreign Department, dated the 30th March 1868, in which in place of the last paragraph of the above quoted Proclamation, the following clauses occur:—

"And all matters relating to the Maharaja's household, and due protection in comfort and dignity of the family, will be regulated by the same authority (*i.e.*, the Commissioner). The conditions under which the Government of Mysore will be entrusted to the Maharaja will remain for consideration at the time when His Highness shall arrive at the proper age."

His Highness' Installation at Mysore, 23rd September 1868.

On the 4th April, the Commissioner proceeded to Mysore and conveyed in person the condolence of His Excellency the Viceroy to the young Maharaja and the Ranees on the demise of His late Highness, and his good wishes for the welfare of His Highness Sri-Chāmarājendra-Wodeyar. Three days later, he recommended to the Governor-General in Council, in order to facilitate the suitable upbringing of the young Prince, his removal to the old Palace in the Bangalore Fort, which he said he would make habitable for the purpose. This proposal, however, did not meet with the approval of the Supreme Government, who vetoed it as being "open to misconstruction." (Letter from Government of India, dated 23rd April 1868). Nor did the Home Government agree with Lord Lawrence when he suggested that the formal Installation of the young Prince may be delayed, as it would be "premature and out of place" to carry it out just then. Sir Stafford Northcote, the Secretary of State for India, intimated that it was the desire of Her Majesty's Government that it should not be postponed. "I learn," he wrote "that, in the estimation of the Native officials of the Province, and of others who may be presumed to be well anquainted with the state of popular feeling in Southern India, the recognition of the young Prince would be incomplete, and entire confidence would not be felt in the sincerity of intention of the British Government, if the ceremony of Installation were not publicly performed, in accordance with the usages of the country, when the period of mourning for the deceased Prince is at an end." Adverting to these considerations, and quite apart from the Proclamation issued by the Government of India, Her Majesty's Government directed that the Installation of the young Prince should be carried out on a date fixed by the Governor-General in Council. Earlier intimation of this decision having arrived, His Highness Sri-Chāmarājendra-Wodeyar was installed by Mr. Bowring, the Commissioner, on the throne at Mysore on the 23rd September at noon. The Palace was crowded with people of all classes and the Regiment from French Rocks was also in attendance. Mr. Bowring wrote thus in describing the ceremony:—

"The young Maharaja, having undergone certain preliminary Religious ceremonies in the morning, took up a position in a corner of an enclosure on the ground floor in the centre of the Palace, the Throne being placed near at hand and fronting the great entrance. Immediately on my arrival, he was conducted by myself and Major Elliot, the officer in charge of Palace duties, up the silver steps of the Throne, and on his taking seat, three vollies of musketry and a royal salute were fired; he was pelted with a storm of flowers from every side and the large assembly testified by shouts and clapping of hands their satisfaction. The family priests then proceeded to pronounce benedictory prayers and offered to His Highness water from several sacred streams with other consecrated articles. When these initiatory rites had been performed, the genealogy of the Mysore Family was read out aloud and on its termination, the spearmen rattled their spears, which are constructed so as to clatter when shaken; the band struck up, and the building resounded with the shouts and cheers of the People.

"I then proceeded to present to the Maharaja on the part of His Excellency the Viceroy, a Killat of 21 trays, fastening a piece of jewellery round His Highness' neck and a similar Killat was submitted through me for the Viceroy's acceptance. The Rajbindes and officials then, each in turn, presented their *nuzzurs*, and the ceremony concluded with the customary offering of *pan supari* and garlands of flowers.

"In the afternoon, the young Maharaja was placed on the Throne in the balcony of the upper story of the Palace in the sight of all the people, who thronged the outer square in great numbers. Before taking his seat, however, he performed certain ceremonies by throwing lotuses and other flowers at the foot of the Throne, and by walking round it as a sign of taking permission. . . . . . When the Maharaja had taken his seat, he was pelted with flowers as in the morning, and an exhibition of skill by the jetties or wrestlers and a display of firework terminated the durbar. Later in the evening, a dinner was given in the Residency to all the European officers, and the town was illuminated by the inhabitants.

"On the ensuing day, I had an interview with the Ranees, who expressed their extreme gratitude at the consideration shown to the family by Her Majesty's Government and desired me to convey to His Excellency the Viceroy their respectful acknowledgments. The principal inhabitants also waited on me and presented an address to a similar effect. It was considered by all as a happy omen that the orders of Government reached Mysore in the middle of the Dasarah Festival.

"The young Maharaja, Chamarajendra Wodeyar, during the whole of the fatiguing ceremonies attendant on his Installation showed self-control and composure and it was not a little remarkable to see a child of his tender years behave with so much dignity."

One effect of His Highness' demise was the closing of the account of the one-fifth of the net revenues of Mysore, which had been paid to him during his lifetime under Article 5 of the Treaty of 1799, and which had for several years averaged 13 lakhs of rupees *per annum.* All the revenues of Mysore were thereafter administered in trust by the British Government, a separate account being kept of the provision made for the support of the Mahārāja, his family and dependents, and the unappropriated balances being accumulated for the benefit of the Mahārāja and the State of Mysore. The opportunity afforded by His Highness' death was also taken to revise the strength of the Palace establishment, the cost of which was reduced to nearly half its amount. One of the principal items of Palace expenditure still consists of the allowances which are paid to the family connections of the ruling sovereign. The stipends of the grandson and male Arsus (or Rājabandhus) are hereditary: the continuance or lapse of the stipends enjoyed by the others is regulated by a code of rules sanctioned by the Government of India. The total stipends payable from the ruling sovereign's civil list amount to about Rs. 2,71,000.

Resignation of Mr. Bowring 1870; an estimate of his labours in Mysore.

Mr. Bowring, who from 1869 was styled Chief Commissioner, resigned office at the beginning of 1870 and retired to England amidst general regret. A public farewell was given to him in which the Indian community of Bangalore testified to the success of his administration. His name is still a much revered one throughout the State. His courtesy, culture, experience and deep interest in oriental studies enabled him to sympathise readily with Indian institutions and interests while his great talents and practical energy won him the respect of all. The assimilation of the system of government, therefore, to that of the British Provinces, although it had necessitated the introduction of a larger European element than before, was conjoined with the recognition of Indian merit and talent. Two out of the eight Districts were placed under the administration of Indian Deputy Superintendents, appointments which ranked among the highest anywhere held at that period by their countrymen. Many important judicial and other offices were filled in a similar manner, and the way was left for a more extensive employment of Indian agency. The change of policy necessitated a reconsideration of administrative arrangements. The new idea that the country was to be administered in view of its continuance as an Indian State eventually prevailed. But difficulties were felt in giving effect to it. Divergent opinions were expressed at the time as to what should and what should not be done. The interested reader will find in Thornton's life *Sir Richard Meade* much to gratify his curiosity in this connection. Among the various criticisms preferred was one, which held to be "just," and that was that "the administration was costly and too much anglicised" for an Indian State. So there was much to be considered and the new Chief Commissioner, whoever he was to be, had an uphill task to undertake.

Sir Richard Meade appointed Chief Commissioner, February 1870.

It was in these circumstances that Colonel (afterwards Sir Richard) Meade was selected by Lord Mayo passing over, it is said, a number of distinguished civil servants. To proved ability and wide experience of British and Indian administrations, he was held to be capable of bringing an open mind and a strong will to bear on the task before him. Though the selection caused some surprise, it was ratified by public opinion at the time. Lord Mayo, in a letter to him congratulating him on his acceptance of the post, suggested that it should be his duty "to place every part of its (the State's) administration upon a firm and efficient basis."

His administrative reforms.

Meade assumed charge in February 1870, but was unexpectedly called away five years later by Lord Northbrook, to the control of the Baroda State, where he had also previously for several months (October 1873 to March 1874) been a member of the Commission for the trial of the Gaikwar. His able administration of Mysore was therefore subject to unlooked-for interruptions of a harassing nature. Among the more important measures of this period was the great impetus given to public works—in raising all works of irrigation to a complete standard of repair and efficiency, in opening out communications in the remotest and most difficult parts of the country, in surveys for railway extension, and in the erection of public buildings, and carrying out of local improvements in towns. Education continued to flourish. A topographical survey, the planting of village *topes*, improvements in agriculture, and other useful works were set on foot. In 1871, Sub-Divisions, composed of groups of taluks, were constituted, and an Assistant Superintendent was placed in charge of each, the object being to bring government officers into closer communication with the people and to give the Assistant Superintendents a greater interest in their work.

In 1873 the designation of Commissioner was substituted for Superintendent through all the grades; and in the same year, an important measure for the establishment of Munisiff's courts, with purely civil jurisdiction, was brought into operation. The Amildars were thus relieved of jurisdiction in civil cases, and the judicial powers of other officers were greatly modified. The re-organisation of the police was commenced, one of the principal features of the scheme being the re-organization of the village police, and its utilization after being placed on a reasonable footing of efficiency. The local military force, somewhat reduced, was greatly improved by proper selection of men and horses, and by the enforcement of a regular course of drill. Indian agency was systematically introduced into every department. Special training was provided for preparing Indian officers for the Public Works, Survey and Forest Departments, and young men of good family were appointed as *Attachès*, with the view of enabling them to gain experience in civil and revenue matters before being entrusted with responsible charges.

Mr. R. A. Dalyell, Offg. Commissioner, April 1875.

Mr. R. A. Dalyell, of the Madras Civil Service and Member of the Viceroy's Council, officiated for a year from April 1875, when Mr. C. B. Saunders, who for some years had been Resident at Haiderabad, was re-transferred to Mysore. During the two years that he was Chief Commissioner occurred the great famine which swept off more than a million of the population, and for a time beclouded all the prosperity of the State.

Imperial Assemblage at Delhi, 1st January 1877.

The young Mahārāja (to whom, on the resignation of Col. Haines in 1869, Colonel G. B. Malleson had been appointed guardian) attended, with Mr. Saunders, the Imperial Assemblage at Delhi on the 1st of January 1877, when the Queen was proclaimed Empress of India. Soon after their return, gloomy prospects began rapidly to thicken.

The Famine of 1876 and its disastrous effects.

The late rains of 1875 and the rains throughout 1876 had generally failed. The harvests of two successive years were lost, and the surplus stores of grain were consumed. Relief works had been started in several parts; remissions of assessment had been granted; the State forests were thrown open to grazing; house-to-house visitation had been instituted and other palliative measures adopted. When, therefore, spring showers fell in 1877, hope revived; but only to be quenched. The regular rains failed for the third year in succession. The surrounding Madras and Bombay districts were in the same plight. Panic and mortality now spread among the people, and famine became sore in the land. From November, the only railway, the one from Madras to Bangalore, had been pouring in 400 to 500 tons of grain a day, the latter sufficient to support 900,000 people; yet, in May, there were 100,000 starving paupers being fed in relief kitchens, and in August the numbers rose to 227,000; besides 60,000 employed on relief works, paid in grain, and the 20,000 on the railway to Mysore. Sir Richard Temple had been deputed as Special Commissioner, to advise the Government, but it became evident that the utmost exertions of the local officers were unequal to cope with the growing distress. The Viceroy, Lord Lytton, then came himself. A larger European agency was felt to be necessary. A number of officers, therefore, of regiments in Upper India, as well as civilians, were induced to volunteer for famine duty. Mr. (afterwards Sir Charles) Elliot was appointed Famine Commissioner, and Major (afterwards Sir Colin) Scott-Moncrieff, Chief Engineer.

Sir Richard Temple appointed Special Famine Commissioner.

Visit of Lord Lytton to Mysore.

Sir Charles Elliot, Famine Commissioner.

Relief works were now concentrated, and gratuitous relief was confined as far as possible to those whose condition was too low to expect any work from the
all. Bountiful rains in September and October
the cloud to lift, and the pressure of famine
abate, but mortality from attendant sickness
and relief works were not all closed till Nove
Private hoards of gold and silver coins, and

jewellery, had been generally parted with, often at ruinous rates. The Mansion House fund, subscribed for the famine by English charity, thus afforded the means of reinstating numbers of agriculturists who had been left destitute, while missionary and other bodies aided by Government contributions, took charge of orphans to be brought up and respectably settled.

Financial effects of the Famine.

The financial effects were indeed disastrous, especially in view of the approaching Rendition. The invested surplus of Rs. 63 lakhs had disappeared and a debt of Rs. 80 lakhs had been incurred with the Government of India. The loan bore interest at 5 per cent., but the Government of India agreed to credit 1 per cent of the interest to a sinking fund which would liquidate the loan in 28 years. The revenue collections, which in the year before the famine stood at over Rs. 109 lakhs, fell in 1876-7 to Rs. 82 lakhs and in 1877-8 to Rs. 69 lakhs. A Committee was convened to report on the measures practicable for reducing expenditure to meet the deficit, and the proposed reductions were generally carried out in 1878 and 1879 involving the abolition of many appointments and the removal of European officers, with the substitution of Indians on reduced pay.

Transfer of lands for Railway purposes.

In 1877, it was arranged that the lands in the Mysore State occupied by the Madras Railway should be held to have been transferred with full jurisdiction, short of sovereignty rights, to the British Government.

Sir James Gordon, guardian to H. H. the Mahārāja, December 1877; Chief Commissioner, April 1878.

Mr. (afterwards Sir James) Gordon, who had been Judicial Commissioner since 1868, (he had been from 1863 to 1868 Private Secretary to Lord Lawrence the Governor-General,) was made Guardian to the Mahārājā at the end of 1877. This appointment had been in abeyance since vacated by Colonel Malleson in 1876. Captain F. A. Wilson (who had previously been tutor to the Nawab of Jowra and on leaving Mysore, became Assistant-Resident at Haiderabad) then acted as tutor to the Mahārāja till 1878, when Mr. W. A. Porter (a distinguished graduate of Cambridge, and Principal of the Kumbakonam College) was appointed tutor. The method adopted in his education had been to teach him along with other boys of good family and suitable age, away from his residence, in a select school, where all were treated alike, and he took his place with them in lessons and games. For the benefit of change of scene and association, he was taken on trips to Calcutta and Bangalore, and spent the hot weather on the hills at Ootacamund.

(v) POST-RENDITION PERIOD—FROM 1881 TO DATE.

The Rendition carried out.

In April 1878 Mr. Gordon was made Chief Commissioner in addition to his office as Guardian. On him, therefore, devolved the responsibility of the final steps needed to fit both the young prince for his kingdom, and the kingdom for the prince. On the latter, who proved to be of a most tractable disposition, the good effects of his influence were soon manifest, while, as the result of favourable seasons, the country was at the same time rapidly recovering its prosperity, though crippled by the results of the famine. To the young Mahārāja (whose marriage had now been celebrated with an accomplished princess of the Kalale family, educated in a similar manner), the system and principles of the administration continued to be the subject of careful instruction on the part of Mr. Gordon, and in 1880 he accompanied Mr. Gordon on a tour throughout the State as the best means of impressing the lessons on his mind, and making him acquainted with the country he was so soon to rule.

Installation of H. H. Srī-Chāmarājēndra Wodeyar, 1881-1894.

On the 8th March 1881, His Highness Srī-Chāmarājēndra Wodeyar Bahadur attained the age of 18 years and the Rendition of the State took place on the 25th following, when at seven o'clock in the morning, amidst universal good wishes and every demonstration of joy on the part of the people, the Mahārāja Srī-Chāmarājēndra Wodeyar was placed on the throne at Mysore, under a proclamation of the Viceroy and Governor-General of India in Council. The Mahārāja at the same time signed a Sannad or Instrument of Transfer describing in twenty-four articles the conditions upon which the administration of the Mysore State was transferred to him by the British Government. By the fifth article the subsidy of twenty-five lakhs of rupees a year hitherto paid to the British Government by Mysore was enhanced to thirty-five lakhs. On the 5th of April 1881, the Mahārāja signed a Deed of Assignment, making over (with effect from the date of his accession, *viz.*, the 25th March 1881) free of charge, to the exclusive management of the British Government, for the purposes stated in article 9 of Instrument of Transfer, all lands forming the Civil and Military Station of Bangalore and certain adjacent villages, as described in the schedule attached to the Deed of Assignment. The Mahārāja renounced all jurisdiction in the lands so assigned. The boundaries of these lands were slightly altered in 1883, 1888, 1896 and 1903. The fort of Bangalore was, in 1888, restored to the State in exchange for the Bangalore Residency house and ground, which were then incorporated in the Civil and Military Station. The area of the Bangalore Assigned Tract is 13 square miles. The ceremony of installation was performed in an impressive manner by the Governor of Madras, the Right Honourable W. P. Adam, and during the inauguration a gentle shower of rain descended, a welcome omen, seeming to betoken a blessing from the skies on this great act of State. Mr. Gordon now became Resident, and was knighted shortly after. The full text of the Instrument of Transfer will be found printed at the end of this chapter. The Bombay Government wanted to take advantage of this occasion to straighten their boundary, where it touches Mysore on the north-west, by annexing the Sorab taluk and part of Shikarpur, but the Home Government refused to sanction it.

Result of the Rendition.

The practical result of the Rendition was that Mysore returned after half-a-century of British rule, to Hindu rule, its position as an Indian State being assured with a good administration ready-made. There were, however, conditions included in the Instrument of Transfer which later proved too heavy for a progressive State and were modified in the light of the knowledge gained by its actual working.

Dewanship of Mr. C. Rangacharlu, 1881-1883.

From the date of the Rendition, the Chief Commissioner of Mysore became Resident in Mysore and Chief Commissioner of Coorg. He was invested with the powers of a Local Government and of a High Court in respect of the Bangalore Assigned Tract.

Remission of Subsidy.

In 1881, the Government of India, in consideration of the then financial position of the State, remitted for a period of five years, *i.e.*, till the 1st April 1886, the enhanced subsidy due under the Instrument of Transfer. The remission was afterwards extended for a further period of ten years till the 1st April 1896, since when the enhanced subsidy was regularly paid until 1928, when a reduction of Rs. 10½ lakhs was sanctioned. In 1885, the Government of India relinquished, on similar grounds, their claims to the accumulated surplus revenues of the Bangalore Assigned Tract, which were then deposited in the Mysore State treasury.

Transfer of Seringapatam to the State.

The Island of Seringapatam, which since 1799 had formed a part of British India, though leased to the Government of Mysore since 1811 for Rs. 50,000 a year, was in 1881 made over to Mysore by free grant. His Highness' civil list, fixed at Rs. 13 lakhs, was also limited to Rs. 10 lakhs for the first five years. A proclamation was issued by the Mahārāja on assuming the Government confirming all existing officers in their appointments, nominating as Dewan Mr. C. Rangacharlu, and forming under him as President, a Council of two or more members, "the said Council to submit for our consideration their opinions on all questions relating to legislation and taxation, and on all other measures connected with the good administration of our territories and the well-being of our subjects." The duties of the Council have been the subject of regulation from time to time, and in 1895 certain departments were placed under each member.

Establishment of Council.

Founding of the Representative Assembly.

A popular institution formed soon after, of considerable interest and conceived in the liberal spirit of the times, was a Representative Assembly, the nature of which was thus stated in an order issued in August: His Highness the Mahārāja is desirous that the views and objects which his Government has in view in the measures adopted for the administration of the Province should be better known and appreciated by the people for whose benefit they are intended, and he is of opinion that a beginning towards the attainment of this object may be made by an annual meeting of the representative landholders and merchants from all parts of the Province, before whom the Dewan will place the results of the past year's administration and a programme of what is intended to be carried out in the coming year. Such an arrangement, by bringing the people into immediate communication with the Government, would serve to remove from their minds any misapprehension in regard to the views and action of Government, and would convince them that the interests of the Government are identical with those of the people. This annual meeting will be conveniently held at Mysore, immediately after the close of the Dasara festival, which occasion will offer an additional inducement to those invited to attend the meeting. The Local Fund Boards (to be formed) were to select one or two cultivating landholders from each taluk, possessed of general information and influence amongst the people, and three or four leading merchants for the District generally. As attendance at the meeting was to be entirely voluntary, the wishes and convenience of the persons invited were to be consulted. The Assembly met for the first time on the 7th October 1881, when 144 members were present. Its further history will be found in Volume IV *Administrative*, of this work.

The first measures of the new Administration.

The first measures of the new Government were directed to reductions of expenditure. With this view, two Districts (Chitaldrug and Hassan) and nine taluks (Channapatna, Devanhalli, Gudibanda, Srinivaspur, Malur, Målvalli, Koratagere, Arkalgud and Kankuppa) were abolished, as well as the Small Cause Court and several Subordinate Judges' Courts, while the number of Jails was reduced from nine to three, the Sillahdar regiments from three to two, and District and taluk boundaries were generally altered. The duties of some of the higher appointments retained were before long doubled up under fewer officers, with lower designations. These changes caused a feeling of much unrest, and tended to sever continuity with the past. But the loss of the able Dewan, Mr. Rangacharlu, who died at Madras on the 20th January 1883, brought matters to a pause. In consideration of his services, the grant of a lakh of rupees was made to his family. The Rangacharlu Memorial Hall at Mysore was erected, partly by subscriptions, as a

Death of Mr. Rangacharlu 1883.

Dewanship of Sir K. Seshadri Iyer 1883-1901.

monument to him. Mr. (afterwards Sir K.) Seshadri Iyer was selected to succeed him, a choice which after events proved was guided by the good fortune that has watched over the destinies of Mysore. But Sir James Gordon, who had safely steered the State through all the recent eventful changes, was now disabled by a paralytic stroke, and he retired to England, where he died some years later. His great services to Mysore are commemorated by a statue, the work of Onslow Ford, erected in front of the Public Offices at the Capital.

Changes in the Residency.

The changes in the appointment of Resident were frequent after this, as the list printed at the end of this *Volume* will show. When it was known that Sir James Gordon would not return to his appointment, in which Mr. Sandford, the Judicial Commissioner, had meanwhile been acting, Mr. (afterwards Sir James) Lyall, then Settlement Commissioner in the Punjab, was made Resident. During most of his absence on leave, Mr. Girdlestone, Resident in Nepal, was transferred to Mysore. Mr. Lyall was eventually appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, and Sir Charles Bernard, Chief Commissioner of Burma, was nominated, but being almost immediately transferred to the India Office, did not join, and Mr. (afterwards Sir Dennis) Fitzpatrick, Legislative Secretary to the Government of India, received the appointment. On the transfer of the latter to Assam, Sir Harry Prendergast became Resident, and when he left for Baroda, Sir Oliver St. John succeeded. Sir Oliver was afterwards sent to Beluchistan, and died a few days after arrival at Quetta. Sir Harry Prendergast then again held office till the appointment of Colonel Henderson, Superintendent for the Suppression of Thuggee and Dacoity. During the latter's absence on leave, Colonel Peacock acted, and on leaving Mysore became Consul-General at Baghdad. Colonel Henderson retired in 1895, and Mr. (afterwards Sir William) Lee-Warner, Political Secretary to the Bombay Government, succeeded. But in a few mouths he was transferred to the India Office, and Mr. (afterwards Sir James) Mackworth Young, Financial Commissioner in the Punjab, was appointed. At the end of 1896, he in his turn was made Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, and Colonel Donald Robertson, Resident at Gwalior, took his place in Mysore. Since Colonel Donald Robertson's retirement in December 1896, the following have held office :—Mr. J. A. Crawford (1899), Sir James Bourdillon (1903), Mr. A. L. P. Tucker (1904), Mr. A. Williams (1905), Sir S. M. Fraser (1905), Sir Hugh Daly (1910), Mr. H. V. Cobb (1916), W. P. Barton (1920), Lieut.-Col. S. G. Knox (1921), A. N. L. Cater (1924), Mr. C. C. Watson (1924), and Mr. S. E. Pears (29th June 1925) who is now (1928) holding the office. (See Appendix for fuller details). The office has thus been filled by distinguished men of every variety of service and experience.

Policy of the new Administration.

In the policy continued under the new Dewan, measures to provide against a recurrence of famine had still the foremost place. Railways and irrigation works were recognized as the most potent agents to this end. The latter, however, are subject to the drawback that, being largely dependent on the rains, they are liable to fail in a time of drought when most needed. Railway construction was therefore pushed on, and by the end of 1884, there had been completed 140 miles of State railway (Bangalore to Mysore, and Bangalore to Gubbi), from current revenues and a local loan of twenty lakhs. This line was then hypothecated to the Southern Mahratta Railway Company on terms which allowed of its being extended to Harihar from capital borrowed in England, and this portion was opened for traffic in 1889. A line from Bangalore to Hindupur was afterwards completed

Railway construction.

in 1893 from State funds. The tracts that suffered most from the famine were thus effectually provided for, and the Mysore railways were linked with those of the Bombay and Madras districts beyond. The fear of famine was not unwarranted, for in 1884 and again in 1891, great anxiety arose from failure of the rains, especially in the north, and relief works had actually been devised when rain fell and the prospect changed. A short line from Mysore to Nanjangud, admitting of the transport of timber floated to that point from the southern forests, opened in December 1891, and one for the Gold Fields in 1893 was constructed in the same manner, and a line from Birur to Shimoga decided on. The fifty-eight miles of railway open at the time of the Rendition thus increased to 315 by 1895, and surveys were also made of lines from Nanjangud to Gudalur, Nanjangud to Erode, and Arsikere *via* Hassan to Mangalore.

Irrigation Works carried out.

Irrigation works had all along been receiving particular attention, and all available funds were devoted to the carrying out of large projects in tracts where they were most required. To 1895 the expenditure under this head amounted to Rs. 100 lakhs, making an addition of 355 square miles to the area under wet cultivation, and bringing in an additional revenue of eight and a quarter lakhs. With this addition, 1,558 square miles were protected by irrigation. Another very important measure was the granting of loans for digging irrigation wells, of which 1,078 had been completed benefiting 7,000 acres, against loans aggregating four lakhs.

Reorganization of Administrative Departments.

The reductions in establishments previously referred to were completed in 1884, and a Chief Court of three judges was formed, the Chief Judge being a European. Next year Inspector-Generals were also appointed for

Police and for Forests. The revenue in the first three years after the Rendition was generally stationary, but in the fourth year it declined, owing to the drought. The payment of the enhanced subsidy was therefore again postponed by the British Government for ten years more, while the revenue administration of the Assigned Tract, forming the Civil and Military Station of Bangalore, was transferred entirely to the British Government. The former measure relieved financial pressure, and allowed of the Districts and Taluks abolished in 1881 being again formed. During the next ten years, the revenue continually rose until in 1894-5 it reached 180½ lakhs. Expenditure on a large and liberal scale had also meanwhile continued on all works and purposes of public utility. The famine debt was extinguished in 1888, and a commencement was made towards paying off the railway loan. In short, in place of the net liability against the State of 30¾ lakhs in 1881 there were in 1895 net assets of over 176 lakhs in its favour. This result was not due to new taxation in any form or shape. Next to good seasons, it was the effect of natural growth, under the stimulus afforded by the opening out of the country by means of new roads and railways, the execution of important irrigation works and the general expansion of industries; also in some measure of an improved management of particular sources of income.

Result of the Administrative Policy pursued.

Other administrative measures adopted.

A Department of Agriculture and Statistics was formed in 1886, and an Agricultural Exhibition held in 1888. The Revenue Laws were codified; the time for paying assessments was postponed till after the produce could be realised, and agricultural banks were started in 1894. But the importance of promoting industrial enterprise to a country so largely dependent on agriculture was clearly seen. Coffee-planting had been much assisted by the substitution in 1881 of an acreage assessment on the

Development of industries. Coffee-planting.

land in place of the old *halat* or duty levied on the produce, and the area under coffee soon increased by twenty-eight square miles. But the most remarkable industrial development has been that of gold-mining. The first indication of profit from this source was in 1886, and in that year a preliminary examination of auriferous tracts in the State was carried out. The liberal terms granted to encourage gold-mining on a large scale by European Companies had a good effect, but the principal returns obtained so far have been in the Kolar gold-fields. What was a desolate waste has thus become a great industrial town, employing nearly 10,000 labourers. The 16,325 ounces of gold extracted in 1886-7, valued at about 9 lakhs, rose every year, until in 1894-5 the quantity reached 234,859 ounces valued at £844,271, or about 150 lakhs. The royalty, with premia and deposits on leases, paid annually to the Mysore Government, increased in the same period from half a lakh to more than 7½ lakhs. Cotton and woollen mills were brought into operation at various times, and the silk industry revived. In 1889 liberal concessions were granted with the view of promoting the establishment of iron works on a large scale in Malvalli, and as an aid, a railway from Maddur to Sivasamudram was proposed. But this scheme, however, did not mature. In 1894 a Geological Department was formed to scientifically explore the mineral resources of the State.

Impetus to gold-mining industry.

Establishment of Cotton and Woollen Mills, etc.

Reorganization of various Administrative Departments.

The Medical Department was early reorganized, and medical relief extended to all parts by the appointment of local surgeons, the establishment of taluk dispensaries, and the appointment of trained midwives. Sanitation and water-supply in the principal towns received particular attention, and extensive works were carried out in the cities of Mysore and Bangalore, both of which had large additions made to their area. The prospects of the

Educational Department were much improved, and vernacular and primary instruction greatly extended. The higher staff was strengthened and female education made marked progress. Charges which in the time of reductions had been thrown on local funds were in 1889 again met from provincial funds; a more liberal expenditure followed, and the numbers under instruction rose accordingly. Archæology, which had already received attention, was specially provided for, to allow of the numerous and valuable inscriptions throughout the country being copied and published. A much-needed Muzrai Department, to control the funds and management of religious institutions, was formed. An Excise Department, to regulate the manufacture and sale of spirituous liquors, was also brought into existence. A corps of Imperial Service Lancers was, in 1899, enrolled, to aid in imperial defence. An Observatory, well equipped with meteorological instruments, was also established at Bangalore. Another important measure was the transfer, in 1889, of *Anche* or ancient postal service of Mysore to the British Imperial post-office. This amalgamation, though at first opposed as being an abrogation of one of the State's privileges, has proved of great convenience to the public and economical to the country. A scheme of State Life Assurance was introduced about the same time, for the benefit principally of the subordinate classes of officials, to enable them to make provision for their families. And in order to secure well-qualified men for the higher administrative posts, a Civil Service scheme was adopted in 1891, providing a competitive examination of an advanced standard to be passed by accepted candidates, while a fixed scale of salaries was laid down. A Legislative interdict on early marriages was also passed.

Review of the Reign of H.H. Srī-Chāmarājēndra Wodeyar.

The fourteen years covering the period of His Highness' rule (1881-1895) is, however, best depicted under certain comprehensive heads, as set out below. When on 25th March 1881, His Highness was invested with the administration of the State, he entered upon the duties of that exalted position under specially onerous conditions. During the long period of 50 years, the State had been administered by the British Government; but unfortunately it had to encounter towards the closing years of that administration the most disastrous famine of which we have any record. A fifth of its population was swept away; the accumulated surplus of nearly a crore of rupees had disappeared, and in its place there had come into existence a debt of 80 lakhs to the British Government; the cash balance had become reduced to a figure insufficient for the ordinary requirements of the administration; every source of revenue was at its lowest; and the severe retrenchments which followed had left every Department of the State in an enfeebled condition. Not discouraged by these difficulties, His Highness from the very commencement set before himself as a first duty the protection of the State from the consequences of future famines. Railways and Irrigation works thus engaged his earliest attention. The record of the first four years of his reign is one of a severe and sustained struggle, crippled resources on the one hand and increasing Railway expenditure on the other, imposing upon the new administration, as the first condition of its success, the most vigilant financial management, and His Highness had the satisfaction of achieving by the end of 1884 the completion of the first 140 miles of the State Railway, from the current Revenues of the State and a small local loan of 20 lakhs. Then came the relief afforded by the advent of the Southern Mahratta Railway Company to complete the State Railway to Harihar from capital borrowed in England, and His Highness was thus enabled to devote the available resources of the State and carry out large Irrigation works in tracts most requiring this kind of protection. Under the circumstances above described, the administration at the start of His Highness' reign was necessarily very highly centralized. The Dewan or the Executive Administrative Head had the direct control, without the intervention of Departmental Heads, of all the principal Departments, such as the Land Revenue, Forests, Excise, Mining, Police, Education, Muzrai, Legislative. As the finances improved and as Department after Department was put into good working order and showed signs of expansion, separate Heads of Departments were appointed, for Forests and Police in 1885, for Excise in 1889, for Muzrai in 1891 and for Mining in 1894. His Highness was able to resolve upon the appointment of a separate Land Revenue Commissioner only in the latter part of 1894, but for several years previously the administrative duties of this Department had been delegated to a single Councillor empowered to dispose of all the ordinary work of the Department and to a Committee of two Councillors vested with the appellate and revisional powers of the Government under the Land Revenue Code in *quasi* Judicial matters. Similarly the ordinary work of the Departments of Local and Municipal Funds and of Legislation had been made over to individual Councillors, and the Executive duties of the Education Department had come to be more and more delegated to the Secretary. Thus the administrative policy of His Highness' reign was one of progressive decentralization.

Finance.

His Highness' reign was attended with a remarkable measure of financial success. It began with liabilities exceeding the assets by Rs. 30¼ lakhs and with an annual income less than the annual expenditure by Rs. 1¼ lakh. During the first three years, the Revenues from all sources were generally stationary, and in the fourth year there was a considerable decline due to the drought of that year, but during the next ten years the improvement year after year was large and continuous. Comparing 1880-81 with 1894-95, the Annual Revenue rose from Rs. 103 to 180½ lakhs or by 75·24 per cent, and after spending on a large and liberal scale on all works and purposes of public utility, the Net Assets amounted to over Rs. 176 lakhs, in lieu of the Net Liability of Rs. 30¾ lakhs with which His Highness' reign began.

The Assets and Liabilities of the State on 31st March 1881 and on 30th June 1895 stood thus:—

On 31st March 1881.

Assets.—	Rs.	Rs.
(1) Balance of State Fund	24,07,438	
(2) Capital outlay on State Railway ...	25,19,198	
		49,26,636
Liabilities.—		
Famine debt due to the British Government.		80,00,000
Net Liabilities ...		30,73,364

On 30th June 1895.

Assets.—	Rs.	Rs.
(1) Balance of State Funds	127,28,615	
(2) Investment on account of Railway loan Repayment Fund	27,81,500	
(3) Capital outlay on Mysore-Harihar Railway ...	148,03,006	
(4) Capital Outlay on other Railways ...	41,33,390	
(5) Unexpended portion of Capital borrowed for Mysore—Harihar Railway (with British Government) ...	15,79,495	
		360,21,306
Liabilities.—		
(1) Local Railway Loan.	20,00,000	
(2) British Railway Loan.	163,82,801	
		183,82,801
Net Assets ...		176,38,505
Add other Assets.—		
Capital Outlay on original Irrigation works ...		99,08,935

Revenue.

The measure of financial prosperity above described was secured not by resort to new taxation in any form or shape. It was mainly the result of a natural growth, under the stimulus afforded by the opening out of the country by means of new roads and Railways, the execution of important irrigation works and the general expansion of industries. It was in some measure due also to improved management of particular sources of income. The Land Reuenue Demand rose from Rs. 69 to Rs. 96 lakhs or by 39 per cent and the occupied area from 6,154 to 9,863 square miles or by 60 per cent. The Excise Revenue quite quadrupled itself during the 14 years owing to the elimination of middlemen, to a system of cheaper manufacture and higher duties, to the more vigorous suppression of illicit manufacture and to the increased consumption accompanying the growth of industries, the expansion of Public Works and Railways, and the great rise in wages. The Revenue from Forests more than doubled itself while under Stamps and Registration the increase was 65 and 124 per cent respectively.

Gold Mining.

The important industry of Gold Mining took firm root in the State during His Highness' rule. In 1886 a professional examination of the auriferous tracts in Mysore was made and the results duly published. For the first time, in 1886-87, Royalty on gold formed an item of State Revenue, and it reached the substantial figure of Rs. 7,33,000 in 1894 on a production of gold valued at £844,000. A Geological Survey for the complete examination and record of the mineral resources of the country was established in 1894 and was soon in full working order.

Land tenure and agriculture.

The Revenue Survey and Settlement made satisfactory progress during His Highness' reign, and 3 taluks alone out of 66, remained to be settled in 1894.

In 1881-82, His Highness abolished the *halat* on coffee of 4 annas per maund and established a new coffee tenure combining the advantages of a permanent settlement with low rates of assessment. The coffee area increased by 28 square miles. At the time of 1894, European planters owned 56,000 acres and Indian planters 102,000 acres.

The Khistbandi—or instalments for payment of Revenue—was postponed by two months so as to enable the *raiyats* to dispose of their produce on advantageous terms.

The Revenue Laws were codified, vexatious restrictions on the enjoyment and transfer of land were swept away, and the freer relinquishment of unprofitable small parcels of land was allowed. As a means of remedying agricultural indebtedness, a scheme of Agricultural Banks on strictly co-operative principles was also introduced in 1894.

Forests.

The area of Reserved Forests increased from 643 to 1,704 square miles and 35 square miles of new plantations were formed.

Education.

The number of Government and Aided Schools rose from 866 to 1,797 and the expenditure on them from Rs. 3,15,000 to Rs. 8,20,810. The increase in the number of boys was from 39,413 to 71,167 and in that of girls from 3,000 to 12,000. Eight hundred Primary Vernacular Schools, fifty English Middle Schools, five Industrial Schools, two Normal Schools, thirty Sānskrit Schools, one First Grade English College and three Oriental Colleges were newly established during His Highness' reign.

Irrigation.

Rupees one hundred lakhs were spent on original irrigation works during His Highness' reign, making an addition of 355 square miles to the area under wet cultivation and bringing an additional Revenue of Rs. 8¼ lakhs.

With this addition, the area protected by irrigation at the close of 1894-95 was 1,558 square miles. The expenditure on irrigation in 1880-81 was Rs. 3,19,000, in the first four years of His Highness' reign it averaged Rs. 4¼ lakhs, in the next 4 years 8¼ lakhs, and in the last 6 years Rs. 13¼ lakhs.

Special encouragement was afforded to the construction of a large number of new irrigation wells, individually small but in the aggregate a most important work of Famine protection. Rs. 4,18,500 were sanctioned as loans for these wells, of which 1,078 had been completed benefiting 7,000 acres of lands. No additional tax was levied on the dry lands converted into garden and wet by the aid of these wells.

Communications.

In addition to the expenditure from Local Funds, Rs. 67¾ lakhs from the State Revenue were devoted during His Highness' reign to new roads and to the maintenance and special improvement of existing ones. The mileage of roads rose from 3,930 to 5,091. The Malnad roads received particular attention and the special expenditure upon them was Rs. 11,44,000 in the coffee tracts and Rs. 6,36,000 in the remaining Malnad.

Railways.

At the Rendition, the length of the State Railway open to traffic was 58 miles. The addition made to it during His Highness' reign was 315 miles at a cost of Rs. 164¼ lakhs.

Municipal and Local Funds.

The number of Municipalities rose from 83 to 107, annual Municipal receipts from Rs. 2,76,500 to Rs. 5,63,000 and the annual expenditure on conservancy and Public Works from Rs. 2½ lakhs to Rs. 4,89,000. The Local Funds Revenue likewise increased from Rs. 5,75,000 to Rs. 8.75,000 per annum and the annual expenditure on communications and conservancy from Rs. 3,72,000 to Rs. 6,97,000.

During His Highness' reign, Municipalities were benefited to the extent of Rs. 1½ lakhs a year by assignments from the State Revenues, and the District Funds were also benefited to the extent of Rs. ¾ lakh a year by the transfer of 657 miles of roads from the District Fund to the D. P. W. Budget.

Sanitation.

Special attention to sanitation was an important feature of His Highness' reign. In addition to ordinary sanitary works carried out by the various District Fund Boards and Municipalities, His Highness devoted the large sum of Rs. 27,15,221 from State Revenues for the improved sanitation of the Capital cities of Mysore and Bangalore and of the larger moffusil towns throughout the State. Among the more important works which were completed or approached completion during the reign, may be mentioned the following:—

(1) the Water-supply and partial drainage of Mysore, (2) the filling in of the insanitary ditch round that city, (3) the extension of the Mysore and Bangalore Cities, (4) the scheme of Water-supply to the latter, (5) Water-supply, drainage and extension schemes for the moffussil towns, besides numerous drinking water wells throughout the State.

Medical Relief.

The number of Hospitals and Dispensaries rose from 19 to 116 and the number of patients treated from 130,723 to 666,547. His Highness, fully appreciating the importance of Lady Dufferin's philanthropic movements, directed the training and employment of midwives all over the country and the opening of special Dispensaries for women and children. All but 3 taluks out of 66 were provided with midwives, and 5 Dispensaries for women and children were opened in District Head-quarter towns.

Population.

In the ten years from 1881 to 1891, the population increased by 18·34 per cent, a higher ratio than in the surrounding Provinces, and there is reason to believe that during the last four years the ratio of increase was even higher. During His Highness' reign, the rate of mortality is estimated to have declined 6·7 per mille and the average duration of life to have risen from 24·93 to 25·30.

Dewans of the period.

During the period of His Highness' reign, the following held the office of Dewan:—Mr. C. Rangacharlu and Sir K. Seshadri Iyer, Mr. T. R. A. Thumboo Chetty officiating for the latter on three different occasions during the years 1890, 1892 and 1893.

Visit of Earl Dufferin, 1886; his impressions.

The above review, though not exhaustive, will sufficiently serve as evidence of the liberal and enlightened system of adminstration pursued under the Indian Administration established in 1881. Since then Mysore has received visits from successive Viceroys of India. In 1886 the Earl of Dufferin was here, and the following extract from one of his speeches indicates the impression made upon his mind by what he saw:—

> "Under the benevolent rule of the Maharaja and of his dynasty, good government, enlightened progress, universal peace and the blessings of education are everywhere ascendant, and there is no State within the confines of the Indian Empire which has more fully justified the wise policy of the British Government in supplementing its own direct administration of its vast territories by the associated rule of our great feudatory Princes."

Prince Albert Victor's visit, 1889.

The lamented Price Albert Victor visited Mysore in 1889, and derived great pleasure from the elephant keddahs. The Marquess of Lansdowne followed in 1892, and among other expressions of approval said:—

Visit of Marquess of Lansdowne, 1892.

> "There is probably no State in India where the ruler and the ruled are on more satisfactory terms, or in which the great

principle, that government should be for the happiness of the governed, receives a greater measure of practical recognition."

Demise of H. H. Srī-Chamarājēndra Wodeyar, 28th December 1894.

But Mysore, thus flourishing and placed in the front rank of the States of India, was doomed to suffer a bitter loss at the end of 1894. His Highness the Mahārāja, who had been created a G.C.S.I. in 1885, had gone on a tour as usual in the cold weather to the north, accompanied by all his family. On his arrival at Calcutta, on a visit to the Viceroy (Lord Elgin) at the end of December, a slight throat affection, which he had been feeling for a few days before, developed into diphtheria, and so rapid was the progress of the disease that in spite of the best medical skill, he suddenly expired on the 28th. The people of Mysore were simply stunned by the shock which this sad news created, so utterly unexpected. The entire press of India, with all the leading journals in England and other countries, were unanimous in lamenting that a career so promising had been thus cut short, for the Mahārāja's virtues and the interest of his country had become known far and wide.

A sketch of his personality and bearing.

Mr. Rice writing of him from personal knowledge, in the last edition of this work, has thus described him :—

> Dignified and unassuming, his bearing was that of the English gentleman. An accomplished horseman and whip, fond of sport, a liberal patron of the turf, and hospitable as a host, while at the same time careful in observance of Hindu customs, he was popular with both Europeans and natives. ....the Court of the Queen in England was not purer in tone than that of Mysore under the late Maharaja. He was devoted to his family, and of a cultured and refined taste which led him to take special pleasure in European music and in works of art. He was also diligent and conscientious in attending to business. The rainy reason was spent partly at Mysore and partly at Bangalore; in the cold weather a tour was under-

taken to some other part of India, and the hot weather was passed on the hills at Octacamund. He had thus travelled much and been brought into intercourse with most of the leading men in India, who were impressed with his high character."

His statues at Bangalore and Mysore.

An equestrian statue of His Highness by Onslow Ford, the well-known English sculptor, has been erected in his memory at Bangalore. Another has been set up in Mysore, at the Statue Square, In addition to these memorials, the great Cauvery channel from Alalkatte and the Bangalore Water-supply from Hessaraghatta—both works of the highest public utility which owed their origin to his wise beneficience—have been called after his beloved name as appropriate monuments of his reign, An Industrial School at Mysore with endowment of scholarships for poor students, Dharmasalas at Calcutta, Lower Tirupati and Seringapatam, and a temple at Mysore, are among the charities which have been founded to perpetuate his memory.

Monuments tc and Memorials in his name.

Installation of H. H. Srī-Krishnarāja Wodeyar IV, 1st February 1895.

The installation of the eldest son of His Highness Chāmarājēndra Wodyar, Mahārāja Sri-Krishna-Rāja-Wodeyar IV, then ten years old, was performed at Mysore, by Colonel Henderson, the Resident, with all the customary ceremonies, on the 1st of February 1895, at noon, at the moment of the conjunction of Mercury and Venus, which had been conspicuous objects in the evening sky for some days before. Her Highness the Mahārāni was at the same time proclaimed Regent. The education of the Mahārāja, while a minor, was at first entrusted to Mr. J. J. Whiteley, of Cooper's Hill Engineering College, who had been appointed as tutor some time before the death of His late Highness Srī-Chāmarājēndra Wodeyar. Mr, (afterwards Sir Stuart) Fraser, of the Bombay Civil Serice, was then appointed Tutor and Governor to His Highness.

Regency of Her Highness the Mahārāni Kempananjammanni Avaru Vāni Vilās Sannidhāna. Form of administration.

In administrating the State, Her Highness Kempananjammanni Avaru Vāni Vilās Sannidhāna, the Regent, was assisted by a Council, which in its constitution, differed somewhat from the one it displaced and which had functioned during the reign of His Highness Srī-Chāmarājēndra-Wodeyar. The Government of India, in sanctioning the Regency administration, in 1895, feeling that the old Council had not as a corporate body assumed that position in the administration that was expected of it, deemed it expedient that it should take an active and not merely a nominal share in the business of the State. Three full-time Councillors with defined responsibilities were accordingly appointed, and they were enjoined to share with the Dewan, at their head, the executive administration of the State. This constitution was in operation for a period of eight years from its introduction and in the opinion of Sir P. N. Krishnamurti, who was one of those who worked it, "fulfilled fairly well the purpose for which it was intended."

Chief events of the period.

Among the chief events of the period of a political character were the transfer to the British Government of the jurisdiction over the Bangalore-Harihar, Yesvantapur, Hindupur, and Kolar Gold Fields Railways; the enhancement of the subsidy payable to the British Government from Rs. 24½ to Rs. 35 lakhs, with effect from 1st April 1896; and the conclusion of arrangements between the two Governments for the supply of water to C. and M. Station of Bangalore from the Chāmarājēndra Reservoir. In 1900, an arrangement was come to with the Government of India for the redemption of the Mysore State Railways in March 1936 by the formation of a sinking fund under the charge of the Comptroller and Auditor-General in India.

The transfer of jurisdiction to the British Government over Railway lands mentioned above is subject to certain exceptions. As a special concession, His Highness' Government have been allowed to retain jurisdiction over the line from Bangalore to Nanjangud on the understanding that, if it should hereafter form part of a through railway, or if imperial interests should render such a course desirable, jurisdiction would have to be ceded. This concession was also extended to the Birur-Shimoga Railway in 1899.

In November 1895, His Excellency Earl of Elgin visited the State, arriving at Mysore on the 21st of that month.

Among other events of the period was the destruction of a part of the Palace at Mysore by fire on 28th February 1897. Immediate steps were taken to rebuild the destroyed portions from suitable designs prepared by Mr. Henry Irwin, Consulting Architect to the Government of Madras.

Her Majesty Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee was celebrated with great rejoicings throughout the State on the 21st and 22nd June 1897. Her Highness the Regent laid the foundation of a new Hospital at Bangalore, to be called the "Victoria Hospital," for affording medical relief to sufferers of all classes without distinction and to be maintained as a permanent State charitable institution in commemoration of the long and glorious reign of Her Majesty.

On the 12th August 1898, bubonic plague broke out in Bangalore City and soon spread throughout the State. It was estimated that in the year 1898-99 there were 14,831 attacks and 12,273 deaths from the fell disease in all parts of the State, Bangalore city alone accounting for 3,346 attacks and 2,665 deaths, and Mysore city for 2,667 attacks, and 2,171 deaths. Necessary measures were taken for its prevention and suppression.

In the year 1899-1900, the question of utilising the power running to waste at the Cauvery Falls at Sivasamudram, was pushed through to a satisfactory conclusion. It was decided to utilise these Falls for the production of electric power and its transmission at a cheap rate for the service of industrial undertakings in different parts of the State, including the Kolar Gold Mines. In embarking upon this great undertaking, the Government were influenced wholly by the consideration that the supply of a cheap motive power of the kind and on the scale proposed, was likely to greatly foster private enterprise throughout the State and thus to indirectly increase the wealth and general prosperity of the country. Captain (later Col.) A. Joly de Lotbinier, the then Deputy Chief Engineer, was deputed to Europe and America to investigate and mature the project in consultation with experts and to arrange details.

His Excellency Lord Curzon's visit, 1900.

On 30th November 1900, His Excellency Lord Curzon, Viceroy and Governer-General of India, visited the State. He left after a stay of ten days in the State, during which he visited Seringapatam, Kakankote, Bangalore and Kolar Gold Fields.

Her Highness' period of rule is best outlined under certain appropriate heads.

A retrospect of the Regency Administration.

At a time of great trial and sorrow, Her Highness the Mahārāni, Kempananjamanni Avaru Vānivilāsa Sannidhāna C. I., nobly came forward, in the midst of her deep affliction, and took up the Administration of the State in place of her illustrious consort, His Highness the late lamented Mahārāja. Under the able guidance of the Mahārāni-Regent, the advancement of the country found no interruption, and the numerous public works and other marks of Her Highness' reign bear testimony to the beneficent spirit in which the administration was conducted and to the success which attended Her Highness' efforts in continuing the laudable policy of His late Highness to increase the prosperity of the country and in conserving the birthright of her son.

Finance.

In the first year of the Regency, the total revenue amounted to Rs. 181 lakhs, which was the highest since the Rendition, and except during two years, 1896-97 and 1898-99, the income during each of the remaining five years exceeded that of the first year. In 1896-97, owing mainly to the unfavourable character of the year's rainfall, there was a decrease of about five lakhs as compared with the income of the previous year, but there was a remarkable improvement in the succeeding year, owing to favourable seasons, and the increase amounted to more than Rs. 14 lakhs. In 1898-99 there was a large decline again, owing to the prevalence of plague in various parts of the State and the consequent unsettlement of business. On the whole, however, there was an increase of about Rs. 36 lakhs of rupees during the Regency period, and this was obtained from increases in Land Revenue, owing to extended cultivation and survey settlement of some taluks. Increased royalty on the outturn of gold and increased excise tree-tax revenue also contributed their *quota* to this aggregate increase. During the seven years of the Regency, the net excess expenditure over the ordinary expenditure of 1894-95, *viz.*, Rs. 149 lakhs, amounted to about Rs. 181 lakhs, of which the main items were the enhanced subsidy of Rs. 10½ lakhs per annum, plague charges, formation of a Railway Sinking Fund, Cauvery Falls Power Scheme, pensions to members of the Ruling family, Royal marriages, Marikanave Project, construction of the New Palace at Mysore, revision of establishments, etc. Of this net excess expenditure, Rs. 1,18,02,000 were met from the income during the seven years, and the remainder from the surplus at the close of 1894-95, which was Rs. 1,27.23,615.

Land Tenure, Agriculture and Famine Protection.

During the period, the survey and settlement of the remaining taluks in the State was completed. A revision survey was commenced in the Chitaldrug District and the same had already been completed in two of the taluks. The area of Government lands under cultivation at the close of 1894-95 was 6,313,813 acres, while at the close of 1901-02 it was very nearly 6,600,000 acres, thereby showing an increase of nearly 300,000 acres, of which about 25,000 acres were under wet and garden and about 270,000 under dry cultivation. The continued improvement of land revenue enabled the Government in 1896 to adopt definite measures for a material reduction of the taxation upon the malnad areca gardens. The garden land tax in the four important areca-producing taluks of Sorab, Sagar, Nagar and Koppa was assimilated to the rates of the Tirthahalli taluk, which were acknowledged to be moderate and equitable. The relief afforded was about 22 per cent of the tax collected. The scheme of Agricultural Banks did not prove as great a success as was expected when they were started. A special officer was appointed in December 1896 to examine into the working of the Banks and to explain to the people the principles on which they were to be founded and worked. The number of Banks at the end of June 1901 was 61. For the purpose of a systematic examination of soils, for the introduction of improved methods of cultivation, and other allied purposes, and for affording advice to those engaged in the coffee industry which was specially needed, an Agricultural Chemist was appointed in 1899. A Chemical Laboratory in connection with the above object was established at Bangalore. The Agricultural Chemist was also useful in directing the analyses of specimens for the Geological Department. On account of the fear of a drought in the beginning of 1897, large sums in addition to the usual allotments were granted for the excavation of drinking water wells and for works of village sanitation and loans to raiyats. Programmes of village relief works, where they were wanted, were got ready. A Famine Relief Code was issued conforming in the main with the approved policy of the Government of India, but providing for the execution in the early stages of distress, through the agency of the Revenue Department, of small village works calculated to afford the poorer agriculturists and landless field-labourers the means of earning a sufficient livelihood near their homes. A Superintending Engineer was specially deputed in 1901 for investigating the existing facilities of irrigation and possibilities of future development.

Geology and Gold Mining.

The Geological Department was organised towards the close of the year 1894, in order to conduct a systematic geological survey of the whole State and to investigate its mineral resources. With this work was also combined the supervision and inspection of Mines. During the period under review, it was only possible to examine the country superficially, and much more detailed work was needed to locate and describe the mineral wealth of the country. There was a remarkable development of the Gold Mining industry during the period. The population of the Kolar Gold Fields, which in 1891 was only 7,085, rose to 38,204 in 1901, with a density per square mile of 2,547. The value of gold extracted from the commencement of the industry was £16,269,317. Out of this, the quantity produced during the period of the Regency was £12,576,319. The royalty received during these eight years was more than Rs. 91 lakhs of rupees. The number of Mines at work at the close of 1901-02 was 14. In December 1901, the Hon'ble Mark Napier was deputed by Messrs. Taylor & Sons, London, as a delegate on behalf of the Kolar Mining Companies, and the long pending question of the renewal of leases was settled satisfactorily to the Mining Companies as well as to the

Mysore Government. A most important work connected with the Mines, which was started and successfully completed during the last two years of the Regency and brought into operation, was the famous Cauvery Power Installation. The substitution of steam by electricity was expected to result in a considerable saving in the working expenses of the Kolar Mines, helping them to work a larger quantity of ore with profit.

Education.

The number of public institutions, which was 1,767 at the close of 1894-95, rose to 2,231 at the end of the official year 1900-01; but the number of pupils declined from 111,020 to 91,112, chiefly owing to the ravages of plague. The total expenditure on Education rose from nearly Rs. 8¼ lakhs to nearly Rs. 11½ lakhs. Two special classes for training adult Hindu widows for the profession of teaching were opened in the Mahārāni's girls' school. In 1899-00, the upper classes of this school were organised into a college department with a high school. Buildings for students' hostels were constructed at Bangalore and Mysore at a cost of more than a lakh of rupees, and suitable grants-in-aid were given to homes established at other district head-quarters. A lecturer on Biology and Geology was appointed in the Central College. Scholarships were established for apprentices in the artware factory at Mysore and the railway workshops at Bangalore. Four students were sent out to America to be trained as Electrical Engineers at the expense of Government. The inspection staff was revised and placed on a better footing. A revised scale of salaries for lady teachers according to their qualifications was sanctioned.

Legislation.

Twenty Regulations were passed during the period under consideration. Among these may be mentioned a

Regulation for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, the Village Sanitation Regulation, the Game Regulation, the Local Boards Regulation, and the Regulation relating to Weights and Measures.

Public Works.

To strengthen the Administration Branch of the Department of Public Works and to afford better control over expenditure, with more frequent and effective inspections of works in progress as well as more thorough scrutiny of projects under preparation, the State was divided in January 1897 into two Circles, each under the direct control of a Superintending Engineer. On account of the unfortunate destruction of some parts of the Palace by fire in February 1897, it became necessary to rebuild those portions on a new and more elegant design at an estimate costing nearly 25 lakhs of rupees. The progress which had been made in the work up to the end of June 1902 has already been recorded above. A building for the Bacteriological Institute was also completed.

Irrigation.

More than a crore of rupees was spent during the period on irrigation works, about three-fourths of which was on original works. A reference had already been made to the Marikanave Reservoir. Other important works sanctioned during the period were the Mavattur tank at a cost of Rs. 2,81,928, the Mīrsābihalli tank and the Parasarāmpur tank, both costing more than 2½ lakhs. The growing deterioration of the minor tanks, which had been going on for the past several years, also received much anxious consideration.

Communications.

The total mileage of roads rose from 5,107 to more than 5,300 miles. Among the important bridges undertaken were the bridge across the Cauvery at Yedatore, that across the Hemavati at Hole-Narsipur, and the bridge across the Bhadra at Tadasa.

Sanitation.

During the period, the Chāmarāj and the Vānivilās Water Works, which had been started in the previous reign, were completed. The water-supply works for Hunsur, Yedatore, Nanjangud and Closepet were completed.

Railways.

The Birur-Shimoga Railway was a new line constructed during this period, and it was opened for traffic on the 1st December 1899. It cost the State about Rs. 23 lakhs and is 38 miles in length. Other lines were surveyed and estimated for, *viz.*, the Arsikere-Mangalore line, the Mysore-Tellicherry line, the Dodballapur-Chikballapur line and the Bowringpet-Kolar line. In regard to the Mysore-Harihar Railway, the difference between the net earnings and the amount of interest paid to the Southern Mahratta Railway Company to the close of 1900-01 resulted in a loss to Government of nearly Rs. 16 lakhs. The net earnings of the other four railways, however, showed a small gain.

Municipal and Local Funds.

The number of municipalities rose from 107 to 124, and the annual income from Rs. 5,63,000 to nearly Rs. 8 lakhs. A new Sanitary Board was constituted for the Kolar Gold Fields, which is about 15 miles in extent.

Medical Relief.

The number of hospitals and dispensaries increased from 116 to 135. On account of the outbreak of plague, nearly Rs. 20 lakhs were spent in affording relief to the sufferers and in other ways checking its ravages. Still the mortality from it during the four years ending with June 1902, was no less than 47,000. The Victoria Hospital at Bangalore came into existence during the Regency period. It was built in commemoration of the Diamond Jubilee of Her late Majesty Queen-Empress Victoria. The foundation-stone was laid in 1897 by Her Highness the Mahārāni-Regent, and the Hospital was opened by His Excellency the Viceroy Lord Curzon, in 1900. An Eye-Infirmary and Hospital was opened on the 9th November 1896 in Bangalore City.

Military.

In 1901, the formation of an independent Transport Corps for purposes of Imperial Defence, consisting of 300 carts and 700 ponies, was sanctioned. Up to the end of the official year 1901-02, two divisions of the Corps were nearly ready and the construction of the necessary buildings was also well in hand.

Population.

According to the Census taken in 1901, the population of the State was 5,539,399, showing an increase of about 6 lakhs over the figures of 1891; the density per square mile increased from 168 to 188.

Dewans during the period.

The following held the office of Dewan during the period of the Regency:—Sir K. Seshadri Iyer and Sir P. N. Krishnamurti, Mr. T. R. A. Thumboo Chetty officiating twice for the former, once in 1897 and again in 1900. Of these, Sir K. Seshadri Iyer, who had served the State since January 1883, resigned the office of Dewan and President of the State Council, owing to ill-health, on 18th March 1901. On the same date, Mr. T. R. A. Thumboo Chetty, Member of Council, who was officiating for him since 11th August 1900, was granted leave preparatory to retirement. In bidding Sir Seshadri Iyer farewell, Her Highness placed on record "her high appreciation of the invaluable services rendered by this distinguished statesman" and added that "his vigorous personality had impressed itself on all the important departments of the State and that the many reforms which have brought the Mysore administration up to a high level of efficiency are attributable in great part to his talents, forethought and resourcefulness." Sir K.

Retirements and death of Sir K. Seshadri Iyer, 1901.

Appreciation of his services.

Seshadri Iyer, however, did not long survive his retirement from the service of the State. He died within six months of his laying down his high office. The sad event occurred on the 13th September 1901. The Government of Her Highness the Maharani Regent expressed their great regret that he was not spared after such a long and distinguished career to enjoy the rest he had so well earned. Rising from the ranks, he wielded, in the words of Lord Curzon, for eighteen years "an authority that was a reflex of his powerful character and abilities, and that left its mark on every branch of the administration." His work and worth had been again and again recognized by the Supreme Government in India. He was created C. S. I. in 1887 and made a K. C. S. I. in 1893. In the latter year, in a laudatory notice of his great ability and administrative talents, Sir William Wilson Hunter described him as a statesman who had given his head to Herbert Spencer and his heart to *Para Brahma.* Among those who joined the movement for a public memorial for him and urged for it, was Lord Curzon. He emphasized the view that "the deeds and services of great men should be honoured by public commemoration in the places where they served, not merely as a posthumous compliment to themselves but as an example and stimulus to others." He remarked that Sir Seshadri Iyer belonged to "that class of great native statesmen, whom the system and opportunities of Native States sometimes bring to the front and who, in circumstances such as those that prevailed during his time in Mysore, find the occasion for conferring enduring benefits upon the States they serve." Sir Donald Robertson, British Resident at the time in the State, who had intimately known Sir K. Seshadri Iyer, bore eloquent testimony to his great abilities, breadth of view and far-seeing statesmanship and said that " they had only to look round in Mysore to see evidence on all sides of his masterful powers of administration." His Majesty the present King-Emperor spoke in terms of high appreciation of his eminent services to the State while on a visit (as His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales) to the State, on 30th January 1906. "It is interesting to hear," he remarked, "of many enterprises, notably that of the Cauvery Electric Works, and the general policy of irrigation and public works. Under the lead which we may expect from such a capable and enlightened ruler as our kind host and with the assistance of statesmen of the type of the late Sir Seshadri Iyer, your Province may look forward with confidence to making still greater strides." Equally impressive were the words of Lord Hardinge, who, as Viceroy and Governor-General of India, unveiled in 1913 a statue erected by public subscription in honour of Sir K. Seshadri Iyer at Bangalore. "His work," remarked his Lordship, "is writ large on every page of Mysore history of that time." He then went on to say:—

Lord Hardinge's eulogy of his services.

"Sir Seshadri Iyer himself rose from the very lowest rung of the official ladder; and after he had climbed it step by step, his outstanding merit marked him out for the office of Dewan, and that at a time when the task was not an easy one, for the country had not yet begun to recover from the severest famine of the last half century. Yet with the support and under the wise guidance of His Highness the late Maharaja Sri Chamarajenda Wodeyar Bahadur, he was able to achieve much that reflects credit on Indian statesmanship. The revenues of the country, which stood at 100 lakhs when he took charge, had reached the high figure of 180 lakhs when he laid down office. Agriculture and trade flourished, and every department of the State felt the guiding hand of the Chief Minister. Large public works designed to protect the country against the effects of famine were undertaken, and many parts of the country were opened out by roads and communications. The educational opportunities of the people were enlarged, and the facilities for medical relief multiplied;

while the two capital cities of Bangalore and Mysore owe much to Sir Seshadri Iyer for the part he played in bringing into existence the excellent systems of water-supply which they now enjoy.

"But the most remarkable achievement of all, was his conception, with the skilled assistance of Major Joly de Lotbiniere, of the Cauvery Installation Scheme, which, besides bringing in handsome revenues to the State coffers, is contributing materially to its industrial development. It is gratifying to me to learn that His Highness' Government are further developing the scheme initiated by him, and I have every hope that the results will be of ever-increasing value for the promotion of the material wealth and prosperity of the country.

"Sir Seshadri Iyer has thus left a record behind him which marks him out, with Sir Salar Jung of Hyderbad, Raja Sir Dinkar Rao of Gwalior and Sir T. Madhava Rao of Indore and Baroda, as a member of that group of Indian statesmen whose fame has spread far beyond the borders where they laboured so faithfully and so well and whose names will remain as a lasting example to their successors.

"I am proud to have the privilege of unveiling the statue of such a man as this, and it only remains for me to congratulate the Memorial Committee on the conclusion of their labours, and to express the hope that this statue may long serve to bring to the minds of future generations the memory of a great Indian statesman."

The statue is a very life-like one and stands in the Cubbon Park at Bangalore. It is the work of Mr. Robert Colton, R. A., who, it may be added, spent some months in Mysore, in 1912, in making studies for a statue of His late Highness Srī-Chāmarājēndra-Wodeyar.

Appreciation of Her Highness the Mahārāni Regent's rule.

Her Highness' rule during the period of eight years she was Regent, was universally acknowledged to have been a wise and beneficient one. "As the head of the Government of India," said Lord Curzon referring to it, "I have pleasure in stating that the smooth progress of events during the minority has been largely due to the unfailing tact and discretion of Her Highness. If I may be allowed to say so, she has set an example of public and domestic virtue which has been of equal value to her people and to her family and which has earned for her the admiration and respect of all." In recognition of her services, His Excellency requested His Majesty the King-Emperor to bestow on Her Highness, as an exceptional mark of favour, the continuance of the personal salute of nineteen guns she had so far enjoyed, a submission that was gladly acceded to. In June 1893, the decoration of the Imperial Order of the Crown of India was conferred upon her. Sir Evan Maconochie, Private Secretary to His Highness between 1902-1909, has borne this eloquent testimony to Her Highness' rule :—

> " A word of tribute is due to Her Highness the Maharani, late Regent. A certain clinging to power would have been more than excusable on the part of a lady of character and education, who for the six (eight) years of her son's minority had ruled the State. But I can say that never, during the seven years that I spent in Mysore, was I aware of the faintest indication on her part of a desire to intrude, even in minor personal matters, upon her son's domain. Dignity and good sense could no further go" (*Life in the Indian Civil Service*, 139-140.)

His Highness Krishna-Raja-Wodeyar IV installed, 8th August 1920.

His Highness Srī-Krishna-Raja Wodeyar IV, who was born in June 1884, attained his majority in 1902. He had been carefully educated in his own home—in a special school, with boys of his own age—under the supervision of Mr. (now Sir Stuart M.) Fraser of the Indian Civil Service, who acted as Tutor and Governor from 23rd May 1896 to 8th August 1902. As a pupil, he had had a strenuous time, but it was all to the good of the State. In 1900, his marriage was celebrated, at the capital of the State, with a daughter of Rana Thala Bane Singhji of Vana in Kathiawar, a descendant of a younger branch of the Wadhvan Family, which belongs to the Jhala clan of Rajputs. His Highness was, on 8th August 1902, invested with full administrative powers by Lord Curzon, then Viceroy and Governor-General of India. It was his second visit to the State and was specially undertaken by him to betoken his "keenest personal interest both in this State and in its future ruler." A Viceregal escort consisting of the 4th Hussars, a battery of Artillery and a battalion of the Warwickshire Regiment from Belgaum, added much to the dignity of the proceedings. The installation took place in the Pavilion attached to the Jaganmohan Palace at Mysore on the above mentioned date, His Excellency the Viceroy personally conducting the functions of the day. The Foreign Secretary to the Government of India having declared the Durbar open, His Excellency delivered an address, at the end of which he formally led him up the *dais* and installed him in one of the two State Chairs. The Foreign Secretary having read the titles of His Highness, the Viceroy declared that the Mahārāja was invested with full powers of admininistration. The event was immediately after signalized by the firing of a salute of 21 guns from the Fort, while the Band played the National Anthem. The Viceroy's *Khillats* were then brought in and conferred on His Highness, who next replied to the Viceroy's speech. Acknowledging the honour conferred on him by His Excellency, he said:—

"The history of Mysore with the romantic fortunes of our ancient dynasty, must ever inspire in its ruler a feeling of gratitude to the British Throne, which adds, I think, a special quality to the allegiance which it is my first duty to publicly tender to the person of His Gracious Majesty King Edward VII."

Proceeding, he said:—

"I would venture to assure your Excellency that I shall never forget the honour done in this the most important day of my career. How important are responsibilities which now devolve upon me I fully realize, and this it is my ambition to prove by performance, rather than by words."

The reply over, the Foreign Secretary declared the Durbar closed.

Special prayers and *Pujahs* were offered in all temples and other places of worship in the State, on the same day, at a convenient hour, for the long life and prosperity of His Highness and Royal Family.

Dewanship of Sir P. N. Krishnamurthi, 1902—1906.

Change in the constitution of the Executive Council.

About 17 months before His Highness began his rule, Mr. (afterwards Sir P. N.) Krishnamurthi, First Member of Council and Jaghirdar of Yelandur, who, by then, had won considerable experience in the service of the State, had succeeded to the Dewanship. He had taken over charge on 18th March 1901 and continued in office till 30th June 1906. With the assumption of the direct rule of the State by His Highness, the form of administration underwent a change. The Council of Regency was replaced by a consultative Council—called the Council of His Highness the Mahārāja of Mysore—consisting of the Dewan and two Members, whose duty it was to advise His Highness in all important matters. The Dewan was *ex-officio* President of the Council and a set of rules were drawn up for the conduct of businsss in the consultative Council, which were embodied and issued in Notification No. 36, dated 8th August 1902. (See *Mysore Administration Report* 1902-1903, pages 4-5). In devising the new constitution, the main thought was directed to preserve the efficiency of the Council and enlist the active interest and co-operation of the Councillors in all measures of Government, consistently with the position of His Highness as the sole deciding authority in all matters of importance. The continuance, accordingly, of the former Executive

Council became inconsistent with the constitutional position of His Highness and was therefore changed into a consultative body. The schedule of matters which were to engage the attention of the Council was also revised. The Dewan became the officer responsible to His Highness the Mahārāja for the efficient conduct of the administration in its various branches, and the channel as well of communication with His Highness on all matters of State business. At the same time, to ensure continuity of knowledge and interest in the working of the various Departments of the State, the Councillors were to hold charge of certain Departments with power to record their opinions on all matters relating to those Departments and coming up before Government. The work of the State was thus—

(1) Distributed by Departments between the Dewan and the Councillors,

(2) Cases falling under the schedule appended to the Notification were to be submitted by the Secretary in the first instance to the Councillor in charge of the Department concerned, on whom the initiative rested, entailing, where necessary, the preparation of a note for the consideration of the Council. They were then to be placed before the Council and submitted, with the opinion of the Dewan and the Councillors, for the orders of His Highness the Maharaja by the Dewan,

(3) Cases not falling under the schedule were to be dealt with by the Dewan in his capacity as the Senior Executive Officer of the State.

In such cases, the Secretary was to draft the necessary order and forward the papers to the Dewan, through the Councillor or Councillors in charge of the Department or Departments concerned, for his or their information, and in order to afford him or them an opportunity for suggesting, if necessary, any modification in the method of disposal or proposal. If any material difference of opinion came to be established, the Dewan was vested with the discretion either to direct that the matter may be dealt with as though it were one falling under the schedule, or to submit it direct for the orders of His Highness the Mahārāja. If on any matter connected with a Department not immediately under his own charge, the Dewan considered that immediate action was necessary and consulting the Councillor concerned with it was likely to prove prejudicial, the Dewan was empowered to issue orders on his own authority. In such cases, however, a copy of the Dewan's order was to be forthwith supplied to the Councillor concerned and the proceedings reported to His Highness the Mahārāja with a statement of the reasons which necessitated recourse to the exercise of this special power vested in the Dewan. The Secretary in each Department was to work under the directions of the Dewan and be solely responsible to him, though a Member of Council was given the right to call upon him to furnish information regarding any case pending before him and the reason of any delay involved in its disposal. The Dewan was also to regulate the order of business in Council and preside at its meetings, which were to be held at stated intervals. His Highness the Mahārāja or the Dewan might summon a meeting of the Council whenever he deemed it necessary. It was also provided that certain matters affecting Revenue and hereditary offices and emoluments were to be heard and decided by two Members of Council. The matters included in the schedule referred to above which were to be placed before the Council and submitted with the opinion of the Dewan and Members for the orders of His Highness the Mahārāja, were the following twelve:—

(1) Imposition of new taxes and abolishing of existing taxes;
(2) Legislation;
(3) Annual Budget of the State;
(4) Annual Administration Reports of Departments;

(5) Appointment, removal, suspension, etc., of officers in and above the grade of Assistant Commissioners;

(6) Remission of judicial sentences;

(7) Prosecution of public servants;

(8) Changes in the mode of realizing revenue;

(9) Questions relating to Military Force;

(10) Revision of establishment of any Department;

(11) All contracts and financial arrangements beyond the recognized powers of a Head of Department; and

(12) Any other matters upon which His Highness the Mahārāja may wish to have the views of the Council.

The effect of these changes in the constitution was—

(1) To make His Highness the Mahārāja the supreme deciding authority in all matters of primary importance;

(2) To make the Dewan, the Chief Minister in the Executive Government of the State; and

(3) To restrict the Dewan's actions subject, nevertheless, within certain well-defined limits, even in those matters in which he was, under the new constitution, vested with the right to interfere with a view to conserve the interests of the State.

Except for one important change made in it which will be found noted below in its proper place, the constitution thus devised is in force to this day. Mr. P. N. Krishnamurthi C.I.E. continued as Dewan under the new constitution. At the same time, to exercise a better control and secure more sympathetic supervision over the Land Revenue Department, it was deemed expedient to place it under one centralised authority subject to the control of the Government. The post of Revenue Commissioner in Mysore (under section 4 of the Land Revenue Code) was accordingly created and Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao, C. I. E., First Member of Council, was appointed to it.

Facilities to Mining Companies at Kolar Gold Fields, 1902.

A water-supply scheme for the Kolar Gold Fields, the Mining Companies paying adequately for the water supplied to them, was organised in 1902 by the restoration of the ancient Bethamangala tank at an estimated cost of Rs. 11 lakhs. The Mines on the Fields were also supplied with electric power, the substitution of steam by electricity helping the Companies to work a larger quantity of ore with profit. The vexed question of the renewal of the Mining leases was also satisfactorily settled during the year. An agreement was arrived at between the Government and the leading Companies, allowing them to renew the leases for a further period of 30 years from 1910, on condition of their paying 5 per cent Royalty on gross output, together with 2½ on all dividends declared by the Companies. The question of the terms on which new leases should be granted was also satisfactorily settled.

Reconstruction of the Palace.

The reconstruction of the Palace, at a cost of about Rs. 25 lakhs, was pushed forward. The Ambāvilās Durbar Hall was practically completed about the middle of 1902.

Delhi Durbar 1903

On the 1st January 1903, His Highness the Mahārāja took part in the historic functions of the great Durbar at Delhi in connection with the coronation of His Majesty the King-Emperor. The Mysore Imperial Service Troops took part in the Coronation manœuvres and earned the encomiums of the British Military Department for their smart turn-out, soldierly bearing and excellent behaviour. Among the honours bestowed on the occasion of the Delhi Durbar was the K. C. I. E. conferred on Mr. P. N. Krishnamurthi, the Dewan.

Retirement of Col. Sir Donald Robertson, the British Resident, 1903.

The Hon'ble Sir Donald Robertson, who had been British Resident at His Highness' Court for nearly seven years and whose intimate association with the Government of the country during the minority of His Highness the Maharaja had left an abiding mark, retired from that office in October 1903, and was succeeded on 5th November by the Hon'ble Mr. (afterwards Sir James) Bourdillon, I. C. S.

Lord Kitchener's visit, 1904.

In April 1904, His Excellency Viscount Kitchener, Commander-in-chief of the Indian Army, visited the State and inspected the Imperial Service Regiment and the Transport Corps of the State.

Reform of the General and Revenue Secretariat, 1904.

On the administrative side, an important measure of reform was introduced about this time. In April 1904, the Government sanctioned a scheme of reorganization of the General and Revenue Secretariat after the model of the Departments of Revenue and Agriculture, in the Government of India offices. According to this scheme, the General and Revenue Secretariat was divided into five branches, each being a definite and self-contained working unit with its own records arranged on simple and intelligible lines under the disciplinary control of a Registrar. At about the same time, the combination of the office of the Revenue Commissioner was done away with, as such combination did not help towards the realization of the object aimed at—*viz.*, providing for the effective supervision of the Revenue Department. While as Revenue Commissioner he was expected to make frequent tours and inspections, as Revenue Councillor, he found it all but impossible to do this. Also, as Revenue Councillor he had also to deal with cases in which he had already passed orders or expressed an opinion as Revenue Commissioner. On these and other grounds, a separate Revenue Commissioner was appointed.

The accounts department was also fully reorganized, a financial branch being added to the Revenue and General Secretariat.

Cauvery Power Scheme, 1st and 2nd Installations.

The Cauvery Power, First Installation, was completed during the year 1903-04 and the Second Installation was nearing completion. The Second Installation was for an additional 2,000 H. P. which had been applied for by the Kolar Gold Fields. The major portion of the Bangalore

Electric Lighting works was also completed during the year at a cost of Rs. 6 lakhs. The latter also provided for a supply of reserve power for industrial purposes from the surplus available after supplying the demands at the Gold Fields.

Legislation.

During the same year, the amended Penal and the Criminal Procedure Codes, which had been on the Legislative anvil for several years, were passed. The law as contained in these Regulations was brought up-to-date and put on a par with the British Indian Law. The Chief Court Regulation was also amended. Steps were also taken to amend the Mysore Municipal and the Police Regulations. The first of these sought to replace the Municipal Law in force in the Cities of Mysore and Bangalore which had proved unsuitable to their growing needs.

Mysore Co-operative Societies Regulation passed June 1905.

In June 1905, the Co-operative Societies' Regulation was passed with a view to the furtherance of thrift and providence among all classes of people in the State.

Electric Lighting of Bangalore City.

In August 1905, the Electric Lighting Scheme for Bangalore City was completed, the inaugural ceremony being performed by Hon'ble Sir John Hewett, Member of the Viceroy's Council and later Lieut.-Governor of the United Provinces. In declaring that Bangalore was the first City in India to be lighted by electricity, Sir John complimented His Highness' Government for the far-seeing wisdom that had marked the administration of the State.

Founding of Indian Institute of Science.

During the same year, it was finally settled that the Tata Institute—now known as the Indian Institute of Science—was to be established in Bangalore. His Highness the Mahārāja in consideration of the high usefulness anticipated of the Institute, was pleased to raise the proposed annual grant from Rs. 30,000 to Rs. 50,000.

Change of Residents.

Sir James Bourdillon, the British Resident, resigned his position on 24th May 1905, when the Hon'ble Mr. A. Williams took over temporary charge of that office. The Hon. Mr. (afterwards Sir Stuart) Fraser relieved him on 21st November 1905.

Dewanship of Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao, 1906-1909.

Sir P. N. Krishnamurthi laid down the office of Dewan in March 1906 and was succeeded by Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao, formerly First Councillor and subsequently Dewan of Travancore.

Change in the constitution of the Executive Council, 1906.

In 1906, a small but notable change was introduced into the constitution of the Executive Council. The modified Rules invested the Councillors with a certain measure of administrative responsibility, the lack of which had been felt to be the chief reason why the new consultative Council of 1902 failed to fulfil the objects with which it was constituted. Under the revised Rules, the Members of Council, though not possessing any executive powers as such, were empowered, in their respective Departments, to pass final orders in the name of the Government, instead of merely recording their opinions, on all ordinary matters which are not of sufficient importance to require reference to the Dewan or to the Council. The new Rules, however, did not in any way affect the personal control of His Highness the Mahārāja over all the Departments of the State. Another important change introduced in the same year related to the position and powers of the Revenue Commissioner. The usefulness of this office was sought to be improved by a large delegation of powers to the person holding it. With this view, the Land Revenue Code was amended in order to make the Revenue Commissioner the chief controlling Revenue authority subject, of necessity, to Government. His position was rendered analogous to that of a Commissioner in Bombay. His decisions on appeal in matters falling under the Revenue Code were rendered final, except where a question of law or usage having the force of law was involved, in which case a further appeal to Government was allowed. At the same time, the Revenue Commissioner, as the head of the Revenue Department, was made responsible for the efficient administration of the treasuries, the Comptroller's responsibility being, as in British India, restricted to audit and accounts.

Other administrative changes and measures.

The Comptroller was appointed *ex-officio* Financial Secretary to Government. This has resulted in greater attention being paid to Codal Rules and closer scrutiny being exercised over the expenditure of the public funds. At the same time, the office of the Examiner of Accounts was amalgamated with that of the Comptroller. This has tended to greater independence of audit in connection with the working of the largest spending department of Government. Among other measures carried out was the constitution of a department of Public Health for the State; the raising of the pay of the village schoolmaster; the introduction of kindergarten and manual training in the State, and the abolition of fees in the Lower Primary and Upper Primary classes of Village Elementary Vernacular Schools throughout the State. With a view to providing greater facilities for education among the depressed classes, a number of scholarships were also sanctioned by Government.

The competitive examinations for the Mysore Civil Service were revived, with certain necessary modifications. Revised rules were issued for the selection of eligible candidates as Amildars. Rules were also issued defining clearly the principles which should regulate the appointment of revenue and judicial probationers. Among other measures introduced about this time were :—

(1) issue of revised orders for regulating the appointment and promotion of ministerial officers in the Revenue Department;

(2) introduction of modified rules for recruitment of suitable hands to the subordinate Revenue executive service and

(3) issue of suitable rules for recruitment of village accountants.

More important than these changes, which aimed at improving administrative efficiency, was the introduction of Retrenchments in the different departments of Government with a view to reduce expenditure in them to the minimum compatible with efficiency. A Committee consisting of two Members of Council was appointed for the purpose.

Another change of some interest was the divesting of certain Amildars of Magisterial functions, their powers being transferred to Munsiffs who were invested with the powers of Magistrates of the Second class.

A legislative measure of importance passed during the year 1905-6 was the amended Mysore Mines Regulation, which brought within the purview of the Regulation of 1897 "unwrought gold" or bar gold.

Royal Visit, 1906.

Their Royal Highnesses, the Prince and Princess of Wales (their present Majesties the King-Emperor and the Queen-Empress) paid a visit to the State in January and February 1906. They were warmly welcomed everywhere with spontaneous demonstrations of joy and devotion by all classes of people in the State. To afford their Royal Highnesses an opportunity to see the products of the arts and industries of the State and its resources as well, an Industrial and Agricultural Exhibition was held at Mysore. Their Royal Highnesses paid a visit to it and evinced considerable interest in the exhibits. His Royal Highness the Prince also laid the foundation stone of the Chāmarājēndra Technical Institute at Mysore and at Bangalore he unveiled the statue raised to the memory of Her late Majesty the Queen-Empress Victoria.

Inauguration of a Legislative Council, 1906.

For the enactment of laws and regulations, a Legislative Council was constituted under Regulation I of 1907, passed on the 6th March 1907. This was a measure of far-reaching importance. Hitherto legislation depended on the Dewan and the Council. But it was felt that the character and composition of the Council, the smallness of its members and the want of publicity in its proceedings did not permit of legislative measures being considered as fully and from as many points of view as was desirable. His Highness was accordingly pleased to enlarge the Council for the purpose of making laws and regulations by associating with it a certain number of official and non-official gentlemen who could bring their practical experience and knowledge of local conditions and requirements to bear on the discussion of legislative measures. The Legislative Council came into existence on 22nd June 1907. It consisted of the Dewan as President, the two Councillors *ex-officio* members and not less than ten or more than fifteen additional members, of whom not less than two-fifths were to be non-officials. The elective principle was, however, not recognized in the election of non-official members for the Legislative Council. Nor was the Representative Assembly given the privilege of electing members to the Council.

Abolition of *halat* or excise duty on areca-nut 1906.

The decadence of the areca-nut industry and the necessity for relieving it of the burden of *halat* or excise duty imposed on it had attracted considerable attention about this time. In view of the improved financial situation, His Highness the Mahārāja gave effect to his long cherished desire to repeal this tax which had pressed so heavily on the chief industry of the Malnad portions of the State. A liberal policy was also adopted by Government, at the same time, during the revision of the settlement then in progress, in regard to the assessment on gardens. These measures have enabled the areca grower to regain to some extent his lost position and have contributed to the prosperity of a considerable section of the population.

Completion of Marikanive Works, 1906-7.

During the year 1906-7, the Marikanive Works were practically completed and the supply of water to the lands under it was ordered. Government tentatively sanctioned for this tract a system of levying differential water rates with reference to the nature of the crops which the occupants desired to raise and the quantity of water required for them. This was done primarily to popularise wet cultivation among the people of the District who were, so far, unaccustomed to it.

Electric lighting of Mysore City.

In connection with the third Installation of the Cauvery Power Scheme, a project for the lighting of Mysore City with electricity was sanctioned in 1906-7.

Visit of H. E. Lord Ampthill, Governor of Madras.

In 1906, His Excellency Lord Ampthill, Governor of Madras, paid a visit to Mysore.

Change of Residents.

The Hon'ble Mr. S. M. Fraser, British Resident in Mysore, proceeded on leave on the 14th March 1907, A. Williams officiating for him. Mr. Fraser ned on 25th November 1907, when he took over

Reform of Legislative Council, 1907.

During the year 1907, new rules were framed under the Legislative Council Regulation and these threw open two seats on the Council to election by the Representative Assembly, thus meeting a widely-expressed desire since the Council was constituted. Among the measures passed during the year (1907-1908) was the Newspaper Regulation which gave legislative form to the inherent powers of His Highness the Maharaja for regulating criticism in the Public Press "in the interests of the State or in the cause of public morality."

Cauvery Reservoir, preliminary investigations.

Certain preliminary investigations in connection with the construction of a large reservoir across the Cauvery River near Belgola were completed and a project for the purpose was prepared during the year 1907-8. Among other works of public improvements carried out during the year were the laying out and forming of roads in the Basavangudi and Malleswram Extentions of the Bangalore City, the laying out of the Sankarpur Extension, the drainage of the Chamarajapet and Basavangudi Extensions, the widening of the main drain in Bangalore City, improvements to the water works at Bangalore and Kolar Gold Fields and water supply to the town of Harihar.

Miscellaneous public improvements.

The work in connection with the third Installation of the Cauvery Power Works made substantial progress. Electric lighting to the Civil and Military Station, Bangalore, was formally inaugurated on 1st January 1908, and Mysore was lighted by electricity from the 26th September 1908.

Institute

During the official year 1907-8, the Government granted a large site, free of cost, to the Indian Institute of Science, for locating its buildings. The Goverr also made a liberal building grant of Rs. 5 lakhs, which it made available during the year for pushing throug the works to completion.

Retirement of Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao, Dewan, 13th March 1909. Dewanship of Mr. T. Ananda Rao, 1909-1912.

Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao retired from the office of Dewan on the 13th March 1909 and His Highness the Mahārāja was pleased to appoint Mr. T. Ananda Rao, B.A. in his place.

Revenue Commissioner's powers extended 1909.

In view of the unfavourable seasonal conditions prevailing, the Revenue Commissioner was declared responsible for carrying out all the measures required to be adopted under the Famine Code, both of preparation against famine and for the purpose of affording relief when distress developes into famine.

Concessions to land owners in regard to Sandal trees.

During the year 1908-9, an important step was taken by Government with a view to enlist the co-operation of the *raiyat* in the protection of the sandal tree in the State. Sandal being a monopoly of the State, holders of all lands on which it grows are bound to protect it and abstain from injuring it under certain penalties. The landholder had no adequate facilities for securing the removal of any tree which proved obstructive to cultivation or other lawful use of his land. The subject had long been discussed and His Highness' Government graciously announced that they would allow the *raiyat* a share in the value of the trees obstructing the legitimate use of the land. It was decided that a bonus should be given to the land-holder for every mature tree removed from his holding. A simple scale of values based on the girth of trees was adopted for the purpose of computing the bonus. Facilities were also provided for the removal of trees at the desire of the landholder subject to the recovery of a small compensation in the case of immature treas. This levy of compensation was meant chiefly to discourage unnecessary applications and certain officers were given the discretion to waive it. These concessions have, to a large extent, mitigated the rigour of the

Government monopoly and encouraged landholders to co-operate with the Government in the propogation and preservation of sandal trees in the Station.

Cauvery Power Scheme—Third Installation completed, 1908.

The third Installation of the Cauvery Power Scheme was practically completed during the year 1908-9 and the full supply of power was given to the Kolar Gold Field Mines on the 16th July 1908.

Renewal of State Railway Contract 1908.

The contract for the working of the Mysore State Lines by the Southern Mahratta Railway Company, having terminated, a new contract taking effect from the 1st July 1908 was entered into with the new Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway Company by the Secretary of State for India, acting on behalf of the Government. Under the revised contract, the Railway Company was to receive a remuneration of one-twentieth of the net earnings of all the lines as against one-fourth of the net earnings of the Mysore-Harihar line and nothing for the branch lines, under the old contract.

Celebration of the 50th Anniversary of the Royal Proclamation of 1858.

An important event which took place during the year was the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the Royal Proclamation of 1858 on the 2nd November 1908. The day was observed as a holiday throughout the State and at all district head-quarter towns, *durbars* were held, and the Royal Proclamation was read to all the assembled citizens in English and the vernacular. In commemoration of the event, the poor were fed and clothed, and sports and treats arranged for school children. The message of His Majesty the King-Emperor was printed in the official *Gazette* in English and Kannada and copies of the same were widely distributed in the State.

Visit of H. E. Lord Minto, 1909.

His Excellency Lord Minto, Viceroy and Governor-General of India, and Lady Minto, paid a visit to the

State in November and December 1909. During their stay of a fortnight, they visited the celebrated Jog Falls, the historic place of Seringapatam, the Kunigal Stud Farm and the Kolar Gold Fields. They also visited the Khedda operations for the capture of elephants at the Kakankote jungles. Their Excellencies met with a most loyal and enthusiastic welcome everywhere in the course of their visit.

Demise of His Majesty the King Edward VII, Emperor of India, 1910.

The sad news of the demise of His Majesty the King Edward VII, Emperor of India, was received in the State on 7th May 1910. In announcing the great calamity that had befallen the Empire, His Highness the Mahārāja directed that all public offices, Courts and Schools in the State should be closed for five days from that date. All flags were ordered to be hoisted half mast high and sixty-eight minute guns were fired at the Palaces at Mysore and Bangalore. Friday, the 20th May 1910, which was the day fixed for the funeral, was observed as a day of general mourning throughout the State. Special services were conducted in all religious institutions througout the State. The poor were fed and money doles and alms distributed in many places.

Proclamation of the new Emperor, 1910.

His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General in Council announced on 9th May 1910 that His Majesty the King George V had been proclaimed King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and Emperor of India, and this was communicated to the peoples of Mysore on the same date under a salute of 101 guns. The Proclamation of His Majesty's accession to the throne and the declaration made by him subsequent to the Proclamation were read at the Residency at Bangalore on the 12th May 1910 in the presence of the officers of the British and Mysore Governments and the principal citizens ot the City and the Civil and Military Station.

Measures for Economic development, 1910.

Among the more important measures taken up in 1910 for active consideration with a view to develop the economic advancement of the people were the following :— ·

(1) The Cauvery Reservoir Scheme for which Surveys had been in progress for some time past. It was proposed to construct a large reservoir for storing the water of the Cauvery for the Power Station at Sivasamudram and for extending the irrigation to the tract between Mysore and Channapatna along the left bank of that river,

(2) Extension of Railway construction which had been in abeyance for nearly 11 years. Government desired to put in hand the Mysore-Hassan line, *via.* Saligram and Yedatore to join the State Railway at Arsikere, for which plans and estimates had been already prepared.

(3) Projects for the spread of industrial education and the advancement of arts and industries in the State. As a necessary preliminary to this proposal, an industrial survey of the State was sanctioned during the year.

With a view to associate the non-official gentlemen with the officers of Government in deliberations connected with economic progress in the State, His Highness directed the formation of the Mysore Economic Conference. Though the Representative Assembly considered subjects of economic interest from time to time, it was considered that a large body meeting and deliberating only once a year could do but little, and that public interest in the numerous questions relating to economic progress could only be kept alive by a constant interchange of views and discussions among those competent to deal with them. The Conference was accordingly constituted with official and non-official members and a number of subjects were suggested for its consideration. It was laid down that it would be the duty of the Conference to work up, progressively, the various questions which it deals with till they are ripe for practical action. The first session of the Conference was held at Mysore, during the Birthday week, on the 10th June 1911 and two succeeding days, and His Highness the Mahārāja was graciously pleased to inaugurate the Conference personally with a speech in which he referred to the present economic inefficiency and suggested certain remedies for the same. As regards its primary functions, he said: "The functions of this Conference will not overlap those of the Representative Assembly, the future of which will ever continue to be an object of earnest solicitude on the part of myself and my Government." At this session of the Conference, questions concerning Education, Agriculture, Industries and Commerce and several miscellaneous subjects were discussed by the Conference and were referred to three Committees, which were formed for Education, Agriculture and Industries respectively for detailed consideration and the preparation of schemes which could be placed before the Conference at a future session.

Change of Residents.

The Hon'ble S. M. Fraser laid down the office of Resident on the 25th August 1910, when the Hon'ble Col. (afterwards Sir Hugh) Daly took over charge of the same.

Delhi Durbar, 12th Decr. 1911.

In response to the *Kharita* of His Excellency Lord Hardinge, Viceroy and Governor-General of India, intimating that His Imperial Majesty King George V, Emperor of India, intended to hold an Imperial Durbar at Delhi on the 12th December 1911 for the purpose of making known in person to all princes and people of India the solemnity of his coronation in London, His Highness the Mahārāja proceeded to Delhi accompanied by His Highness the Yuvarāja and attended by the principal officers and sirdars of the State and was present at the great and historic ceremonial. On that auspicious occasion, the K.C.I.E. was conferred on His Highness the Yuvarāja. Mysore occupied a distinguished position in the Durbar Honours List.

Local celebrations.

The event was also celebrated locally throughout the State in a manner befitting the occasion, all classes of His Highness subjects vieing with one another in displaying their devotion to the person and throne of the King-Emperor.

C. & M. Station surplus revenues.

During the year 1911-1912, the Government of India were pleased to deal in a liberal and generous spirit with the question of the surplus revenues of the Civil and Military Station, Bangalore. The question had been under correspondence since 1897. The Government of India agreed to exclude partially or wholly certain items of charges from the *proforma* accounts maintained, and as retrospective effect was to be given to the Resolution, substantial benefit was expected to accrue to the State finances.

Changes in the Mysore Civil Service Examination Rules.

The rules relating to the Mysore Civil Service Examination were also revised during the year, especially with a view to restrict the Examination to candidates who are either Mysoreans by birth or domicile or who have taken their degrees from one of the Mysore Colleges. Provision was also made for the practical training of the probationers thus recruited in the various branches of the Taluk and District administration.

Inauguration of Krishnarājasāgara Dam Works.

In regard to public works, the most important work undertaken during the year 1911-12, was the construction of a Dam across the river Cauvery at Kannambadi—now called Krishnarājasāgara after His Highness' name—sanction to which was accorded in 1910-11. The first stage of the scheme was put in hand. It was proposed to raise the Dam to a height of 97 feet with weir crest at 80 feet above river bed, and the reservoir at this stage was to store 11,030 million cubic feet of water. The first stage of the work—including the fourth Installation of the Power Scheme—was estimated to cost Rs. 89 lakhs. The work was started in November 1911 and the preliminary work of clearing the site of the dam, etc., was pushed through.

Railway Development Programme.

In the year 1911-12, Government also decided upon pursuing a progressive policy of Railway construction with a view to add at least 200 miles to the existing open mileage. With this end in view, His Highness' Government accorded sanction in November 1911 to a programme of Railway construction and to the formation of a State Railway Construction Department. The Department was accordingly formed under the Engineer-in-chief, Mr. E. A. S. Bell, lately Senior Deputy Manager, North-Western Railway, whose services had been placed at the disposal of the Government by the Government of India.

Retirement of Mr. T. Ananda Rao Dewan, 10th November 1912. Dewanship of Sir M. Visvesvaraya, 1912-1918.

Mr. T. Ananda Rao, who had been made a C.I.E., and honoured by His Highness with the title of *Pradhāna Sirōmani*, retired from the office of Dewan on the 10th November 1912. His Highness was pleased to appoint in succession to him Mr. (now Sir M.) Visvesvaraya as Dewan.

Establishment of Mysore Bank.

The formation of a State-aided Bank called the Bank of Mysore, on the lines suggested by the Economic Conference, with its head-quarters at Bangalore, was sanctioned by Government in March 1913, and several concessions were granted to it by the Government, and it shortly thereafter commenced work.

The creation of a separate Department of Industries and Commerce was also sanctioned during the year.

Cauvery Dam Works. Appointment of a Court of Arbitration.

In regard to the Krishnarājasāgara Dam Works, a scheme of land compensation in lieu of money compensation was devised and the same given effect to. As to the second stage of the Reservoir project contemplated by the Government, the Government of India appointed a Court of Arbitration presided over by Sir Henry Griffin, Judge, High Court of Judicature, Allahabad, assisted by the Hon'ble Mr. Nethersole, Inspector-general of Irrigation in India, as Assessor. The proceedings of the Court commenced on the 18th July 1914.

Fourth Installation of the Cauvery Power Scheme.

The fourth Installation of the Cauvery Power Scheme was also started during the year. This was intended:—

(1) to give protection to the power supply due, under agreement, to the Kolar Mining Companies, by the storage in the Kannambadi Reservoir;

(2) to provide the Mining Companies with additional power supply, required by them for mining at greater depths with profit; and

(3) to meet the increased power consumption in the Cities of Mysore and Bangalore expected as the result of the reduction in the rates for power sanctioned at the time by Government.

Expansion of Legislative Council, 1913.

Important changes were also announced during the year in connection with the Legislative Council. Under the new scheme of reforms, the Council was further enlarged, the number of members being increased from 18 to 25 members, 13 of whom were to be non-officials, 8 elected and 5 nominated. Of these, four were to be elected from the Representative Assembly and four from the District group electorates. The Council was also granted privileges of Budget discussion and interpellation with certain definite limitations in regard to the latter.

Improvement of Rural areas.

Among other measures worthy of note were those intended to ameliorate conditions in the rural areas. One of these was the formulation of a scheme for the formation of Village Improvement Committees. The collection of statistics, extension of education and co-operation, improvement of village sanitation, arrangements for lectures and lessons conducive to the mental and moral well-being of the people and increase of their earning power were set down as the main functions of these Committees.

Improvement of the Malnad.

A comprehensive scheme for improving the Malnad was also drawn up with a view to check, if possible, the depopulation that has been noticed in some parts of it. A special agency was appointed to take practical measures to improve sanitation, to provide good drinking water, to afford increased medical aid and to spread among the people sound and useful ideas on subjects connected with their physical and moral well-being. The Departments concerned were also, at the same time, instructed to take suitable measures for the spread of primary and technical education, the establishment of more Co-operative Societies, and for conducting a Sanitary and Malaria Survey in the Malnad.

Surplus Revenues of C. & M. Station, Bangalore.

During the year 1913, the Government of India recognized the claim of His Highness' Government to the surplus revenues of the Civil and Military Station, Bangalore, and paid part of it (Rs. 30 lakhs) to His Highness' Government, the balance being paid in the succeeding year.

H. E. Lord Hardinge's visit, November 1913.

Conclusion of the Treaty of Mysore, 1913.

His Excellency Lord Hardinge, Viceroy and Governor-General of India, and Lady Hardinge, paid a visit to the State in November 1913. Their stay in it extended from the 3rd to the 21st November and it included visits to the Gersoppa Falls, Mysore, Seringapatam, the Kheddas, Bangalore and the Kolar Gold Fields. The visit was made memorable by His Excellency's announcement of the generous act of His Majesty's Government in sanctioning the substitution, in place of the Instrument of Transfer of 1881, of a new Treaty of Mysore, indicating the high esteem in which His Highness the Mahārāja is held by His Majesty's Government. The change was welcomed by all classes of people and was regarded as a signal proof of the sympathy and generosity which has always marked the policy of the Supreme Government towards this State. His Excellency the Viceroy gave expression to the following sentiments on the 6th November 1913, when he made the historic announcement in the City of Mysore :—

"I have now the pleasant duty of making an announcement, which it is as gratifying to me to deliver, as I trust it will be to Your Highness to receive. Some four months ago Your Highness wrote me a letter in which you took exception to certain features in the Instrument of Transfer of 1881, under which the Government of Mysore was restored to Your Highness' father, and you urged that the document should be revised both in substance and in form, in such a manner as to indicate more appropriately the relation subsisting between the British Government and the State of Mysore. After a very careful consideration of the question, I have decided, with the concurrence of His Majesty's Secretary of State for India, to substitute for the Instrument of Transfer, a new Treaty which will place the relations between us on a footing more in consonance with your Highness' actual position among the Feudatory Chiefs in India. His Majesty's Government in accepting my proposal, have observed that your Highness' views on this question were stated with much force and moderation and that they derive additional weight from the high character and reputation which your Highness has always borne. With this observation, I desire to associate myself in the very fullest degree, and I look on it as a particularly happy circumstance, that it should have fallen to my lot to convey to Your Highness on this auspicious occasion so striking a proof of the esteem and regard in which you are held by those responsible for the Government of the Empire."

His Highness acknowledged the grant of the Treaty in equally felicitous terms. He said :—

"It is difficult for me to express in words my gratitude for the gracious and generous act of Your Excellency's Government in granting a Treaty to Mysore to replace the Instrument of Transfer, under which Mysore was restored to my father's rule thirty-two years ago. I can only assure Your Excellency that I value very highly not only the gift of the Treaty itself but the trust and confidence in my Government which the grant of the Treaty implies. I could wish for no greater reward for my efforts to maintain a high standard of administration than the gracious words of praise and encouragement which have fallen from Your Excellency's lips. Not only will the new Treaty be welcomed by all classes of my people, but it will draw still closer the bond of gratitude and loyalty which has always united us to the British Government, and will also be regarded as a signal proof of the sympathy and generosity which have always marked the policy of the Supreme Government towards Native States."

The Treaty was signed, sealed and exchanged at Mysore on the 26th November 1913 and ratified by H. E. Lord Hardinge, the Viceroy and Governor-General of India, at Bankipur, on 1st December 1913. The text of the Treaty will be found in the Appendix at the end of this *Volume.*

Of Sir Hugh Daly, the then British Resident at His Highness', Court, His Highness remarked :—

"I must also express my grateful thanks to the Government of India for having sent as Resident to Mysore an officer of such sterling qualities as the Hon'ble Sir Hugh Daly, whose relations with me and my Government have always been most friendly and cordial."

The Great War, 1914. His Highness' offer of all the resources of the State and contribution of Rs. 50 lakhs.

The Great War broke out on July 28, 1914 and Great Britain was compelled to declare hostilities against Germany on August 4, 1914. India, as forming part of the British Empire, became intimately concerned in the War. It brought the subjects of His Majesty in the

Indian Empire nearer to the Throne, and at no time were the harmony and the solidarity of interests between the rulers and the ruled, between the Paramount Power and the Feudatory States, felt to be closer than they were at that moment. As a Feudatory State, Mysore endeavoured to do its part. His Highness the Mahārāja placed his troops and the entire resources of the State unreservedly at the disposal of the Imperial Government. His Highness also contributed a sum of Rs. 50 lakhs towards the cost of the Indian Expeditionary Force which was soon to fight the Empire's battle on the European Continent. In conveying this offer, in a letter dated 20th August 1914—within a couple of weeks of the actual declaration of War by England against Germany—to His Excellency the Viceroy, His Highness wrote :—

> "This is a time at which the Feudatory States and all the subjects of the British Empire should stand shoulder to shoulder for her defence, and I desire to assure Your Excellency, in all sincerity, of the devotion and loyalty of my people and our readiness to make every sacrifice to protect our common interests. We in Mysore have special reason to be grateful for the signal marks of confidence bestowed on me and my people by the Imperial Government in recent years. It will be long before Mysore can forget Your Excellency's memorable visit of last year, and the more than generous sympathy and encouragement accorded on that occasion to measures calculated to improve the lot of my people. My people and myself will cheerfully respond to any sacrifices demanded of us in such a crisis and are prepared to bear our share in the cost of the War. My troops are ready, and should money be required, I hereby place at Your Excellency's disposal a sum of Rs. 50 lakhs as my contribution towards the cost of the Indian War Fund."

His Excellency Lord Hardinge, the Viceroy, conveyed a highly appreciative message accepting the "most patriotic and generous offer" made by His Highness, in these words:—

> "For the moment, I will only add that the thought that you, my friend, have shown such splendid patriotism at a time like this, fills my heart with a warm glow of pleasure."

The action taken by His Highness met with universal acclaim in every corner of the State and created a profound impression all over India and England. At the Imperial Legislative Council meeting held on 9th September 1914, His Excellency Lord Hardinge referred to this gift in the following terms:—

> "Hon'ble members would have seen the announcement in the Press of the splendid offer of Rs. 50 lakhs as a contribution to the cost of the Expeditionary Force made by His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore. I cannot sufficiently commend this striking and patriotic action on the part of His Highness, whose loyalty, generosity and liberal views are so well known. The money so offered will be placed at the disposal of His Majesty's government as an additional contribution, and has been ear-marked for meeting the cost of transport for taking our troops overseas."

The Marquess of Crewe mentioned the "gift of Rs. 50 lakhs—between £300,000 and £400,000—for the use of the troops in the field" as an example of the great enthusiasm which had pervaded the Princes and peoples of India at the time in behalf of the Empire.

His Highness also contributed a sum of Rs. 2 lakhs to the Imperial India Relief Fund.

The Imperial Service Troops left Bangalore for active service on the 13th October 1914 and distinguished themselves on the field.

Addition to the Executive Council, 1914.

In the year 1914, the number of members on the Executive Council was increased from two to three, with His Highness the Yuvarāja as an Extraordinary Member.

His Highness had worked for sometime as Military Secretary to His Highness the Mahārāja, but the post offered too limited a field for his abilities, and His Highness therefore, decided, after the Yuvarāja's return from the European tour he had undertaken, that he should be appointed as an Extraordinary Member of Council. His Highness the Yuvarāja had been made a G.C.I.E. in 1915.

Grant of additional privilege to Legislative Council, 1915.

In 1915, His Highness the Mahārāja was pleased to grant the members of the Legislative Council the privilege of putting supplementary questions for further elucidating any matter of fact regarding which a request for information was made in the original questions put.

Additional privileges granted to Representative Assembly, 1915.

At the same time, the privilege of considering the State Budget at its Session and offering suggestions on it was granted to the Representative Assembly. Though at the time the Assembly considered the Budget, it would have been passed by the Legislative Council, the suggestions of the members might, it was said, be utilized in framing the following year's Budget. Also, if there were any suggestions which could be adopted without interfering with the integrity of the Budget, Government might be enabled to give immediate effect to them. At all events, Government would, by such arrangements, be given an opportunity to gauge, and bring the Budget in line with the reasonable wishes of the representatives of the people as far as possible.

Scheme for a local University.

Recognizing that the Educational system would continue to be seriously defective without a University, the necessary steps were taken during the year 1915 to prepare a working scheme for starting one.

Sandalwood oil Distillation.

As the outbreak of the War greatly reduced the demand for sandalwood, investigations were made into the possibilities of manufacturing oil on a profitable scale within the

State. The result of the enquiries made in England having proved satisfactory, arrangements were made to open a small experimental factory for sandalwood-oil distillation.

Fourth Electric Installation Works.

The fourth electric Installation works, which were undertaken to generate additional power to the mining companies, were completed during the year and the machinery came into operation within the date stipulated for the additional supply.

Change of Residents.

On 7th April 1916, Sir Hugh Daly laid down the office of Resident and was succeeded in it by Mr. H. V. Cobb, C.S.I. Sir Hugh came to the State with a high reputation and during his term of office, the relations of His Highness' Government with the Residency were exceedingly cordial. He proved a true friend of the State and worthily maintained the highest traditions of British Statesmanship.

Reform of Local Self-governing bodies, 1916.

In 1916, an important step was taken to introduce certain reform in local self-governing bodies. The question of enhancing the usefulness of local boards and municipal bodies had been under the consideration of Government for some time. Owing to the deficiency of the popular element on them, the want of sufficient powers of disposal over their funds and interference in the details of their affairs by Departments of Government, it had been found difficult to awaken sufficient interest in them on the part of the non-official members connected with their working. The recommendations of two Committees, which had been previously appointed to go into the question of the constitution and powers of local bodies and the question of their finances, were considered by Government and orders issued during the year laying the policy of Government in regard to these matters. The main changes contemplated in municipal administration were the abolition of municipalities constituted under Executive orders known as Non-Regulation municipalities by converting them into "Regulation" municipalities, and classing all municipalities into City, town and minor, according to their importance; the introduction of an elected majority in City councils and of an increased elected element in the other municipalities; and a gradual transfer of the control of primary education and the reduction of interference in their affairs, by Government and the Deputy Commissioners, to the necessary maximum. The creation of Taluk Boards and Village Panchayets in addition to the District Boards, as incorporated bodies with control over their own finances and the power to manage purely local matters, District Boards having charge of the larger District concerns, such as roads and ferries, and the abolition of local funds, general, and the transfer of the funds to the local bodies to the considerable augmentation of their resources—these formed the main features of the reform as it affected the local boards. The effect of these changes so far as municipalities were concerned was to increase largely the popular character of the councils and the powers they could exercise within their areas. As regards Taluk Boards and Unions, they secured a real corporate existence, independent of the District Boards, whose mere agents they were so far.

Effect was given to these schemes of reform by the passing of the Local Boards and Village Panchayets Regulation of 1918 and the amended Municipal Regulation V of 1918.

Confirmation of Cauvery Arbitration Award by the Government of India, March 1916.

In March 1916, the Government of India confirmed the award of the Arbitration Committee appointed for settling the points of difference between the Government of Madras and the Government of His Highness the Mahārāja, regarding the storage of Cauvery waters.

The final decision of the Government of India enabled His Highness' Government to undertake the second stage of the Reservoir project which, when completed, was intended to bring under irrigation an additional extent of land of over 1,25,000 acres in the Mandya, Malvalli, Nagamangala and T.-Narasipur Taluks. By October 1916, the Reservoir had risen to a height of 60 feet in the river bed and 75 feet at the flanks. The storage available was sufficient to guarantee the supply of 9,321 electric H.P. to Kolar Gold Mines under the first three installations and of about 5000 H.P. under the fourth installation. As a result of the construction of the Dam, an additional revenue of about Rs. 5¾ lakhs had been secured, partly on account of the higher rates charged for electric power in view of the guaranteed supply, and partly on account of additional supply of power made available with the aid of the Reservoir. An annual expenditure of about Rs. 50,000 for conservancy operations in connection with the power works was also saved and the development of sugar-cane cultivation under the existing canals was rendered possible.

Fifth Installation of Cauvery Power Scheme, 1916.

To meet the growing demand for the supply of power, the Fifth Installation of Cauvery Power Scheme was sanctioned in 1916 for a 4000 H.P. unit at Sivasamudram. With the completion of this work, the total output of power was estimated to reach 22,650 H.P.

Mysore University Regulation, 1916.

The same year saw the passing of the University Regulation. The question of a University for Mysore had been actively engaging the attention of His Highness' Government since 1914. Two educational Officers of the State had been deputed to foreign countries to make a study of University conditions with a view to suggest measures for starting an Institution best suited to the conditions prevailing in Mysore. Their reports had been submitted to Government including studies of what they had observed in England, America, Japan and Australia. In 1914, a Committee of the Members of Government and the leading Educational Officers of the State investigated the question and outline proposals were submitted to the Government of India in July 1915. In the light of the suggestions offered by the Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, the proposals of the Government were revised and the revised proposals obtained the final sanction of the Government of India in 1916, subject however to certain conditions being adjusted with the Madras Government. The necessary co-operation and support was soon forthcoming from the Madras University and a bill giving effect to the proposals was introduced into the Legislative Council on 29th June 1916 and the same was, on 17th July following, after a long and interesting debate, passed into law without a division.

Progress in Railway construction.

During the year 1916, the construction of the Mysore-Arsikere railway was pushed through. The Kolar-Chintamani section of the Kolar District Board Railway was opened for the passenger traffic on 6th March, while the portion from Chintamani to Chikballapur was opened for the same traffic in the succeeding month. The line from Tarikere was completed up to Narasimharajapura.

Bhatkal harbour project investigation.

Preliminary investigations were made about the possibility of a harbour at Bhatkal. A reconnaissance survey was also undertaken for locating a Railway Line from the Kogaru Ghaut to Bhatkal. A preliminary survey for a line on the metre gauge to connect Coorg with the Mysore Railway system was also carried out and four alternative routes were carefully investigated.

Privilege of a second session to the Representative Assembly.

In October 1916, His Highness was pleased to issue a Rescript granting the Representative Assembly the privilege of holding a supplementary Session to discuss the Budget estimates. The first supplementary session was held on 23rd April 1917.

Working of Iron Mines.

Since 1915, the question of working the Iron Ore deposits of the Bababudan Hills had been actively considered by Government. The proposal of manufacturing pig iron on a small scale, with the aid of charcoal fuel, was investigated by Mr. C. P. Perin, the expert of the Tata Iron and Steel Co., who furnished a detailed report on the subject. After careful consideration, His Highness' Government decided in 1917 to install a distillation plant to manufacture coal and a blast furnace for smelting iron.

Mysore and the War. **Increased efforts to help Britain and her** Allies, 1917-8.

The Great War was still going on in the year 1917. The number of belligerents had increased and the world was practically divided into two warring camps. The fighting continued to levy a heavy toll on the manhood and resources of Europe, production was arrested, and increased difficulty was felt in obtaining food supplies and the distress of nations was growing. So far as this State was concerned, the Imperial Service Lancers had been at the front for three years and their services had won the repeated approbation of the authorities. The honorary rank of Lieut.-Col. in the British Army had been bestowed on the Chief Commandant, Col. Desaraj Urs, C.I.E., M.V.O., for valuable services rendered in Egypt. The Imperial Service Transport Corps had also been mobilised and sent out for field service during the year, and satisfactory reports had been received of its work. His Highness the Mahārāja contributed during the year a sum of Rs. 10 lakhs towards the expenses of the War, in addition to the Rs. 52 lakhs paid in 1914-15.

Government also subscribed a sum of Rs. 35 lakhs to the War Loan raised by the Government of India. His Highness' Government, besides, arranged to co-operate in the special campaign of recruitment organized by the Government of India. Committees for recruitment were formed both in Bangalore and in the Districts and liberal inducements—free gifts of land, free education to their children and the right to the benefits of the Military settlement scheme—were offered to attract recruits. Rewards in cash were paid to persons bringing recruits and the recruits themselves were awarded a bonus.

Additional privileges to the Representative Assembly, 1918.

By an order dated 22nd April 1918, His Highness granted to the Representative Assembly the privilege of interpellation and to direct that the qualifications for voting and membership to the Assembly, might be reduced with a view to enlarge the electrorate and widen the field of selection.

Mysore and the Great War, 1918-19.

During the year 1917-1918, His Highness' contribution towards the cost of the War, which showed a marked change in favour of the British and other Allies, was increased to Rs. 70 lakhs. A sum of Rs. 65 lakhs out of the State balances, had been, by then, invested in the first and second War Loans and the people of the State had separately contributed over Rs. 36 lakhs. The Imperial Service Lancers and the Imperial Service Transport Corps had distinguished themselves in the field in Egypt, Mesopotamia and Palestine. The Imperial Service Lancers took a creditable part in the operations against Gaza and in 1917, just before the conclusion of the Armistice, in the attack on Aleppo, and they had also been selected by the Imperial Government to form part of the Army of occupation in Palestine. With the signing of the Armistice, the special recruiting operations in the State were ordered to cease.

Food control.

Meanwhile, the War, the drought, the high prices of necessaries of life, the plague and the epedemic of influenza, which had recently spread into the State, combined to press heavily on the people, especially the poorer classes. The deficiency of food supplies common all over the world at the time (1918) was intensified in Mysore by the almost entire failure of the S.-W. monsoon. At one time the outlook seemed very gloomy, but a few heavy showers in September and October (1918) practically relieved the situation. The difficulties arose chiefly from panic due to the with-holding of stocks by the cultivators and attempts at profiteering on the part of merchants. Government control of the movement of the principal food grains became therefore a necessity. Maximum prices were prescribed for the sale of ragi and rice in certain Districts and depôts were opened in the Cities of Bangalore and Mysore, for their sale at cost price. Among the chief measures adopted to meet the situation were:—

(1) controlling the movement of the principal food grains within the State and also their export outside;

(2) commandeering local stocks of food stuffs;

(3) supplementing local stocks by imports from outside the State;

(4) fixing maximum wholesale and retail rates for the sale of rice and ragi;

(5) distribution of rice and ragi at concessional rates to the poor in Bangalore and Mysore Cities and other District head-quarters, and

(6) sale of food grains through Co-operative Societies.

For carrying out these measures, the Deputy Director of Commerce was, in July 1918, appointed Director of Civil Supplies and Controller of prices and Controller of Tanning materials. In November 1918, a separate Food Controller was appointed and the duties and responsibilities of the Director of Civil Supplies and the Food Controller, were defined. In February 1919, both the offices were amalgamated. About the middle of June 1919, the situation began to improve and the restrictions regarding prices and the movement of grains within the State were gradually relaxed, the power of commandeering, however, being retained, for use, whenever necessary. Advances amounting to nearly Rs. 20 lakhs were sanctioned by Government in connection with these operations.

Reorganization of the Secretariat, 1918.

The Secretariat was reorganized and strengthened, the appointment of Chief Secretary being raised in order to secure greater co-ordination of business. The codification of rules and procedure in the several branches of the administration was also undertaken during the year. A system of office inspections was introduced and a statistical branch was organized under a Director for the purpose of consolidating and improving the agricultural, industrial, trade and administrative statistics of the State.

Retirement of Sir M. Visvesvaraya, 10th December 1918.

Sir M. Kantaraj Urs' Dewanship, 1918-1922.

Sir M. Visvesvaraya went on leave for six months from the 10th December 1918 and retired on the 10th June 1919. He was succeeded by Sirdar (afterwards Sir M.) Kantaraja Urs, C.S.I., First Councillor at the time. For a short time between December 1918 and June 1919, Mr. (afterwards Sir Albion) Banerji, Second Member of Council, officiated for him. Sir M. Kantaraj Urs took over charge on 14th June 1919.

End of the Great War; return of the Mysore troops.

The conclusion of the Peace Treaty in June 1919 saw the end of the greatest War known to history. Mysore had the privilege of participating in the rejoicings organized throughout the Indian Empire to celebrate the conclusion of peace and sending representatives of its troops to England to attend the Peace Celebrations there.

Mobilized in September 1914, the Imperial Service Troops continued to remain in the battle field up to the end of November 1919, when they received orders to return to India. They arrived at Bangalore on the 13th February 1920. His Highness the Mahārāja reviewed the Regiment on the 21st February 1920 and a public reception was accorded to the officers and the men at the Lal-Bagh on the 25th February. The Transport Corps, which had been mobilized in 1915, also returned to Bangalore on the 29th February 1920 and were accorded a hearty welcome in the City Municipal Gardens. The latter unit did excellent work in the battle fields of Sanniyat and the Hai in Mesopotamia.

It is worthy of record here that Mysore played its part in the War quite in keeping with its name and reputation. As regards recruitment of men, though the difficulties to be surmounted were many and great, nearly the whole of the required number of recruits, *viz.*, 5000, was secured before the Armistice was signed. In regard to money contributions, besides the handsome gift of Rs. 50 lakhs which His Highness announced on 20th August 1914 towards the cost of the Indian Expeditionary force in Europe, the following were given from time to time :—free gift of money Rs. 10 lakhs; Subscription to Relief Funds, Rs. 14 lakhs; subscription to War Loans, Rs. 65 lakhs; British Treasury Bills, 21 lakhs and Indian Treasury Bills, Rs. 19½ lakhs. The steps taken to secure popular support for the War Loans and Funds, both local and Imperial, resulted in subscriptions amounting in all to nearly Rs. 45 lakhs. The total amount contributed or made available by the Government and the people of Mysore towards winning the War amounted to about Rs. two crores. This was exclusive of the extra expenditure incurred on the Mysore Imperial Service troops deputed for active service. His Highness the Mahārāja decided to forego the State's claim on the Imperial Government for this excess expenditure, which amounted to over Rs. 13 lakhs, the sum being treated as a further contribution made by the State to the War. In addition, much war work of a miscellaneous character was undertaken by the State at the request of the Imperial Government, such as conserving tanning bark, supply of army blankets, supplies of rosewood to the Gun Carriage Factory at Jubbulpore and sleepers for railway construction in Mesopotomia, etc.

The gallant conduct of the officers and men on the battle-field won warm and repeated commendation in Military Despatches. Several of the officers won distinctions, both British and foreign. Their achievements in the Great War will long be cherished by the people of the State with just and patriotic pride.

Reconstitution of the Economic Conference, 1919.

In July 1919, His Highness sanctioned the reconstitution of the Economic Conference as from 1st January 1920 and directed that Economic Development work should be made an integral part of the functions of the Local self-governing bodies and that the Economic Conference be made a permanent adjunct of the administration, with a strong and compact central organization, consisting of official and non-official members to advise upon questions of Economic importance and to co-ordinate all activities to the best advantage.

Expansion of Legislative Council, 1919.

In October 1919, His Highness was pleased to sanction the enlargement of Legislative Council so that each District —not each group of two Districts—should be able to send a representative to the Council. Other changes included the creation of a seat for the Mysore University and four seats for being filled up by nomination. In the result, the strength of the Council was raised from 21 to 30 members.

Abolition of fees in Middle Schools, 1919.

His Highness was pleased at the same time to declare that all fees in Middle Schools should be abolished, every kind of Education below the High School grade being imparted absolutely free.

Food Supply Operations, 1919-20.

The food situation required continued attention during 1919-20. The chief measures adopted in connection with the control operations during the year 1919-20 were:—

(1) Controlling the export of the principal food grains outside the State; (2) importing food stuffs from outside to supplement local stocks; and (3) selling food grains through Government and also through Co-operative Societies.

Some idea of the difficulties experienced at the time may be had from the fact that 31,800 tons of Burma rice, valued at Rs. 53 lakhs, were imported into the State during the year.

Inauguration of Mysore Iron Works, 1919-20.

In April 1919, the preliminary work connected with the inauguration of the Iron Works at Bhadravati was commenced. Part of the machinery required had arrived and was awaiting installation. A Superintendent of Mining Operations was appointed and preliminary work was carried on at the Ore Mine at Kemmangundi. A detailed survey of the rope line from the Kemmangundi forge to the valley below along which the ore was to be transported was completed. Two-feet gauge tramway lines aggregating a length of little over 47 miles were sanctioned and preliminary work in connection with it was pushed on. The Tata Iron and Steel Co. were appointed Managing Agents for the works and the entire operations were placed under a Board of Management, on which the Government had three and the Agents two representatives.

Change of Residents.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. V. Cobb, C.S.I., the British Resident, was, on 8th March 1920, succeeded by the Hon'ble Mr. (now Sir. W. P.) Barton.

State Finances, 1920.

The effects of the abnormal rise in prices consequent on the war combined with the great drop in the State Revenue as a result of the fluctuation in the exchange value of the rupee made the year 1920-21 a deficit year, the first one for many years past. The irony of the situation was that while the effects of the rise in prices was felt in every department of Government activity, the high exchange rate operated to create a sudden drop in the State's finances. Despite the fact that the normal expenditure of Government in almost every direction had increased, largely owing to the high level of prices, Government found it incumbent on them to provide a sum of Rs. 20 lakhs for a revision of the allowances of their subordinate services. After giving credit for about Rs. 6 lakhs expected from the recently enacted Income-tax Regulation (passed in June 1920), the Government anticipated a deficit of about Rs. 5 lakhs in its Budget Estimates for 1920-21. This, however, did not mean that the needs of a progressive administration should not be provided for. While waste and extravagance was to be eliminated, Government were convinced that if the administration was to continue to be progressive, "the prospect of a growth in public expenditure shall have to be faced." The finances of the State were actually in a strong position in 1920-21. A reference to the statement of assets and liabilities of the State as on 1st July 1920 shows that cash and investments were expected to amount to Rs. 221·6 lakhs and consisted of the amounts required as the working balance at the Treasuries, the entire Famine Fund Reserve, the Sinking Fund and the amounts required to meet the obligations connected with the Savings Bank and other debt heads. A sum of Rs. 804 lakhs had been invested in productive public works, of which completed works costing about Rs. 722 lakhs yielded a net return after meeting working expenses and depreciation charges of about Rs. 40 lakhs in 1920-21.

The assets in excess of the liabilities were estimated at about Rs. 586 lakhs. The assets were, however, much larger, as the liability of Rs. 168 lakhs on account of reserve and other funds shown in the statement meant no more than that the funds were earmarked for expenditure on specific purposes. It is hardly necessary to point out that the assets referred to were in addition to the taxable and other sources of revenue, which had, as a matter of course, been greatly increased by the stimulating effects of modern administration. For financing capital works, accordingly, the Government, following the advice of Mr. Datta, the Special Financial Adviser, issued a Public Loan (State Loan 1920-40) on 1st July 1920.

The Food situation, 1920-21.

The unfavourable agricultural outlook in the State, coupled with the signs of scarcity in certain of the adjoining British Districts, necessitated the maintenance of State control over food grains. Assistance was, however, continued to be given to the affected British Districts by the export of over 9,000 tons of controlled food grains from the beginning of the year. Imports from outside the State consisted of Burma rice, which amounted to 5,400 tons during the year. Towards the latter part of the year, the appointment of Food Controller was abolished and the Revenue Commissioner in Mysore was appointed *ex-officio* Director of Civil Supplies. Owing to general improvement in the supply of grains, all restrictions against their movements and transpart from the State were ordered to be completely removed with effect from 1st July 1921.

Backward classes and public Service,

Orders were issued during the year 1920-21 announcing the policy of Government on the question of the adequate representation of backward communities in the public service. A Central Recruitment Board was established for registering all applications for appointments, and putting applicants in touch with Offices where vacancies exist.

Amelioration of the condition of depressed classes.

During the year, the question of improving the condition of the depressed classes received close attention. Though no doubt was felt that some sort of State action was necessary, it was recognized that it would not do to "minimise the danger of unsettling the minds of a large community and withdrawing its members from work they were not accustomed to, without, at the same time, providing them with avenues of employment suited to their raised aspirations." The best lines on which the problem could be tackled was referred to a special Committee.

Change of Residents.

Mr. W. P. Barton, Resident, went on leave on 13th February 1921, Lieut.-Col. S. G. Knox, officiating for him.

Financial position, 1920-21.

Owing to a variety of causes, the year 1920-21 seemed likely to end in a deficit of Rs. 20 lakhs. The Budget Estimate for 1921-22 was balanced with a surplus of about Rs. ½ lakh. Actually, the year ended in a deficit of about Rs. 16½ lakhs. As for capital works, a new loan for a crore was proposed. The works on which Government had already spent heavy sums could not be left in an incomplete condition with all the risks incidental to such a policy and with the loss of revenue which delay in their completion would necessarily involve. When the loan was issued, the maximum amount to be raised was fixed at Rs. two crores.

Change of Residents, Oct. 1921.

On 13th October 1921, Mr. W P. Barton returned from leave and assumed charge of the office of Resident from Lieut.-Col. Knox.

Visit of H. R. H. the Prince of Wales (Prince Edward), January 1922.

H. R. H. the Prince of Wales (Prince Edward) paid a visit to the State in January 1922. During his stay in it between the 18th and 23rd of that month, he visited Bangalore and Mysore Cities, Seringapatam and the Krishnarajasagara Works and the Khedda operations at the Karapur Camp. His Royal Highness was welcomed by all classes of His Highness' subjects with spontaneous demonstrations of joy and devotion. On leaving the State, His Royal Highness telegraphed to His Highness "the great pleasure he felt in making His Higness' acquaintance and the great admiration he felt for the beauties of Mysore and the efficiency of the administration of the State."

Change of Dewans, May 1922. Dewanship of Sir Albion Banerji, 1922-1926.

On 1st May 1922, Sir M. Kantaraja Urs retired from the office of Dewan and Mr. (afterwards Sir Albion) Banerji succeeded him in it. One of the last acts of Sir M. Kantaraja Urs was the appointment of a Retrenchment Committee with a view to improve the finances of the State. The Committee's Report was given effect to by his successor, with the result that a number of proposals for retrenchment in the Revenue, Medical, Forest, Education and Sanitary Departments, were accepted by Government.

Mysore Iron Mines: New Board of Management formed, 1923.

The construction of the plant of the Iron Mines at Bhadravati was completed and the blast furnace started working from 18th January 1923. A new Board of Management was organized for its direction and it took over charge in April following. The control of the Forest, Mining and Tramways Departments in the Bhadravati area, so far under the direct administration of the Government, was transferred to the supervision of the Board. The whole of the works thus came, at the same time, under united authority, which helped to make its direction both easy and efficient.

A scheme of Constitutional Developments was announced by His Highness' orders in the Representative Assembly in October 1922. A mixed Committee of officials and non-officials was constituted, with Dr. (afterwards Sir Brajendranath) Seal, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Mysore, as Chairman, for the purpose of working out the details connected with the scheme. The Committee submitted their Report on 7th March 1923 and it was published on 16th June 1923 for public criticism. After considering the opinions issued from various quarters, a Proclamation from His Highness the Mahārāja was promulgated embodying the constitutional developments sanctioned for the State:—

Constitution Reforms, 1922.

These changes relate mainly to the Representative Assembly, the Legislative Council, the Economic Conference and local self-government in the State. As regards the Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council, the property qualifications of voters were considerably reduced and the disqualification of women, on the ground of sex, from exercising the franchise was removed with the result that the strength of the electorate was increased about four-fold. All elections, both to the Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council, were made direct. The representation of special interests such as, Education, Planting, Mining, Trade and Commerce was systematised and labour was for the first time given representation on the Representative Assembly as also on the Legislative Council.

Fifteen seats allotted to special interests was to be filled up, as far as possible, by elections through recognised Associations serving such interests. Adequate provision was made for the representation of minorities under a scheme that sought to avoid a widening and prepetuation of the cleavage among the various communities in the State. In the case of communities which form distinct Social Groups and are not likely to obtain their due share of representation through the Ordinary electorate, *viz.* Muhammadans, Indian Christians and depressed classes, a minimum number of seats both in the Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council, was guaranteed to them. Other communities which number 20,000 or more in population and fail to obtain representation through the general electorate were to be represented through Associations satisfying certain conditions. If the importance of any community numbering less than 20,000, its literacy, voting strength, or other factors called for a representation of that community, Government retained the power to nominate a member of the Community.

The Representative Assembly was given a definite place in the constitution and its position as a popular body placing before the Government the wants and wishes of the people and voicing public opinion in respect of legislation, taxation, finance and administrative measures generally, was recognised by the Representative Assembly Regulation of 1923. The strength of the Assembly was fixed at 250, normally, but with power to Government to increase the number up to a maximum of 275 for the purpose of removing inequalities, if any, of representation, and in order to meet the demand for the representation of constituencies that might develop in course of time. All important measures of legislation and proposals for taxation were to be placed before the Assembly, which was in addition to exercise the right to move resolutions relating to general principles and policy of the State Budget and on matters of public importance.

The strength of the Legislative Council was raised from 30 to 50 and its non-official element was to consist of 30 members, of whom 22 were to be elected and 8 nominated. Apart from purely legislative functions, the Council was so far exercising powers of interpellation and moving resolutions on matters of general public interest. Under the reformed constitution, the power of voting on the State Budget, except under certain reserved heads, was conceded to the Council, which was thus given an effective voice in determining the financial policy of Government. (For further details, see *Volume* IV, Chapter 1, of this work.)

H. E. Lord Reading's visit, Nov. 1923.

His Excellency the Earl of Reading, Viceroy and Governor-General of India, accompanied by H. E. the Countess of Reading, paid a visit to the State from the 27th November to the 5th December 1923. In replying to His Highness' speech at the State Banquet, His Excellency bore testimony to "the sound traditions of administration prevailing in Mysore and the past achievements of the State and the development of its resources and the expansion of natural production."

Agreement with the Madras Government in regard to Krishnarājāsāgara, 18th Feb. 1924.

On 18th February 1924, an agreement was concluded between the Madras and Mysore Governments in connection with the Krishnarājasāgara Dam and Reservoir. The Arbitration having proved infructuous, protracted negotiations followed, which ended in the Agreement. The Reservoir is to be of a storage capacity of not higher than 112 feet above the sill of the under-sluices or 124 feet above the bed of the river. The extent to which fresh irrigation can be carried on in Mysore under the Cauvery and its tributaries and in Madras under the Cauvery-Metur Project, was fixed, subject however, to reconsideration after expiry of a period of fifty years. Should the Madras Government construct new irrigation works on the tributaries of the Cauvery in Madras, the Mysore Government will be at liberty to construct, as an offset, a storage reservoir on one of the tributaries of the Cauvery in Mysore, of a capacity not exceeding 60 per cent of the new reservoir in Madras. This agreement does not affect the rights of the Mysore Government to construct new irrigation works on the tributaries of the Cauvery not included in the agreement of 1892. In the event of a dispute between the two Governments touching the interpretation, operation or carrying out of this agreement, the matter was to be referred for settlement to arbitration, or if the Governments so choose, to the Government of India.

Change of Residents.

Mr. W. P. Barton having proceeded on leave on the 28th February 1924, Mr. A. N. L. Cater, I. C. S., officiated for him up to the 14th March, when the Hon'ble

Mr. C. C. Watson, C.I.E., I.C.S., assumed charge of the office of British Resident in Mysore.

Inaugural meeting of the Reformed Legislative Council and Representative Assembly, 17th March 1924.

On the 17th March 1924, His Highness the Mahārāja was graciously pleased to inaugurate the new Legislative Council and the Representative Assembly in a joint Session and in doing so delivered an inspiring message. The following are extracts from it:—

Each State must evolve its own constitution suited to its own needs and conditions, and to the genius of its people. Without departing from the fundamental principles of development common to all forms of polity, it has been deemed necessary to maintain the character of the Representative Assembly as essentially a body for consultation and reference, as well as representation, directly voicing the needs of the people, and with a constitution sufficiently flexible to expand with the expanding political consciousness of the people, leaving to the Legislative Council the more formal work of legislation, and other functions usually associated with such bodies.

It is the ambition of my life to see the people of my State develop self-sustaining qualities, exhibit initiative and enterprise and take a front rank in all progressive movements and activities in the country. In making our plans for the future, we have got to take note of the tremendous changes of the recent past. India, under the beneficient guidance of the British Nation, is shaping into a federation of Provinces and States. We, in Mysore, form, as it were, a nation within a nation. While co-operating with both the Government of India and the rest of the Indian public in measures which lead to the prosperity of the country as a whole, we in our local sphere should promote education and economic growth to the fullest extent permitted by our resources, so that our people may not fall behind other Provinces and States in the race of progress.

That the history of Mysore in the recent past has run smoothly is a good omen for the future. We have known neither stagnation nor precipitate change. We have been advancing steadily, adapting our constitution and administrative machinery, to new times, needs and aspirations. All constitutional progress relates to the enlightenment of the people, and the quickening and utilising of their energies in the business of the State. Progress of this kind has been the constant aim of the Government of Mysore.

You will find yourselves exercising a considerable, frequently a decisive, influence upon the policy of Government. Not merely your resolutions, but all that you urge in debate, will be of high importance. I would have you apprehend with mind and heart this vital fact that the interests of Government and people are identical. The happiness of the people is both the happiness and the vindication of Government. Any difference of opinion between the executive and yourselves—and such differences naturally occur, in all lands and all along the road of progress—can refer only to the means, never to the end. You can count upon responsiveness and good-will in Government, as they certainly count upon them in you.

This day, therefore, marks the dawning of a new era in the history of Mysore. My faith in the power and willingness of my people to render patriotic service is firmly rooted in experience, and you may rely on my abiding sympathy with your aspirations. If every act of yours is guided by common sense, good-will and useful study of facts and of experience, if your new powers are used only for the promotion of the common good, you cannot fail to rise in power and influence, you will help to build up the prosperity and reputation of our State, and will become custodians with me of its permanent interests.

(For further information on this head, see *Volume* IV, Chapter I, of this work).

Floods.

The abnormal and heavy rainfall in the Malnad parts of the State and the adjoining British territory during the months of July and August 1924, brought about unusual floods, higher than those recorded in the previous year, in the Cauvery, Kapini, Thunga, Bhadra, Hemavati and Yegachi rivers, causing serious loss of property, landslips, damage to bridges, railway lines, roads and cultivable lands, interruption of comunications and the submersion of part or whole of several riverside villages and towns like Yedatore, T.-Narsipur, Seringapatam, and Harihar. About 655 villages were wholly or partly submerged, about 6,070 houses were damaged and over 77 tanks as also a number of channels were breached or otherwise damaged. In the Mysore District, the floods in the several rivers commenced about 15th July 1924 and occurred twice within a week of each other and reached an unprecedented level on the 25th. The rainfall was heaviest in the month of July 1924 in the Malnad Districts and on a single day 16·53 inches of rain fell at Agumbe. The estimated value of the property lost was about Rs. 5,50,334. An extent of about 15,744 acres was affected by the floods, and the loss of crops and the damage caused to lands were estimated at Rs. 9,05,593. Excepting Shimoga, for which detailed figures were not available, an extent of 231 acres 5 guntas was permenantly rendered unfit for cultivation; 4,932 acres 34 guntas, though damaged, could be repaired at some cost, while the crop grown on an area of 7,587 acres was washed away or otherwise damaged. Much of this extent was, however, resown. There was no loss of life, excepting the solitary instance of the death of a boy due to the collapse of a house in the Manjarabad Taluk on account of the heavy downpour. It is stated that the people had not even time in some places to remove their household effects and vacate their houses before water rushed in, while in other places the people were duly warned beforehand, of the coming of floods. The people of Tirumakudlu sought shelter on the top of the temple for three days. Distress was acute and some of the villagers had lost all their property and immediate help was needed. For concerting measures to afford relief to the sufferers, the Dewan, Members of Council, the

Revenue Commissioner and the Chief Engineer besides the local officers toured in the flooded parts. The Central Flood Relief Committee and philanthropic gentlemen collected and sent money and blankets for distribution in the flood affected areas. Public subscriptions were raised for the relief of distress. Seed grain was supplied to the villagers for enabling them to resow their lands, the crops on which had been washed away by the floods. Suitable lands higher up the river banks were selected for new village sites in lieu of those subjected to floods, making due provision for sinking wells therein and in several places sites for houses were given free of cost to impoverished and destitute persons. A special establishment was temporarily sanctioned for measuring the lands damaged by the floods and remission of assessment was sanctioned by the Government in respect of lands, on which less than 4 annas crop in the rupee was reaped. On the whole, a sum of Rs. 5,10,200 was allotted for affording relief to the sufferers from floods, for supply of shed materials, for grant of Takavi and Land Improvement Loans at the concession rate of 3½ per cent interest, for affording gratuitous relief to destitute persons, for repairs to roads, for purchase of seed grains for distribution among the *raiyats*, who lost their crops, for enabling them to resow their lands, for shifting riverside villages, which were within the danger zone and sinking drinking water-wells on new village sites. House Building Co-operative Societies were organized and started at Shimoga, Nanjangud, T.-Narsipur and Talakad and a sum of Rs. 1,25,000 was alloted to them for issuing loans to persons who lost their houses or whose houses were damaged by the floods and a sum of Rs. 1,37,000 was sanctioned to the Mysore, Hassan, Kadur and Shimoga Districts for the acquisition of lands for shifting village sites and sinking wells therein, while a sum of Rs. 6,000 was given free of interest to the Harihar Municipality for house building purposes. Besides the sum of Rs. 2,000 allotted by Government for gratuitous relief, a sum of Rs. 88,837-11-0 was allotted from public subscriptions for affording relief to the sufferers from floods and a sum of Rs. 61,739-2-11 was on the whole spent for this purpose. Government in addition to sanctioning the several sums referred to above, from time to time, ordered the writing off of assessment on lands or portions of lands thoroughly rendered unfit for cultivation and the remission of assessment on lands temporarily rendered unfit for cultivation and on lands the crops of which had been damaged or the yield thereof was four annas or less and in accordance with the above order, a sum of Rs. 47,335-3-10 was brought on the remission list.

Administrative Reforms, 1924.

The scheme for the separation of Judicial and Executive functions was extended to Hassan and Tumkur Districts. It was later extended to the Chitaldrug District as well (from 1st October 1925). The system of itinerant Courts was introduced in the Tirthahalli Taluk of Shimoga District. A scheme of Revenue Audit and an inspection of office systems was started during the year. The work in the District Offices was by this means simplified by the curtailment of registers and returns and by the introduction of a simplified system of correspondence. Separate audit arrangements were made for commercial Departments, such as the Electrical and the Education. This decentralization of Audit was later (in 1926) extended to the Military Department as well. In October 1924, further steps were taken to ameliorate conditions in the Malnad, especially in regard to Medical aid and communications.

A general economic investigation of one typical Taluk in each of the Districts of Shimoga, Hassan and Kadur was also ordered with a view to improve the condition of the people in the Malnad.

Their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Connaught paid a visit to the State in March 1925. They were accorded an enthusiastic welcome in Mysore City.

H. R. H. the Prince of Connaught's visit, March 1925.

During the year 1924-25, the question of the surplus revenue of the Civil and Military Station, which had been under correspondence with the Government of India for some years past, was settled. The new Agreement came into effect commencing with the surplus revenue of the Station for 1924-25 payable to the State in 1925-26. According to this agreement, the State is to receive three-fourths of the annual surplus calculated with reference to a datum line representing the normal annual expenditure on the Administration of the Tract, the remaining one-fourth being credited to the Tract for development purposes. All income from productive works financed from the revenues of the Civil and Military Station is to be treated as the Revenue of the Tract and in the event of the capital of any productive work being found both by the Tract and by the Station Municipality, the net revenue is to be shared by them in the ratios of their contribution towards that capital.

Surplus Revenue of Civil and Military Station, Bangalore.

In February and March 1925, Sir Albion Banerji went on short leave and Mushir-ul-Mulk Mir Humza Hussain, officiated for him about six weeks. Mr. B. N. Seal was also appointed as Extra Member of Council during the year.

Administrative changes.

The Hon'ble Mr. W. P. Barton returned from leave and assumed charge of office as Resident on 1st September 1924. On 27th June 1925, he was succeeded by the Hon'ble Mr. S. E. Pears, C.S.I., C.I.E.

Change of Residents.

Retirement of Sir Albion Banerji, 1st May 1926. Sir Mirza Muhammad Ismail, Kt. C.I.E., O.B.E., assumes charge.

On 1st May 1926, Sir Albion Banerji retired from the office of Dewan and was succeeded in it by Mr. (now Sir) Mirza Muhammed Ismail, Amin-ul-mulk, O.B.E., C.I.E. In the same month, Sir Brajendranath Seal relinquished the duties of Extra Member of Council.

Malnad Improvement.

The report of the special economic investigation in the Malnad was, in 1926, considered by a Government Committee and its main recommendations were the establishment of Land Mortgage Banks, the introduction of a Record of Rights and legislation for the relief of indebted agriculturists. Government ordered the establishment of a Land Mortgage Bank in one Taluk in each of three Malnad Districts of Shimoga, Hassan and Kadur. An officer was deputed to Bombay to study the working of the Records of Rights in the Bombay Presidency. Steps were also taken to put through legislation on the lines of the Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act. Government also accepted the recommendation of the Committee that a District Committee for each of the three Districts (Shimoga, Kadur and Hassan) should be appointed to advice Government on Malnad Improvement measures. A special engineering staff was entertained to conduct a survey of inter-village and inter-taluk communications in the Malnad. The question of utilizing a portion of the Irrigation Cess Fund for improving Malnad was also taken up and referred to a Committee for report. A preliminary survey of Malaria and hookworm disease in the Manjarabad area was also ordered and conducted. A disease survey with special reference to the Malnad was also adumbrated in 1926.

Refund of Customs Duty on Railway Stores.

During the year (1925-26), the question of the State sharing in the refund of Customs Duty on railway stores imported by the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway

Company for the lines worked by them in the State, was favourably settled by the Government of India, and a sum of Rs. 96,000 being the proportionate share of the lines in the State, was paid to the State.

Reconstitution of the Mysore Economic Conference, 1926-27.

During the year 1926-27, the constitution of the Economic Conference was revised so as to make it a more useful and helpful body by providing among other matters for more efficient economic work in the Districts. A Standing Committee consisting of the heads of the several Development Departments, the Chairman of the three Boards and two non-official representatives of each of the Boards, was formed during the year, with a view to periodically examine and co-ordinate the activities of the Boards. A definite agency for Economic Work in the Districts was created by the appointment of eight Economic Superintendents, one for each District in the State. They have served as *liaison* officers between the people and the Development Departments, and have done considerable propaganda work connected with the popularization of fertilizers, organization of Co-operative Societies, the introduction of hand-spinning by *Charka* in the rural parts and the stimulation of small cottage industries. They have also proved helpful in providing additional facilities to schools by enlisting the co-operation of philanthropic gentlemen for equipment and better accommodation.

Administrative Reforms, 1926-27.

The Mysore District Boards Regulation (III of 1926) came into force on 1st February 1927. This Regulation abolished the Taluk Boards and enabled the District Boards to devote their attention to the development of larger local interests in Districts and to exercise greater control over their finances. The new Village Panchayet Regulation also came into effect on the date mentioned above. This Regulation removed the Panchayets from the control and supervision of District Boards and placed them under the direct control of Local Revenue Officers. The State Forces were also re-organised during the year. The main features of the reorganisation were the abolition of the Silledari system and the organisation of the Cavalry Units on the Non-Silledari basis as in British India. The Malnad Improvement scheme was extended to parts of the Mysore District (Hunsur and Heggaddevankote Taluks). The District Malnad Committees were reconstituted with the Deputy Commissioner as Chairman and a few official and non-official gentlemen as Members. The Public Health Department was re-organised providing among other matters, for the appointment of Deputy Sanitary Commissioners and District Sanitary Officers, whole-time or *ex-officio* in place of Chief Sanitary Inspectors. A health Survey of the State with special reference to Malnad and hook-worm diseases (under the supervision of a representative of the International Health Division of the Rockefeller Foundation) was also projected.

His Excellency Lord Irwin's visit.

His Excellency Lord Irwin, Viceroy and Governor-General of India, accompanied by Her Excellency the Lady Irwin, paid a visit to the State from 25th July to 1st August 1927. In the Cities of Bangalore and Mysore, their Excellencies received an enthusiastic reception. Their two drives through the most congested parts of Bangalore City left an indelible impression on the minds of the multitudes who had gathered to greet them. Similarly, the ovation which they received from the crowds collected in the Palace Courtyard at Mysore was a superb demonstration of warm regard. Their Excellencies also visited the Kolar Gold Fields, Seringapatam and the Krishnarājasāgara Works. At the State Banquet held on 29th July, His Excellency, in replying to His Highness' toast of their Excellencies, announced a reduction in the Subsidy of Rs. 35 lakhs paid by the State to the Government of India, since the Rendition. In doing so, His Excellency said :—

Reduction of Subsidy announced.

"For many years we have watched and admired the maintenance and development of those high standards of administration; we have not forgotten the noble services you have rendered to the British Government when the need for service was the greatest, and we are not blind to what Your Highness personally had done to set an example of the fashion in which the Government of a great State should be conducted.

But we have also felt that so long as the Provincial contributions remained unliquidated, the Provinces must have a first claim on any surplus we might enjoy. The analogy between the Provinces and the States is not of course complete, but they are alike in one respect—both have important work to do for the millions committed to their charge, and both want money to enable them to do it. We have now been able to remit for this year, and I hope for ever, the contributions formerly payable by the Provinces. We have been therefore more free to consider your representations, no longer hampered by that particular impediment. Mysore has perhaps a longer tradition of progressive Government than any other State in India, and the Government of India can feel assured that any relief which they may feel it in their power to give will enure to the benefit of the people of your State.

Your Highness, the Government of India, reviewing all these and other considerations, have come to the conclusion that generosity may often be the highest statesmanship, and have accordingly decided to remit in perpetuity, with effect from the next financial year, Rs. 10½ lakhs out of the annual subsidy you now pay, thus reducing the amount to the sum originally fixed by the Treaty of 1799. The remission I now announce might have come more appropriately three or four years hence on the fiftieth anniversary of the Rendition, but it is a matter of real pleasure to me to be able to announce, on the occasion of my first visit to your State, this practical recognition of the regard we have for the spirit in which Your Highness has maintained the traditions of Government, to which you found yourself the heir. In this matter we are not acting without precedent. This extra payment was at its first imposition, out of consideration for the financial situation in the State, remitted for a period of years and those responsible for the Government of India in that day decided to assist Mysore at the moment when those entrusted with its administration were on the threshold of their task, so we are inspired with the desire to assist Your Highness to make further progress in the discharge of the trust committed to your hands."

Silver Jubilee Celebrations, 1927.

The Silver Jubilee of the reign of His Highness the Maharaja was celebrated in August 1927 with an enthusiasm unparalleled in the annals of the State. There was no town or hamlet throughout the State which did not celebrate the joyous occasion. The celebrations were organized by a Committee consisting of leading Citizens from the different portions of the State and subscriptions to the extent of about Rs. 4½ lakhs were collected. Of this amount, nearly one lakh was allotted for expenditure on objects of local utility, leaving about Rs. 3½ lakhs for a Central Jubilee Memorial. The Committee have suggested that this might be utilized for starting a Technological Institute and the proposal is under the consideration of Government.

Medical Aid in rural areas, etc.

With a view to extend medical aid to rural areas, orders were passed during the year 1927 in regard to the grant of subsidies to qualified private Medical Practitioners who agree to settle down in rural parts. A scheme for the establishment of Local Fund Dispensaries on a reduced scale was also sanctioned. With the object of organising an efficient Tuberculosis Service, a preliminary investigation was ordered of the conditions prevalent in the State. The report was under the consideration of Government at the close of the official year 1927-28.

Village accounts.

Orders were passed by Government on the recommendations of a Committee appointed to investigate the question of the modification required in Village Revenue Accounts, in order that they might reflect, as far as possible, rights of actual occupancy in lands.

Ināmdars and Tenants.

Final orders were issued by Government in regard to the relationship between Government, Ināmdars and Tenants, in Inām Villages and the points on which legislation may be undertaken were settled.

Divesting Amildars of Police duty.

Government also passed orders during the year divesting the Amildars of the responsibility of investigating heinous cases.

His Highness' Rule: A retrospect.

Such in brief is a summary of His Highness' reign of nearly 27 years. Not long ago, it was thus described by one who himself had been the Dewan of the State for no inconsiderable period:—

> "During the period in which His Highness has presided over its affairs, the State has made considerable progress, notably in education, irrigation and electric power development, and in measures calculated to awaken the people to a correct sense of their duties and responsibilities.
>
> "Agriculture has improved, roads and railways have been extended, forest and mineral resources have been developed, and in a small way, various modern manufacturing industries have come into existence. The Cities of Mysore and Bangalore have undergone considerable improvement in health, appearance and amenities under His Highness' benign rule.
>
> "The administration is becoming yearly more efficient. The people's rights and privileges have been extended by transferring to them substantial powers in the management of District Boards, Municipalities and Village Panchayets. The privileges of the Representative Assembly have undergone expansion and a Legislative Council based on the British Indian model has been established. Qualified citizens are allowed to co-operate with the officials and to assume some share of responsibility for Governmental work and the good administration of the country."

Honours and Decorations.

His Highness was made a G.C.S.I. in December 1907 and G.B.E. in 1918. He was also appointed Colonel of the 26th Prince of Wales Own Light Cavalry. Describing him while yet at the commencement of his reign, Sir Evan Maconochie, writes:—

"No Indian Prince ever showed greater attachment to the English friends of his choice, though his powers of discrimination were remarkable. I never knew him make a mistake as to the quality of the English men and women that he admitted to his friendship. As to his own people, he sized up each individual with an intuition amazing in one of his years. In some respects he was and always will be an older man than myself, and he will forgive my recalling how he once watched with silent amusement a process extending over some months, in the course of which I was successfully humbugged by a cleverer man than myself, and only let me into the joke when the individual concerned was put up for advancement and promptly turned down! Through all initial difficulties the Maharaja pursued his placid way, undisturbed by the criticism of the thoughtless, the uninformed or the dissatisfied. He arrived at decisions with deliberation, but his mind, once made up, was unalterable, and the unforgiveable sin in his eyes was inconsistency or facile change of front on the part of a responsible officer. Himself absolutely reliable, he found no excuse for vascillation in others. His patience was inexhaustible, he was never the young man in a hurry, but, as the years rolled by, one scheme after another of his own planning was realised with a completeness that was impressive and with an entire absence of fuss or disturbance that was not less remarkable. Since I left Mysore in 1909, the State has ever been in the van of progress and is now equipped as no other with works and institutions of public usefulness or amenity. An account of the experiences of the seven years that I spent with His Highness and of the work that was done would be interminable. Sufficient has been said to indicate that the task was of absorbing interest, and, in conditions of association with a man of singular depth and strength of character, was a labour of love." (*Life in the Indian Civil Service*, 145-146.)

APPENDICES.

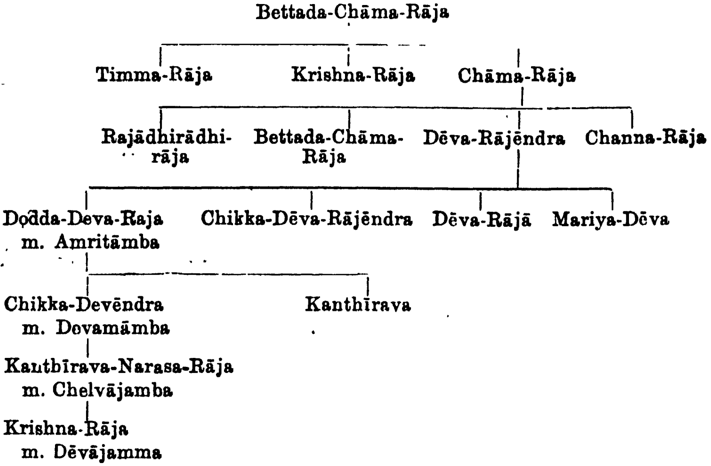
A.—GENEALOGY OF THE MAHARAJAS OF MYSORE (ACCORDING TO CERTAIN INSCRIPTIONS FOUND IN MYSORE.)
B.—GENEALOGY OF THE MAHARAJAS OF MYSORE (ACCORDING TO CERTAIN INSCRIPTIONS FOUND AT ARKALGUD AND T.-NARASIPUR).
C.—GENEALOGY OF THE MAHARAJAS OF MYSORE (ACCORDING TO PALACE RECORDS).
D.—LIST OF GOVERNORS OF MADRAS FROM 1750 TO 1854.
E.—THE INSTRUMENT OF TRANSFER, 1881.
F.—THE MYSORE TREATY, 1913.
G.—LIST OF DEWANS OF MYSORE FROM 1881-1928.
H.—LIST OF RESIDENTS IN MYSORE FROM 1881-1928.
I.—HISTORIC AREAS.
J.—THE NAME "MYSORE".
K.—HADANA.

APPENDIX A.

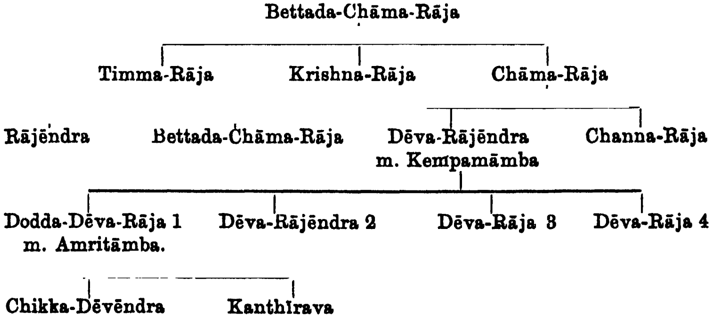
Genealogy of the Maharajas of Mysore.

(ACCORDING TO INSCRIPTIONS FOUND IN MYSORE DISTRICT).

The following is the genealogy of the Mysore Mahārājas as contained in E. C. III, Mysore District, Seringapatam 14, dated A. D. 1686, and continued in Seringapatam 64, dated A. D. 1722. It corresponds with that in Seringapatam 151, dated A. D. 1679, and Seringapatam 100, dated A. D. 1724, as well as with that given in the Mysore grant published by the Revd. T. Foulkes, dated A.D. 1716 (See *Manual of the Salem District*, II, Appendix 403), which is by the same composer (Poet Tirumalāchārya) as Seringapatam 64 and 100 above.


Bettada-Chāma-Rāja
Timma-Rāja
Krishna-Rāja
Chāma-Rāja
Rajādhirādhirāja
Bettada-Chāma-Rāja
Dēva-Rājēndra
Channa-Rāja
Dodda-Deva-Raja m. Amritāmba
Chikka-Dēva-Rājēndra
Dēva-Rājā
Mariya-Dēva
Chikka-Devēndra m. Devamāmba
Kanthīrava
Kanthīrava-Narasa-Rāja m. Chelvājamba
Krishna-Rāja m. Dēvājamma

The genealogy as given in Yedatore 54 and Chāmarājanagar 92, dated in 1666 and 1675 respectively, is as follows:—


Bettada-Chāma-Rāja
Timma-Rāja
Krishna-Rāja
Chāma-Rāja
Rājēndra
Bettada-Chāma-Rāja
Dēva-Rājēndra m. Kempamāmba
Channa-Rāja
Dodda-Dēva-Rāja 1 m. Amritāmba.
Dēva-Rājēndra 2
Dēva-Rāja 3
Dēva-Rāja 4
Chikka-Dēvēndra
Kanthīrava

The genealogy according to Yedatore 17 and 18, dated in 1761, is slightly different, and is as follows. Some of the steps of descent are not definitely given; and have therefore been left blank.

Chāma-Rāja

- **Timma-Rāja**
- **Krishna-Rāja**
- **Bettada-Chāma-Rāja**

Bettada-Chāma-Rāja
|
Rāja-Mahīpathi
|
Narasa
|
Chāmarāja
Immadi-Rāja
Kanthīrava-Narasa-Rāja
Dēva-Rājēndra
Chikka-Dēva-Rāja
|
Kanthīrava-Narasa-Rāja
|
Krishna-Rāja
m. Dēvājamāmba, d. of Chikka-Rāja
|
Krishna-Rāja

[*See next page.*]

APPENDIX B.

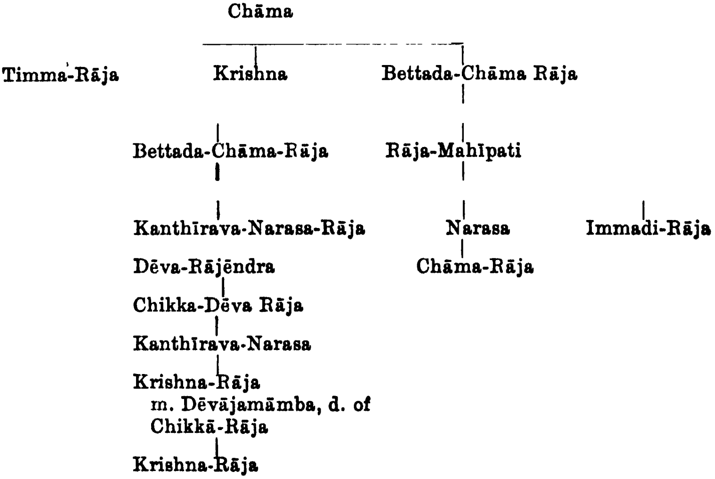
Genealogy of the Maharajas of Mysore.

(ACCORDING TO CERTAIN INSCRIPTIONS FOUND AT ARKALGUD AND T.-NARSIPUR.)

Arkalgud 62 of 1811 (Hassan District) is of singular interest. It is a stone inscription set up at the Krishnarajakatte dam on the Cauvery, and contains nothing whatever but a succession list of the Mysore Rājas (*Mahisūra-nagarada dhoregala vamsāvaligala vivara*). This was the year in which the Dewan Pūrnaiya's administration ended and Krishna-Rāja-Wodeyar III assumed the reins of government. The date being Chaitra Suddha 1, the inscription belongs to the former period. But the reason for setting up this record here in this manner does not appear. The following is the list, the relationship of the kings to one another being not specified.

Rāja-Wodeyar
Bettada-Chāmarāja-Wodeyar
Chāma-Rāja-Wodeyar
Immadi-Rāja-Wodeyar
Kanthīrava-Narasimha-Rāja-Wodeyar
Dēva-Rāja-Wodeyar
Chikka-Dēva-Rāja-Wodeyar
Kanthīrava-Narasimha-Rāja-Wodeyar
Krishna-Rāja-Wodeyar
Immadi-Krishna-Rāja-Wodeyar
Putta-Dēva-Rāja-Wodeyar
Nanja-Rāja-Wodeyar
Betta-Chāmarāja-Wodeyar
Chāma-Rāja-Wodeyar
Chikka-Arasu
Kanthīrava-Arasu
Krishna-Rāja-Wodeyar
… … … … … …
Chāma-Rāja-Wodeyar
Krishna-Rāja-Wodeyar

On the other hand, the Dalavayi grant T.-Narasipur 63, dated A. D. 1759, gives the following, which agrees more closely with that in Wilks' *History of Mysoor*. Where the relationship is not expressly stated, Wilks has been followed, as shown in the dotted lines.


Chāma
Timma-Rāja
Krishna
Bettada-Chāma Rāja
Bettada-Chāma-Rāja
Rāja-Mahīpati
Kanthīrava-Narasa-Rāja
Narasa
Immadi-Rāja
Dēva-Rājēndra
Chāma-Rāja
Chikka-Dēva Rāja
Kanthīrava-Narasa
Krishna-Rāja
m. Dēvājamāmba, d. of
Chikkā-Rāja
Krishna-Rāja

APPENDIX C.

Genealogy of the Maharajas of Mysore.

(ACCORDING TO PALACE RECORDS.)

The following is the succession of the Mysore kings according to the Palace records:—

	A. D.
Yadu-Rāya	1399—1423
Hiri Bettada Chāma-Rāja Wodeyar	1423—1458
Timma-Rāja Wodeyar	1458—1478
Hiri Chāma-Rāja Wodeyar	1478—1513
Bettada Chāma-Rāja Wodeyar	1513—1552
Timma-Rāja Wodeyar	1552—1571
Bōla Chāma-Rāja Wodeyar	1571—1576
Bettada Chāma-Rāja Wodeyar	1576—1578
Rāja Wodeyar	1578—1617
Chāma-Rāja Wodeyar	1617—1637
Immadi-Rāja Wodeyar	1637—1638
Ranadhīra Kanthīrava-Narasa Rāja Wodeyar	1638—1659
Dodda-Dēva-Rāja Wodeyar	1659—1672
Chikka Dēva-Rāja Wodeyar	1672—1704
Kanthīrava Wodeyar	1704—1713
Dodda Krishna-Rāja Wodeyar	1713—1731
Chāma-Rāja Wodeyar	1731—1734
Krishna-Rāja Wodeyar	1734—1766
Nanja-Rāja Wodeyar	1766—1770
Bettada Chāma-Rāja Wodeyar	1770—1776
Khāsa Chāma-Rāja Wodeyar	1776—1796
Krishna-Rāja Wodeyar	1799—1868
Chāma-Rājēndra Wodeyar	1868—1894
Srī Krishna-Rāja Wodeyar	1895—

APPENDIX D.

LIST OF GOVERNORS OF MADRAS.

(1750—1832).

Almost the first mention we have of Mysore in the Fort St. George Records occurs in the Consultations book of January 1679 in which there is a reference to Chikka Dēva Rāya and his methods of warfare. Streynsham Master was then the Governor. George Morton Pitt, Governor, intimated to the Hon'ble Company, on the 13th January 1772-3, the death of the Raja of "Mysaour" and intimated that his Country was in "great trouble". He referred to the Mahratta invasion of that year and to the plunder of the "Country about Vengalur," *i.e.* Bangalore. (See *P. to England*, IX; 13th January 1772-3). The King of Mysore, whose death was thus reported, was Dodda-Krishna Rāja, who actually died in 1731. It evidently took some months for the news to filter down to Madras from Mysore. In a letter despatched by Coja Burhan Khan at Kurnool to Dr. Joseph at Madras, received at Madras on June 13, 1740, we see him stating that Nazir Jang was marching southward to attack the Mahrattas, and that he had reached Cuddapah with 1,25,000 horse, 10,000 of which he had sent to seize the Mysore passes to prevent the escape of the Mahrattas, who had then plundered Arcot. (See H. Dodwell, *Calendar of Madras Records*, 48-49). Mysore interference in the restoration of the Hindu Raj in Trichinopoly between 1740-1743 is fully reflected in the Madras records.(*Ibid*, 177, 203, and 359). In the Consultations held on February 4, 1744, there is a reference to the large import of gold fanams from Mysore for coinage at Madras. (*Ibid*, 423). In March of the same year, an attempt was made to "invest" in cloth in Salem, which is described in a letter as being situated in Mysore. (*Ibid*, 435). This was during the governorship of Nicholas Morse. In 1751, during the governorship of Thomas Saunders, a contingent from Mysore helped Stringer Lawrence, the Commander-in-Chief of the English forces, against the French at Trichinopoly. Law, the French General, capitulated on 3rd

June 1752. From about this period the references to Mysore in the Madras Records increase. Dalavai Nanja Rāja's attempt to take Trichinopoly is duly recorded in them. (See H. Dodwell, *Madras Despatches 1744-1755*, 144, 148, 248, 249 and 255). The part played by Khande Rao and the correspondence he conducted on behalf of the Mysore Sovereign against Haidar Alī has been referred to in the text of this work. On the restoration of the Mysore Royal House after the War, 1799, Mysore Administration was conducted *through Madras* though directed by the Supreme Government. In 1804, the Marquess of Wellesley issued orders that Mysore should "be placed under the direct authority of the Supreme Government." (*Letter dated 5th October 1804 to the Governor of Fort. St. George*). Lord William Bentinck was then the Governor of Madras. This measure, however, was not approved of by the Court of Directors. But in 1832, during the governorship of Sir Frederick Adam, the Supreme Government assumed *direct control.* An attempt was made in 1860 to retransfer it to Madras but it was opposed both by His Highness Krishna-Rāja Wodeyar III and Sir Mark Cubbon and was abandoned by Lord Canning, then Governor-General, who reported to the Court of Directors that, in the circumstances he found himself, he could not give effect to their orders. Since then Mysore has always been in direct relations with the Supreme Government of India.

The list of Madras Governors given below covers the period from 1750 to 1832, when Mysore came under *direct* control of the Supreme Government.

Name	*Period*
Thomas Saunders	Sep. 19, 1750 to 14th Jan. 1755.
George Pigot	Jan. 14, 1755 to 14th Nov. 1763.
Robert Palk	Nov. 14, 1763 to 25th Jan. 1767.
Charles Bourchier	Jan. 25, 1767 to 31st Jan. 1770.
Josias Du Prē	Jan. 31, 1770 to 2nd Feb. 1773.
Alexander Wynch	Feb. 2, 1773 to 11th Dec. 1775.
Rt. Hon. Lord George Pigot ...	Dec. 11, 1775 to 23rd Aug. 1776. (Second time Governor; placed under arrest by George Stratton and the majority of the Council on 24th August 1776; died on 20th May 1777).

George Stratton	Aug. 23, 1776. (Suspended from service, 31st Aug. 1777.)
John Whitehill	Ag. Governor. Aug. 31, 1777 to 8th Feb. 1778.
Sir Thomas Rumbold, Bart	Feb. 8, 1778 to 6th April 1780.
John Whitehill	Ag. Governor. April 6, 1780 to 8th Nov. 1780. (Suspended by order of the Governor-General of Bengal and his Council).
Charles Smith	Ag. Governor. Nov. 8, 1780 to 22nd June 1781.
Lord Macartney, K. B.	June 22, 1781 to 8th June 1785.
Alexander Davidson	Ag. Governor. June 18, 1785 to 6th Apl. 1786. (Died at Madras, 1791).
Major-General Sir Archibald Campbell, K. B.	Apl. 6, 1786 to 7th Feb. 1789.
John Holland	Ag. Governor. Feb. 7, 1789 to 13th February 1790.
Edward John Holland	Feb. 13, 1790 to 20th Feb. 1790.
Major-General William Medows.	Feb. 20, 1790 to 1st Aug. 1792.
Sir Charles Oakely, Bart	Aug. 1, 1792 to 7th Sep. 1794.
Lord Hobart	Sep. 7, 1794 to 20th Feb. 1795.
Lord Clive (Earl Powis)	Aug. 21, 1798 to 29th Aug. 1803.
Lord William Cavendish Bentinck	Aug. 30, 1803 to 27th Sep. 1807.
William Petrie	Ag. Governor. Sep. 11, 1807 to 24th Dec. 1807. (Died 27th Oct. 1816 at Prince of Wales Island).
Sir George Hilaro Barlow, Bart	Dec. 24, 1807 to 21st May 1813.
Lieut.-Gen. the Hon'ble John Abercromby	C.-in-C. and Ag. Governor. May 21st, 1813 to 16th Sep. 1814.
Rt. Hon. Hugh Elliot	Sep. 16, 1814 to 10th June 1820.
Major-General Sir Thomas Munro, Bart, K. C. B.	June 10, 1820 to 6th July 1827. (Died at Pattikonda in the Anantapur District).
H. S. Græme	Ag. Governor. July 10, 1827 to 18th Oct. 1827. (Died 14th July, 1850.)
Stephen Rumbold Lushington	Oct. 18, 1827 to 25th Oct. 1832,
Lieut.-Gen. Sir Frederick Adam, K. C. B.	Oct. 25, 1832 to 4th Mar. 1837.

[In 1832, the Superintendence of Mysore was transferred from the Madras Government to the Supreme Government in Bengal.]

APPENDIX E.

INSTRUMENT OF TRANSFER, 1881.

Whereas the British Government has now been for a long period in possession of the territories of Mysore and has introduced into the said territories an improved system of administration: And whereas, on the death of the late Maharaja, the said Government, being desirous that the said territories should be administered by an Indian dynasty, under such restrictions and conditions as might be necessay for ensuring the maintenance of the system of administration so introduced, declared that if Maharaja Chamarjendra Wadiar Bahadur, the adopted son of the late Maharaja, should, on attaining the age of eighteen years, be found qualified for the position of ruler of the said territories, the government thereof should be entrusted to him, subject to such conditions and restrictions as might be thereafter determined: And whereas the said Maharaja Chamrajendra Wadiar Bahadur has now attained the said age of eighteen years, and appears to the British Government qualified for the position aforesaid, and is about to be entrusted with the government of the said territories: And whereas it is expedient to grant to the said Maharaja Chamrajendra Wadiar Bahadur a written instrument defining the conditions subject to which he will be so entrusted. It is hereby declared as follows:—

(1) The Maharaja Chamrajendra Wadiar Bahadur shall, on the 25th day of March 1881, be placed in possession of the territories of Mysore, and installed in the administration thereof.

(2) The said Maharaja Chamrajendra Wadiar Bahadur and those who succeed him in manner hereinafter provided, shall be entitled to hold possession of, and administer the said territories as long as he and they fulfil the conditions hereinafter prescribed.

(3) The succession to the administration of the said territories shall devolve upon the lineal descendants of the said Maharaja Chamrajendra Wadiar Bahadur, whether by blood or adoption, according to the rules and usages of his family,

except in the case of disqualification through manifest unfitness to rule:

Provided that no succession shall be valid until it has been recognized by the Governor-General in Council.

In the event of a failure of lineal descendants, by blood and adoption, of the said Maharaja Chamrajendra Wadiar Bahadur, it shall be within the discretion of the Governor-General in Council to select as a successor any member of any collateral branch of the family whom he thinks fit.

(4) The Maharaja Chamrajendra Wadiar Bahadur and his successors (hereinafter called the Maharaja of Mysore) shall at all times remain faithful in allegiance and subordination to Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland and Empress of India, Her heirs and successors, and perform all the duties which, in virtue of such allegiance and subordination, may be demanded of them.

(5) The British Government having undertaken to defend and protect the said territories against all external enemies, and to relieve the Maharaja of Mysore of the obligation to keep troops ready to serve with the British army when required, there shall, in consideration of such undertaking, be paid from the revenues of the said territories to the British Government an annual sum of Government rupees thirty-five lakhs in two half-yearly instalments, commencing from the said 25th day of March 1881.

(6) From the date of the Maharaja's taking possession of the territories of Mysore, the British sovereignty in the island of Seringapatam shall cease and determine, and the said island shall become part of the said territories, and be held by the Maharaja upon the same condition as those subject to which he holds the rest of the said territories.

(7) The Maharaja of Mysore shall not, without the previous sanction of the Governor-General in Council, build any new fortresses or strongholds, or repair the defences of any existing fortresses or strongholds in the said territories.

(8) The Maharaja of Mysore shall not, without the permission of the Governor-General in Council, import, or permit to be imported, into the said territories, arms, ammunition, or military stores, and shall prohibit the manufacture of arms

ammunition, and military stores, throughout the said territories, or at any specified place therein, whenever required by the Governor-General in Council to do so.

(9) The Maharaja of Mysore shall not object to the maintenance or establishment of British cantonments in the said territories, whenever and wherever the Governor-General in Council may consider such cantonments necessary. He shall grant free of all charge such land as may be required for such cantonments, and shall renounce all jurisdiction within the lands so granted. He shall carry out in the lands adjoining British cantonments in the said territories such sanitary measures as the Governor-General in Council may declare to be necessary. He shall give every facility for the provision of supplies and articles required for the troops in such cantonments; and on goods imported or purchased for that purpose no duties or taxes of any kind shall be levied without the assent of the British Government.

(10) The Military force employed in the Mysore State for the maintenance of internal order and the Maharaja's personal dignity, and for any other purposes approved by the Governor-General in Council, shall not exceed the strength which the Governor-General in Council may, from time to time, fix. The directions of the Governor-General in Council in respect to the enlistment, organization, equipment and drill of troops shall at all times be complied with.

(11) The Maharaja of Mysore shall abstain from interference in the affairs of any other State or power, and shall have no communication or correspondence with any other State or power, or the agents or officers of any other State or power, except with the previous sanction, and through the medium of the Governor-General in Council.

(12) The Maharaja of Mysore shall not employ in his service any person not a native of India without the previous sanction of the Governor-General in Council, and shall, on being so required by the Governor-General in Council, dismiss from his service any person so employed.

(13) The coins of the Government of India shall be legal tender in the said territories in the cases in which payment made in such coins would, under the law for the time being in

force, be a legal tender in British India; and all laws and rules for the time being applicable to coins current in British India shall apply to coins current in the said territories. The separate coinage of the Mysore State, which has long been discontinued, shall not be revived.

(14) The Maharaja of Mysore shall grant free of all charge such land as may be required for the construction and working of lines of telegraph in the said territories wherever the Governor-General in Council may require such land, and shall do his utmost to facilitate the construction and working of such lines. All lines of telegraph in the said territories, whether constructed and maintained at the expense of the British Government, or out of the revenues of the said territories, shall form part of the British telegraph system, and shall, save in cases to be specially excepted by agreement between the British Government and the Maharaja of Mysore, be worked by the British Telegraph Department; and all laws and rules for the time being in force in British India in respect to telegraphs shall apply to such lines of telegraph when so worked.

(15) If the British Government at any time desires to construct or work, by itself or otherwise, a railway in the said territories, the Maharaja of Mysore shall grant free of all charge such land as may be required for that purpose, and shall transfer to the Governor-General in Council plenary jurisdiction within such land; and no duty or tax whatever shall be levied on through traffic carried by such railway which may not break bulk in the said territories.

(16) The Maharaja of Mysore shall cause to be arrested and surrendered to the proper officers of the British Government any person within the said territories accused of having committed an offence in British India, for whose arrest and surrender a demand may be made by the British Resident in Mysore, or some other officer authorized by him in this behalf; and he shall afford every assistance for the trial of such persons by causing the attendance of witnesses required, and by such other means as may be necessary.

(17) Plenary criminal jurisdiction over European British subjects in the said territories, shall continue to be vested in the

Governor-General in Council, and the Maharaja of Mysore shall exercise only such jurisdiction in respect of European British subjects as may from time to time be delegated to him by the Governor-General in Council.

(18) The Maharaja of Mysore shall comply with the wishes of the Governor-General in Council in the matter of prohibiting or limiting the manufacture of salt and opium, and the cultivation of poppy, in Mysore; also in the matter of giving effect to all such regulations as may be considered proper in respect to the export and import of salt, opium, and poppy heads.

(19) All laws in force and rules having the force of law in the said territories when the Maharaja Chamrajendra Wadiar Bahadur is placed in possession thereof, as shown in the Schedule hereto annexed (omitted here) shall be maintained and efficiently administered, and except with the previous consent of the Governor-General in Council, the Maharaja of Mysore shall not repeal or modify such laws, or pass any laws or rules inconsistent therewith.

(20) No material change in the system of administration, as established when the Maharaja Chamrajendra Wadiar Bahadur is placed in possession of the territories, shall be made without the consent of the Governor-General in Council.

(21) All title-deeds granted, and all settlements of land revenue made during the administration of the said territories by the British Government, and in force on the said 25th day of March 1881, shall be maintained in accordance with the respective terms thereof, except in so far as they may be rescinded or modified either by a competent Court of Law, or with the consent of the Governor-General in Council.

(22) The Maharaja of Mysore shall at all times conform to such advice as the Governor-General in Council may offer him with a view to the management of his finances, the settlement and collection of his revenues, the imposition of taxes, the administration of justice, the extension of commerce, the encouragement of trade, agriculture and industry, and any other objects connected with the advancement of His Highness' interests, the happiness of his subjects, and his relations to the British Government.

(23) In the event of breach or non-observance by the Maharaja of Mysore of any of the foregoing conditions, the Governor-General in Council may resume possession of the said territories and assume the direct administration thereof, or make such other arrangements as he may think necessary to provide adequately for the good government of the people of Mysore, or for the security of British rights and interests within the province.

(24) This document shall supersede all other documents by which the position of the British Government with reference to the said territories has been formally recorded. And if any questions arise as to whether any of the above conditions has been faithfully performed, or as to whether any person is entitled to succeed, or is fit to succeed, to the administration of the said territories, the decision thereon of the Governor-General in Council shall be final.

(Signed)
RIPON,
Viceroy and Governor-General

FORT WILLIAM,
1st March 1881.

APPENDIX F.

THE MYSORE TREATY, 1913.

Treaty between the BRITISH GOVERNMENT *and* HIS HIGHNESS MAHARAJA SRI KRISHNARAJA WADIYAR, the IV., G.C.S.I., MAHARAJA OF MYSORE, *and his successors, executed on the one part by the* HONOURABLE LIEUTENANT-COLONEL SIR HUGH DALY, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., *in virtue of the full powers vested in him by the* GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA IN COUNCIL, *and on the other part by* HIS HIGHNESS MAHARAJA SRI KRISHNARAJA WADIYAR BAHADUR *aforesaid, in person, 1913.*

WHEREAS the Rulers of the territories of Mysore have, since the restoration to them of the territories in 1881, evinced their zeal and attachment to the Crown, and whereas the administration of the Mysore State has been conducted during the past thirty-two years to the satisfaction of the British Government, and whereas, in order to mark the high esteem in which His Highness the Maharaja is held by the British Government, the Governor-General of India in Council is desirous of making certain changes in the conditions laid down at the time of such restoration, the following Articles are hereby agreed upon:—

ARTICLE 1.

The Maharaja Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar Bahadur and those who succeed him in manner hereinafter provided shall be entitled to hold possession of, and administer, the said territories perpetually, subject to the conditions hereinafter prescribed.

ARTICLE 2.

The succession to the administration of the said territories shall devolve upon the lineal descendants of the said Maharaja Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar Bahadur, whether by blood or adoption, according to the rules and usages of his family, except in case of disqualification through manifest unfitness to rule.

Provided that no succession shall bs valid until it has been recognized by the Governor-General in Council.

In the event of a failure of lineal descendants, by blood and adoption, of the said Maharaja Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar Bahadur, it shall be within the discretion of the Governor-General in Council to select as a successor any member of any collateral branch of the family whom he thinks it.

ARTICLE 3.

The Maharaja Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar Bahadur and his successors (hereinafter called the Maharaja of Mysore) shall at all times remain faithful in allegiance and subordination to His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor of India, His Heirs, and Successors, and perform all the duties which in virtue of such allegiance and subordination may be demanded of them.

ARTICLE 4.

The British Government having undertaken to defend and protect the said territories against all external enemies, and to relieve the Maharaja of Mysore of the obligation to keep troops ready to serve with the British Army when required, there shall, in consideration of such undertaking, continue to be paid from the revenues of the said territories to the British Government an annual sum of Government Rupees thirty-five lakhs in two half-yearly instalments.

ARTICLE 5.

The British sovereignty in the island of Seringapatam having ceased and determined, the said island shall continue part of the said territories and be held by the Maharaja upon the same conditions as those subject to which he holds ther est of the said territories.

ARTICLE 6.

The Maharaja of Mysore shall not, without the previous assent of the Governor-General in Council, build any new fortresses or strongholds, or repair for military purposes the defences of any existing fortresses or strongholds in the said territories.

ARTICLE 7.

The Maharaja of Mysore shall not, without the permission of the Governor-General in Council, import, or permit to be imported, into the said territories, arms, ammunition or military stores, and shall prohibit the manufacture of arms, ammunition and military stores throughout the said territories, or at any specified place therein, whenever required by the Governor-General in Council to do so.

ARTICLE 8.

The Maharaja of Mysore shall not object to the maintenance or establishment of British cantonments in the said territories whenever and wherever the Governor-General in Council may consider such cantonments necessary. He shall grant free of all charge such land as may be required for such cantonments, and shall renounce all jurisdiction within the lands so granted. He shall carry out in the lands adjoining British cantonments in the said territories such sanitary measures as the Governor-General in Council may declare to be necessary. He shall give every facility for the provision of supplies and articles required for the troops in such cantonments, and on goods imported or purchased for that purpose no duties or taxes of any kind shall be levied without the assent of the British Government.

ARTICLE 9.

The Military Force employed in the Mysore State for the maintenance of internal order and the Maharaja's personal dignity, and for any other purposes approved by the Governor-General in Council, shall not exceed the strength which the Governor-General in Council may, from time to time, fix. The directions of the Governor-General in Council in respect to the enlistment, organisation, equipment and drill of troops shall at all times be complied with.

ARTICLE 10.

The Maharaja of Mysore shall abstain from interference in the affairs of any other State or Power, and shall have no communication or correspondence with any other State or Power, or the Agents or Officers of any other State or Power, except with the previous sanction and through the medium of the Governor-General in Council.

ARTICLE 11.

The Maharaja of Mysore shall not employ in his service any person not a native of India without the previous assent of the Governor-General in Council, and shall, on being so required by the Governor-General in Council, dismiss from his service any person so employed.

ARTICLE 12.

The coins of the Government of India shall be a legal tender in the said territories in the cases in which payment made in such coins would, under the law for the time being in force, be a legal tender in British India; and all laws and rules for the time being applicable to coins current in British India shall apply to coins current in the said territories. The separate coinage of the Mysore State, which has long been discontinued, shall not be revived.

ARTICLE 13.

The Maharaja of Mysore shall grant free of all charge such land as may be required for the construction and working of lines of telegraph in the said territories wherever the Governor-General in Council may require such land, and shall do his utmost to facilitate the construction and working of such lines. All lines of telegraph in the said territories, whether constructed and maintained at the expense of the British Government, or out of the said territories, shall form part of the British telegraph system and shall, save in cases to be specially excepted, by agreement between the British Government and the Maharaja of Mysore, be worked by the British Telegraph Department; and all laws and rules for the time being in force in British India in respect to telegraphs, shall apply to such lines of telegraph when so worked.

ARTICLE 14.

If the British Government at any time desires to construct or work, by itself or otherwise, a railway in the said territories, the Maharaja of Mysore shall grant such lands as may be required for that purpose, and shall transfer to the Governor-General in Council plenary jurisdiction within such land; and no duty or tax whatever shall be levied on through traffic carried by such railway which may not break bulk in the said territories.

ARTICLE 15.

The Maharaja of Mysore shall cause to be arrested and surrendered to the proper officers of the British Government any person within the said territories accused of having committed an offence in British India, for whose arrest and surrender a demand may be made by the British Resident in Mysore, or some other officer authorised by him in this behalf; and he shall afford every assistance for the trial of such persons by causing the attendance of witnesses required, and by such other means as may be necessary.

ARTICLE 16.

Plenary criminal jurisdiction over European British subjects in the said territories shall continue to be vested in the Governor-General in Council, and the Maharaja of Mysore shall exercise only such jurisdiction in respect to European British subjects as may from time to time be delegated to him by the Governor-General in Councl.

ARTICLE 17.

The Maharaja of Mysore shall comply with the wishes of the Governor-General in Council in the matter of prohibiting or limiting the manufacture of salt and opium, and the cultivation of poppy, in Mysore; also in the matter of giving effect to all such regulations as may be considered proper in respect to the export and import of salt, opium and poppy-heads.

ARTICLE 18.

All laws and rules having the force of law, which existed at the time of the restoration of the said territories in 1881 and are shown in the schedule hereto annexed, shall, in so far as they are in force at the date of this Treaty, be maintained and efficiently administered, and, except with the previous consent of the Governor-General in Council, the Maharaja of Mysore shall not repeal or modify such laws, or pass any laws or rules inconsistent therewith.

ARTICLE 19.

No material change in the system of administration now in force shall be made without the consent of the Governor-General in Council.

ARTICLE 20.

All title-deeds granted and all settlements of land-revenue made during the administration of the said territories by the British Government, and in force at the time of the rendition of the said territories, shall be maintained in accordance with the respective terms thereof, except in so far as they may be rescinded or modified either by a competent Court of law, or with the consent of the Governor-General in Council.

ARTICLE 21.

While disclaiming any desire to interfere with the freedom of the Maharaja of Mysore in the internal administration of his State in matters not expressly provided for herein, the Governor-General in Council reserves to himself the power of exercising intervention, in case of necessity, by virtue of the general supremacy and paramount authority vested in him, and also the power of taking such precautionary or remedial action as circumstances may at any time appear to render necessary to provide adequately for the good government of the people of Mysore or for the security of British rights and interests within that State.

ARTICLE 22.

This Treaty shall supersede all other documents by which the position of the British Government with reference to the said territories has been formally recorded. And if any questions arise as to whether any of the above conditions has been faithfully performed, or as to whether any person is entitled to succeed, or is fit to succeed, to the administration of the said territories, the decision thereon of the Governor-General in Council shall be final.

Signed, sealed and exchanged at Mysore on the twenty-sixth day of November in the year one thousand nine hundred and thirteen of the Christian Era.

KRISHNARAJA WADIYAR.

H. DALY.

Seal

Seal

HARDINGE OF PENHURST.

This Treaty was ratified by His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India at Bankipore on the first day of December 1913.

J. B. WOOD,

Secretary to the Government of India,
Foreign Department.

SCHEDULE.

Schedule showing the Laws in force and Rules having the force of Law in the Territories of Mysore, on the 25th March 1881 and annexed to the Treaty of 1913.

PART I—GENERAL ACTS.

Number and year	Title or short title	Enactment, if any, by which Act repealed in part or amended	Local extent and personal application, if any, prescribed	Modifications
XX of 1847	For the encouragement of learning in the territories subject to the Government of the East India Company, by defining and providing for the enforcement of the right called copyright therein.	Repealed in part by Acts IX of 1871 and I of 1879.	Extends to the whole Province.	……
XIX of 1850, in part	Concerning the binding of Apprentices; in part, namely:— The preamble, Sections 1 to 4 (both inclusive), 8, 9, 10 (except the passage relating to apprentices bound to sea service and the words "or Registering Cfficer"), 11 and 12 (except in each section the words "or Registering Officer") ' 13 (except the words "in the said territories"), 14, 15 (except the words "or on board the vessel to which he belongs"), 16, 17, 18 (except the words "referring to causes of complaint arising on boardship" 19, 20 (except the words "or Registering Officer"), 21, 24 (except the words "without the said towns and island"), and 25, Schedule A (except the words "and seals" and the letters "L. S.") and Schedule.	……	Do … Applies only to European and Eurasian children.	To Section 3, *add* "or required to find security for good behaviour," In Section 11, *for* "8" *read* "9." In Sections 19, 20 and 21, and in Schedules A and B, *for* "executors or administrators" and "executors and administrators" *read* "legal representatives."

PART I—*contd.*

Number and year	Title or short title	Enactment, if any, by which Act repealed in part or amended	Local extent and personal application, if any, prescribed	Modifications
XIII of 1859	To provide for the punishment of breaches of contract by Artificers, Workmen and Labourers in certain cases.	......	Extends to the whole Province.	......
XXVII of 1860	For facilitating the collection of debts on successions and for the security of parties paying debts to the representatives of deceased persons.	......	Do ...	......
XLV of 1860	The Indian Penal Code	Amended by Acts XXVII of 1870 and XIX of 1872.	Do ...	......
V of 1860 ...	For the Regulation of Police ...	Repealed in part by Act IX of 1871.	Extends only to the town of Bangalore.	......
VI of 1864 ..	To authorise the punishment of whipping in certain cases.	Repealed in part by Act X of 1872.	Extend to the whole Province.	......
X of 1865 ...	The Indian Succession Act, 1865 ..	Repealed in part by Acts VII of 1870 and XV of 1877.	Extends to the whole Province. Does not apply to Native Christians.	......
XI of 1865 ...	To consolidate and amend the law relating to Courts of Small Causes beyond the local limits of the Ordinary Original Civil Jurisdiction of the High Courts of Judicature.	Repealed in part by Act VII of 1870 and by Act X of 1877 as amended by Act XII of 1879, Section 99.	Extends to the town of Bangalore, and to the Court of every Subordinate Judge or Munsiff, throughout the whole Province, when such Subordinate Judge or Munsiff is exercising the jurisdiction with which he	......

			has been invested under Rule 8 of the Rules regarding the constitution and powers of the Civil Courts in Mysore, which took effect from the 15th September 1879.	
V of 1866 ...	To provide a summary procedure on Bills of Exchange, and to amend in certain respects the Commercial Law of British India.	Repealed in part by Act IX of 1872 and by Act X of 1877 as amended by Act XII of 1879, Section 99.	Extends to the whole Province.	......
X of 1866 ...	The Indian Companies Act, 1866 ...	Repealed in part by Act I of 1879.	Do ...	......
XXI of 1866	The Native Converts' Marriage Dissolution Act, 1866.	Repealed in part by Act VII of 1870.	Do ...	......
III of 1867	To provide for the punishment of public gambling and the keeping of common gaming houses.	......	Extends only to the town of Bangalore.	......
XV of 1867	For the regulation of printing presses and news papers, for the preservation of copies of books printed in British India and for the Registration of such books.	......	Extends to the whole Province.	......
I of 1868, in part...	The General Clauses Act, 1868; in part, namely:— The preamble and Sections 1 to 6 (both inclusive).	......	Do ...	In Section 2, *after* "operation," *insert* "and extended to Mysore." In Section 2, *for* clause (10) *read* "Local Government shall mean the person or persons authorized to administer executive Government in Mysore, and shall include a Chief Commissioner"; and *for* clause (11) *read* "High Court shall mean the highest Civil Court of Appeal in Mysore.

PART I—*contd.*

Number and year	Title or short title	Enactment, if any, by which Act repealed in part or amended	Local extent and personal application, if any, prescribed	Modifications
VII of 1870	The Court Fees Act, 1870 ...	Repealed in part by VIII of 1871 amended by Act XV of 1872.	Do ...	......
X of 1870 ..	The Land Acquisition Act, 1870 ...	Repealed in part by Act IX of 1871.	Do ...	......
XXIII of 1870	The Indian Coinage Act, 1870 ...	......	Do ...	......
XXVI of 1870, in part.	The Prisons Act, 1870; in part, namely:— The preamble and Sections 3 to 12 (both inclusive), 13 (except the words "the Magistrate of the District or") and 14 to 56 (both inclusive).	......	Do ...	*For* "Local Government" *read* "Chief Commissioner of Mysore." In the preamble, *for* "the North-Western Provinces, the Punjab, Oudh, the Central Provinces, and British Burma," *read* "the territories of Mysore." In Section 6, *for* the first para graph *read* "An Inspector-General of Prisons shall be appointed by the Governor-General in Council." In Section 4, and Section 6, paragraph 2, *for* "under such Government" *read* "of Mysore." In Section 6, paragraph 2, *for* "each" *read* "the."
XXVII of 1870	Indian Penal Code, Amendment ...	Repealed in part by Act X of 1872.	Do ...	......

I of 1861 ...	The Cattle Trespass Act, 1871 ...	......	Do ...	......
X of 1871, in part	The Excise Act, 1871; in part, namely:— The preamble and Section 3 (except the definition of "Chief Revenue Authority"), 5 to 9 (both inclusive), 11 to 20 (both inclusive), 21 (paragraphs 1, 2 and 3), 22, 23 (except the words "with the sanction of the Local Government"), 24 to 54 (both inclusive), 56 to 65 (both inclusive, 66 [except in clause (b), the words "or, in British Burma, five tolas"], 67 to 82 (both inclusive), 85 and 86.	Repealed in part by Act I of 1878. Amended by Act 1 of 1878.	Do ...	*For* "Chief Revenue Authority" and "Local Government" *read* "Chief Commissioner of Mysore"; *for* "Authority" *read* "Commissioner"; and *for* "British India" *read* "the territories of Mysore." In the preamble, *for* "Northern India, British Burma, and Coorg," *read* "the territories of Mysore."
XXIII of 1871, in part.	The Pensions Act, 1871: in part, namely:— The preamble and Sections 1, 3, 4, 5 (except the words "Subject to the general control of the Local Government"), 6, 7 [clause (1)], 8 to 13 (both inclusive) and 14 (except the words "with the consent of the Local Government").	......	Do ...	*For* "Local Government," "Chief Revenue Authority" and "Chief Controlling Revenue Authority," *read* "Chief Commissioner."
XXVI of 1871, in part.	The Land Improvement Act, 1871; in part, namely:— The preamble and Sections 1 paragraph 1 and 3 to 18 (both inclusive).	Amended by Act XXI of 1876.	Do ...	*For* "Local Government" *read* "Chief Commissioner of Mysore."
I of 1872 ...	The Indian Evidence Act, 1872 ...	Amended by Act XVIII of 1872.	Do ...	......
IX of 1872...	The Indian Contract Act, 1872 ...	Repealed in part by Act I of 1877.	Do ...	*For* the explanation to Section 265 *read* "The Court in this section shall be taken to mean a court not inferior to the Court of the Judicial Assistant Commissioner."
X of 1872 ...	The Code of Criminal Procedure ...	Repealed in part by Act XI of 1874. Amended by Act XI of 1874.	Do ...	*For* "British India" *read* "the territories of Mysore."

PART I—*contd.*

Number and year	Title or short title	Enactment, if any, by which Act repealed in part or amended	Local extent and personal application, if any, prescribed	Modifications
XV of 1873, in part.	The Indian Christian Marriage Act, 1872; in part, namely:— The preamble, Sections 2 to 7 (both inclusive,) 9 [except the words "or (so far as regards any Native State) the Governor-General in Council"], 10 to 27 (both inclusive), 37 to 42 (both inclusiae), 44, 45 and 46 (except those expressions which refer to the jurisdiction of a Judge of the High Court), 48 (except the last three clauses and such expressions as refer to the jurisdiction of a Judge of the High Court, 49 to 53 (both inclusive), 57 to 83 (both inclusive), 85,, 87 and 88, and Schedules I, II and V.	......	Do ... Applies so far as regards marriages between persons, one of whom is a Native Christian subject of Mysore, and neither of whom is a Christian British subject.	*For* "Local Government" *read* Chief Commissioner of Mysore."
XVIII of 1872	The Indian Evidence Act, Amendment Act	Repealed in part by Act X of 1872.	Extends to the whole Province.	......
XIX of 1872	Indian Penal Code Amendment (Definition of "Coin")	......	Do ...	......
V of 1873 ...	The Government Savings Banks Act, 1873	......	Do ...	......
X of 1873 ...	The Indian Oaths Act, 1873 ...	......	Do ...	In Section 7, *for* "High Court" *read* "Judicial Commissioner of Mysore."
XI of 1874 ...	To amend the Code of Criminal Procedure.	......	Do ...	......

XXI of 1876	To amend the Land Improvement Act, 1871	......	Do ...	*For* Section 1, *read* "This Act shall be read with and taken as part of the said Land Improvement Act, 1871." In Section 2, *for* "one" *read* "three." In Section 4, *after* "advanced under this Act" *insert* "or chargeable on account of interest according to the rules made hereunder." In Section 5, *for* "Local Government" *read* "Chief Commissioner of Mysore."
I of 1877, in part...	The Specific Relief Act, 1877, in part, namely :— The preamble, Sections 1 to 44 (both inclusive) and 52 to 57 (both inclusive) and the Schedule.	......	Do ...	......
III of 1877...	The Indian Registration Act, 1877 ...	Amended by Act XII of 1879.	Do ...	......
X of 1877, in part	The Code of Civil Procedure, in part, namely :— The preamble, Sections 1 to 340, 341 (except the word "third" in the proviso), 342 to 418 (both inclusive), 422, 423, 424 (except the words "against the said Secretary of State in Council or" and "in the case of the Secretary of State in Council delivered to, or left at the office of a Secretary to the Local Government or the Collector of the District and in the case of a public officer" 425 to 428 (both inclusive), 429 (except the words "against the said Secretary of State in Council or"), 434 to 585 (both inclusive), 587 to 593 (both inclusive), 617 to 630 (both inclusive) and 639 to 652 and the Schedules.	Repealed in part by Act XII of 1879. Amended by Act XII of 1879.	Do ...	*For* "High Court" *read* "Court of the Judicial Commissioner." *For* "British India" *read* "the territories of Mysore." *For* "Collector" *read* "Deputy Commissioner." *For* "Local Government" *read* "Chief Commissioner of Mysore." In Section 339, *for* "proper officer of the Court" *read* "officer in charge of the Civil Jail." *For* Section 416 *read* "suits by the Government shall be instituted by the State of Mysore."

PART I—*contd.*

Number and year	Title or short title	Enactment, if any, by which Act repealed in part or amended	Local extent and personal application, if any, prescribed	Modifications
XV of 1877...	The Indian Limitation Act, 1877 ...	Amended by Act XII of 1879.	Do ...	*For* Section 418 *read* "In suits by the State of Mysore, instead of inserting in the plaint the name and description and place of abode of the plaintiff, it shall be sufficient to insert the words 'the State of Mysore';" In Section 443, *for* "Indian Majority Act, 1875, Section 3" *read* "rules for the care of the persons and property of minors, published with Government of India Notification No. 75-J., dated 25th April 1872." In Section 547, *for* "Secretary of State for India in Council, or" *read* "State of Mysore." *For* "first day of October 1877," *read* "first day of January 1878." *For* "High Court" *read* "Court of the Judicial Commissioner. *For* "Court of District Judge" *read* "Court of a Subordinate Judge or District Judge." *For* "British India" *read* the territories of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore."

I of 1878, in part	The Opium Act, 1878, in part, namely :— The preamble, and Sections 1, 3 (except in the definition of "Magistrate" the words "in the Presidency towns, a Presidency Magistrate and elsewhere"), 4 to 11 (both inclusive), 12 (except in the third paragraph, the words "Collector of the District or"), 13 to 18 (both inclusive), 19 (except the words "Collector of the District"), 20, 21, 22 (except the last paragraph), 23, 24 (except the words "Collector of the District," "Collector" and "Collector, Deputy Collector or other") and 25.	......	Do ...	*For* "the Local Government," "any Local Government," "The same Local Government" "such Government" and "such Local Government" *read* "the Chief Commissioner of Mysore." *For* the last two clauses of Section 1, *read* "and it shall come into force in Mysore on the 1st day of April 1880." In Section 6, *for* "British India" *read* "Mysore."
I of 1879, in part	The Indian Stamp Act, 1879 ; in part namely :— Sections 1 to 72, Schedule I. Schedule II [except, in No. 15 (c), the words "(in the Presidencies of Fort St. George and Bombay)"] and Schedule III.	......	Do ...	*For* "British India" and "Local Government," *read* "the territories of Mysore" and "Chief Commissioner of Mysore" respectively. In Section 1, last paragraph, and in Section 5, clause (*a*), *for* "April" *read* "June." *For* clauses (7) and (8) of Section 3 *read* "Chief Controlling Revenue Authority means the Chief Commissioner or such officer as the Chief Commissioner may, from time to time, by notification in the official Gazette, appoint in this behalf by name or in virtue of his office."

PART I—*contd.*

Number and year	Title or short title	Enactment, if any, by which Act repealed in part or amended	Local extent and personal application, if any, prescribed	Modifications
				"Collector" means a Deputy Commissioner and any officer whom the Chief Commissioner may, from time to time, by notification in the official Gazette, appoint in this behalf by name or in virtue of his office. *For* Section 46 *read* "the Chief Controlling Revenue Authority may state any case referred to it under Section 45 or otherwise coming to its notice, and refer such case, with its own opinion thereon, to the court of the Judicial Commissioner of Mysore or other court exercising the functions of a High Court within the Territories of Mysore." In Sections 47, 48 and 49, *for* "High Court or Chief Court," *read* "Court of the Judicial Commissioner of Mysore or other such Court as aforesaid."

IV of 1879, in part	The Indian Railways Act, 1879, in part, namely ;— The preamble, Sections 1 (except the second paragraph), 2 (except the third paragraph), 3 (except in the definition of "Railway Administration" the words, "or a Native State"), 4 to 49 (both inclusive), 50 (except the words, "a Presidency Magistrate and") and 51 to 54 (both inclusive) and the Schedules.	......	Do ...	......
XII of 1879, in part	To amend the Code of Civil Procedure, the Registration Act, 1877, and the Limitation Act, 1877: in part, namely :— The preambles and Sections 1 (except the words and figures "In Section 639, the figures 261"), 2 to 92 (both inclusive) and 94 to 108 (both inclusive.)	......	Do ...	In Section 1, paragraph 19, for "proper officer of the court" read "officer in charge of the Civil Jail." *For* "a High Court" and "the High Court" *read* "the Court of the Judicial Commissioner." *For* "British India" *read* Territories of Mysore." *For* "Collector" *read* "Deputy Commissioner." *For* "Local Government' *read* Chief Commissioner of "Mysore."
XIV of 1880, in part	The Indian Census Act, 1880, in part, namely :— The preamble and Sections 1 to 4 (both incluse), 5 [except (1) in clause (a) the words "or naval," in both places in which they occur and the words "or of any vessel of war," and (2) in the last paragraph but one, the words "or in the towns of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, by such officer as the Local Government may appoint in this behalf" and the words "or officer"], 6 to 11	......	Do ...	*For* "Brittsh India" *read* the territories of Mysore." *For* "Local Government" *read* "Chief Commissioner of Mysore." *For* Section 6 *read* :— "The Magistrate of the District may, by an order, written, printed, or lithographed, call upon all owners and occupiers of land, tenure-holders, farmers, and assignees of land

PART I—*contd.*

Number and year	Title or short title	Enactment, if any, by which Act repealed in part or amended	Local extent and personal application, if any, prescribed	Modifications
	(both inclusive), 12 (except in the last paragraph, the words " in the towns of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay," and the words " before a Presidency Magistrate, and elsewhere "), and 13 except the words and figures " or chapter eighteen of the Presidency Magistrate's Act, 1877 ").			revenue in his district, or their agents, to give such assistance as he needs towards the taking of a census of the persons who are at the time of taking the census on the land of such owners, occupiers, holders, farmers and assignees. " Such order shall specify the nature of the assistance required, and such owners, occupiers, holders, farmers and assignees, or their agents shall be bound to obey it."

PART II—MADRAS ACTS.

III of 1869...	To empower Revenue officers to summon persons to attend at their cutcherries for the settlement of matters connected with revenue administration.	......	Do ...	......
I of 1873 ...	To prevent the indiscriminate destruction of wild elephants.	......	......	......
VIII of 1878	The Madras Coffee Stealing Prevention Act, 1878	......	Extends to the whole Province.	In Section 1, *for* "Madras" *read* " Mysore." In Section 2, *for* " Presidency of Fort St. George" *read* " Province of Mysore," and *for* " Governor in Council" *read* " Governor-General in Council."

PART III—BOMBAY ACTS.

I of 1865, in part...	Bombay Survey and Settlement Act; in part, namely :— The preamble and Sections 1 to 49 (both inclusive)	Repealed in part by Bombay Act IV of 1868.	Do ...	*For* " Governor in Council" *read* " Chief Commissioner of Mysore." *For* "Revenue Commissioner" *read* " Superintendent of Division." *For* " Collector" *read* " Deputy Superintendent of District." *For* " Assistant Collector" *read* " Assistant Superintendent of District." *For* " Presidency of Bombay" *read* "Province of Mysore."
IV of 1868 ...	Act for City Surveys and amendment of Bombay Survey and Settlement Act, 1868.	......	Do ...	*For* " Revenue Commissioner" *read* " Superintendent of Division." *For* "Collector" *read* " Deputy Superintendent of District." *For* " Assistant Collector" *read* " Assistant Superintendent of District."

PART IV—BENGAL ACTS.

Number and year	Title or short title	Enactment, if any, by which Act repealed in part or amended	Local extent and personal application, if any, prescribed	Modifications
IV of 1869, in part	For the prevention of cruelty to animals; in part, namely :— The preamble and Sections 1 to 7 (both inclusive), 9 and 10.	......	Do ...	In Sections 6 and 7, *for* "town of Calcutta" *read* "town and cantonment of Bangalore." *For* Section 2 *read* :— This Act shall extend to the town and cantonment of Bangalore, within Municipal limits, as fixed by the Chief Commissioner." In Section 10 *for* "Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal" *read* "Chief Commissioner of Mysore" and *for* "Calcutta Gazette" *read* "Mysore Gazette."

PART V—RULES MADE UNDER THE FOREGOING ACTS.

	All rules made by the proper authority under any of the foregoing Acts and in force on the 25th March 1881.	......	......	......

PART VI—RULES AND REGULATIONS MADE OTHERWISE THAN UNDER THE FOREGOING ACTS.

Year	Title or subject matter	Authority	Extent
1867	The Inam Rules for Mysore, dated 14th December 1867	Letter from Government of India, Foreign Department No. 122, dated the 21st April 1868.	Extend to the whole Province.
,,	Rules for the settlement of Ready Money Grants in Mysore	Letter from Government of India, Foreign Department. No. 399, dated the 21st April 1868.	Do
1871	The Municipal Regulations	Notification by Government of India, Foreign Department. No. 51-J., dated the 31st March 1871.	Extend only to the town of Bangalore.
,,	Rules for the inspection and control of Prostitutes and Brothels	Notification by Government of India, Foreign Department, No. 1535-G., dated the 20th July 1871.	Do
1872	Rules for the care of the persons and property of minors, as modified by paragraph II of notification by the Government of India, Foreign Department, No. 235-J., dated the 27th August 1879.	Notification by Government of India, Foreign Department, No. 75-J., dated the 25th April 1872. Notification by Government of India, Foreign Department, No. 235-J., dated the 27th August 1879.	Extend to the whole Province. Do
,,	Empowering Revenue Officers in the investigation of Judicial cases to exercise the powers which may be exercised by the Civil Courts in Mysore.	Notification by Government of India, Foreign Department, No. 123-J., dated the 26th June 1872.	......
,,	Rules for the organisation and regulation of village and regular Police.	Notification by Government of India, Foreign Department, No. 230-J., dated the 16th October 1872.	Extend to the whole Province, with the exception of the town of Bangalore.
		Notification by Government of India, Foreign Department, No. 322, dated the 21st November 1879.	......
		Notification by Chief Commissioner, Mysore, No. 20, dated the 30th April 1879; published under the authority of the Government of India.	......
,,	Rules defining the jurisdiction of Civil Courts in suits relating to inams.	Notification by Chief Commissioner, Mysore, No. 40, dated the 15th May 1872; published under the authority of the Government of India, conveyed in letter from Foreign Department, No. 113-R., dated the 29th April 1872.	Extend to the whole Province.
1874	Rules for punishment of breaches of Salt Laws	Notification by Chief Commissioner, Mysore, No. 287, dated the 6th February 1874; published under the authority of the Government of India.	Do

PART VI—*contd.*

Year	Title or subject matter	Authority	Extent
,,	Rules for the establishment of local Committees for the administration of local funds in Mysore.	Notification by Chief Commissioner, Mysore, No. 110, dated the 4th July 1874; published under the authority of the Government of India, conveyed in letter from Foreign Department, No. 1209-G., dated the 6th June 1874.	Extend to the whole Province.
,,	Rules relating to Lunatics	Notification by Chief Commissioner, Mysore, No. 141, dated the 31st July 1874; published under authority of the Government of India.	Do
,,	Revised Rules for the remunerating of Patels and Shanbhogs.	Notification by Chief Commissioner, Mysore, No. 219, dated the 27th October 1874; published under the authority of the Governor-General in Council.	Do
1875	Rules for the administration of the District Irrigation Fund.	Notification by Chief Commissioner, Mysore, No. 341, dated the 11th February 1875; published under the authority of the Governor-General in Council. Notification by Chief Commissioner, Mysore, No. 62, dated the 7th May 1875.	Do
1876	Rules for the levy of tolls on public roads and bridges.	Notification by Chief Commissioner, Mysore, No. 274, dated the 4th November 1876; published under the authority of the Government of India.	Do
1877	Rules for the enfranchisement of Kodagi Inams in Mysore	Notification by Chief Commissioner, Mysore, No. 369, dated the 23rd January 1877; published under the authority of the Governor-General in Council.	Do
,,	Rules for the preservation of Inam lands unauthorisedly alienated from religious or charitable institutions.	Notification by Chief Commissioner, Mysore, No. 266, dated the 17th November 1877; published under the authority of Governor-General in Council.	Do
1878	Forest rules	Notification by Government of India, Department of Revenue, Agriculture and Commerce, No. 588, dated the 8th June 1878.	Do
	Notification for execution of Criminal Processes issued by Magistrates in British India.	Notification by Chief Commissioner, Mysore, No. 111, dated the 27th July 1878; published under the authority of the Governor-General in Council.	Do

"	Notification for executing of Decrees of, and Civil Processes issued by, Courts in British India.	Notification by Chief Commissioner, Mysore, No. 112, dated the 27th July 1878; published under the authority of the Governor-General in Council.	Do
"	Rules for the remuneration of minor village servants (Talvars, Totis and Nirgantis).	Notification by Chief Commissioner, Mysore, No. 123, dated the 1st August 1878; published under the authority of the Governor-General in Council.	Extend only to Districts of Bangalore, Kolar and Tumkur.
"	Rules corresponding with Sections 30 and 31 of Act V of 1871 (The Prisoners Act).	Notification by Government of India, Foreign Department, No. 182-J., dated the 8th November 1878.	Extend to the whole Province.
1879	Rules relating to Court adjournments and holidays.	Letter from Government of India, Foreign Department, No. 9-J., dated the 20th January 1879.	Do
"	Regulations with regard to Paper Currency...	Notification by Government of India, Foreign Department, No. 658, dated the 7th February 1879.	Extend only to the town of Bangalore.
"	Advocates' and Pleaders' Rules... ...	Notification by Chief Commissioner, Mysore, No. 273, dated the 18th February 1879; published under the authority of the Governor-General in Council.	Extend to the whole Province.
"	Rules for restraining the manufacture and sale of fireworks	Notification by Chief Commissioner, Mysore, No. 18, dated the 23rd April 1879; published under the authority of the Governor-General in Council.	Extend only to the town of Bangalore.
"	Rules defining the constitution and powers of the Civil Courts in Mysore.	Notification by Government of India, Foreign Department, No. 235-I. J., dated the 27th August 1879, and No. 31-I. J., dated the 28th January 1880.	Extend to the whole Province.
"	Rules defining the constitution and powers of the Criminal Courts in Mysore.	Notification by Government of India, Foreign Department, No. 236-I. J., dated the 27th August 1879.	Do
"	Rules regarding the constitution of a Bench of Judges in Civil cases.	Notification by Government of India, Foreign Department, No. 281-I. J., dated the 10th October 1879.	Do
"	Rules regarding the constitution of a Bench of Judges in Criminal cases.	Notification by Government of India, Foreign Department, No. 282-I. J., dated the 10th October 1879.	Do
"	Rules for the levy of local cess in the unsurveyed taluks of Mysore.	Notification by Chief Commissioner, Mysore, No. 105, dated the 10th June 1871; published under the authority of the Government of India. Notification by Chief Commissioner, Mysore, No. 43; dated the 24th November 1879; published under the authority of the Government of India.	Do

PART VI—*concld.*

Year	Title or subject matter	Authority	Extent
1880	Rules relating to the agreements of Legal Practitioners with clients.	Notification by Government of India, Foreign Department, No. 37-I. J., dated the 1st March 1880.	Extend to the whole Province.
,,	Rules declaring the validity of Registration of certain documents by the Registrar in the Presidency town of Madras.	Notification by Government of India, Foreign Department, No. 74-I. J., dated the 3rd June 1880.	Do
1881	Rules for licensing and regulating Talimkhanas.	Notification by Chief Commissioner, Mysore, No. 172, dated the 11th February 1881; published under the authority of the Governor-General in Council.	Do

P. B. WARBURTON,
First Assistant Resident in Mysore.

The 26th November 1913.

M. VISVESVARAYA,
Dewan of Mysore.

The 26th November 1913.

J. B. WOOD,
Secretary to the Government of India
in the Foreign Department

The 1st December 1913.

APPENDIX G.

LIST OF DEWANS OF MYSORE FROM 1881 TO 1928.

No.	Name	Date of assuming charge	Remarks
1	C. Rangacharlu, C.I.E. ...	25th Mar. 1881	Till 20th Jan. 1883
2	K. Seshadri Iyer, B.A., B.L., C.S.I.	12th Feb. 1883	From 21st Jan. to 11th Feb. 1883, in charge of the current duties of the Dewan.
3	T. R. A. Thumboo Chetty ...	1st July 1890	Officiating.
4	K. Seshadri Iyer, B.A. B.L., C.S.I.	1st Oct. 1890	
5	T. R. A. Thumboo Chetty ...	12th Dec. 1892	Do
6	Sir K. Seshadri Iyer, B.A., B.L., K.C.S.I.	30th Jan. 1893	
7	T. R. A. Thumboo Chetty ...	22nd Aug. 1893	Do
8	*Rājyadhurandhara* Sir K. Seshadri Iyer, B.A., B.L., K.C.S.I.	18th Oct. 1893	
9	*Rājadharmapravīna* Mr. T. R. A. Thumboo Chetty.	16th Dec. 1897	Do
10	*Rājyadhurandhara* Sir K. Seshadri Iyer, B.A. B.L., K.C.S.I.	16th Mar. 1898	
11	*Rājadharmapravīna* Mr. T. R. A. Thumboo Chetty, C.I.E.	11th Aug 1900	Do
12	Sir P. N. Krishnamurthi, B. A., F.M.U., K.C.I.E.	18th Mar. 1901	
13	V. P. Madhava Rao, B.A., F.M.U., C.I.E.	30th June 1906	
14	*Pradhanasirōmani* Mr. T. Ananda Rao, B.A. C.I.E.	1st April 1909	
15	Sir M. Visvesvaraya, B.A. L.C.E., M. Inst. C.E., C.I.E.	10th Nov. 1912	Promoted K.C.I.E., 3rd June 1915.
16	*Rājasevadhurīna* M. Kantaraj Urs. B.A C.S.I.	10th Dec. 1918	Gazetted as Dewan Offg.
17	A. R. Banerji, M.A.. C.S.I.. C I.E. ...	Do	Officiating.
18	*Rājasevadhurīna* M. Kantaraj Urs, B.A., C.S.I.	14th July 1919	Confirmed.
19	A. R. Banerji, M.A., C.S.I., C.I.E.	12th Aug. 1920	Officiating.
20	*Rājasevadhurīna* M. Kantaraj Urs. B.A., C.S.I.	11th Sept. 1920	
21	A. R. Banerji, M.A., C.S.I., C.I.E. ...	1st Nov. 1921	Do
22	*Rājasevadhurīna* Sii M. Kantaraj Urs, B.A., K.C.I.E., C.S.I.	8th Nov. 1921	
23	A. R. Banerji, M.A., C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.	6th Mar. 1922	Do
24	*Rājamantradhurina* Sir A. R. Banerji, M.A., C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.	1st May 1922	Confirmed. Titles conferred; C.I. E. on 3rd June 99; C. S. I. on 4th June 1922; and *Rājamantradhurina* on 22nd September 1923. Created Knight Bachelor on 3rd June 1925.
25	*Amin-ul-mulk* Sir Mirza M. Ismail, B.A., C.I.E., O.B.E.	1st May 1926	Titles conferred: *Amin-ul-mulk* on 25th October 1920; O.B.E. on 1st January 1923; and, C. I. E. on 3rd June 1924; Created Knight, 1st Jan. 1930.

APPENDIX H.

LIST OF RESIDENTS IN MYSORE FROM 1881 TO 1928

No.	Name	Assumed charge of Office	Remarks
1	Mr. (afterwards Sir James) Gordon.	March 1881	To June 1883.
2	Mr. J. D. Sandford ...	May 1882	Acting till Do Do
3	Mr. (afterwards Sir James) Lyall.	June 1883	To March 1887.
4	Col. T. G. Clarke ...	Dec. 1884	Acting till May 1885.
5	Mr. C. E. R. Girdlestone ...	June 1885	Do May 1886.
6	Sir Charles Bernard ...		Did not join.
7	Mr. (afterwards Sir Dennis) Fitzpatrick.	March 1887	To October 1887.
8	General Sir Harry Prendergast, V. C.	Oct. 1887	To January 1889.
9	Col. Sir Oliver St. John ...	Jan. 1889	To June 1891.
10	Gen. Sir Harry Prendergast ...	June 1891	To April 1892.
11	Col. P. D. Henderson ...	April 1892	To February 1895.
12	Col. H. P. Peacock ...	July 1892	Acting till October 1892.
13	Mr. (afterwards Sir William) Lee-Warner.	Feb. 1895	To September 1895.
14	Mr. (afterwards Sir) W. Mackworth Young.	Sept. 1895	To December 1896.
15	Col. Sir Donald Robertson ...	Dec. 1896	To May 1901.
16	Mr. J. A. Crawford ...	28th June 1899	Offg. until 26th November 1899, and from 29th May to 5th December 1901.
17	Sir J. A. Bourdillon, K.C.S.I....	5th Nov. 1903	
18	Mr. A. L. P. Tucker, C.I.E. ...	29th July 1904	Offg. to 30th October 1904.
19	Mr. A. Williams ...	22nd May 1905	Offg. to 22nd November 1905 and again from 15th March to 25th November 1907.
20	Sir S. M. Fraser, K.C.S.I. C.I.E.	22nd Nov. 1905	
21	Lt. Col. Sir H. Daly, K.C.S.I.	26th Aug. 1910	
22	Mr. H. V. Cobb, C.S.I., C.I.E. O.B.E.	7th April 1916	
23	Mr. W. P. Barton, C.S.I., C.I.E.	8th March 1920	
24	Lt. Col. S. G. Knox, C.S.I., C.I.E.	12th Feb. 1921	Offg. to 13th October 1921, for Mr. W. P. Barton.
25	Mr. A. N. L. Cater, I.C.S. ...	28th Feb. 1924	Offg. to 14th March 1924, for Mr. W. P. Barton.
26	Mr. C. C. Watson, C.I.E., I.C.S.	15th March 1924	Offg. to 30th August 1924, for Mr. W. P. Barton.
27	Mr. S. E. Pears, C.S.I., C.I.E.	29th June 1925	

LIST OF ASST. RESIDENTS IN MYSORE.

No.	Name	Assumed charge on
1	Mr. W. J. Cuningham	March 1881.
2	Major H. Wylie	November 1882.
3	Mr. A. H. T. Martindle	February 1885.
4	Major J. H. Newill	October 1885.
5	Major E. A. Fraser	April 1886.
6	Major D. Robertson	December 1886.
7	Mr. L. W. King	July 1887.
8	Major D. Robertson	December 1887.
9	Mr. F. E. K. Wedderburn	May 1888.
10	Mr. E. G. Colvin	December 1888.
11	Mr. J. A. Crawford	April 1889.
12	Captain L. S. Newmarch	October 1889.
13	Major C. W. Ravenshah	April 1891.
14	Mr. H. V. Cobb	August 1893.
15	Major C. W. Ravenshah	November 1893.
16	Mr. H. V. Cobb	April 1895.
17	Captain K. D. Erskine	June 1895.
18	Do	6th July 1895.
19	Mr. H. R. C. Dobbs, I.C.S.	1st May 1899.
20	Mr. C. L. C. Russell, I.C.S.	1st March 1901.
21	Mr. R. C. H. Moss-King, I.C.S. ...	13th September 1902.
22	Mr. P. L. Moore, I.C.S.	5th July 1906.
23	Mr. F. P. Rennie, I.C.S.	17th October 1906.
24	Mr. T. B. Ropeland, I.C.S.	6th October 1908.
25	Major W. G. Grey, I.A.	25th January 1910.
26	Mr. P. B. Warburton, I.C.S.	3rd October 1910.
27	Major T. H. St. George Tucker, I.A. ...	3rd April 1916.
28	Major E. H. S. James	20th June 1917.
29	Mr. W. H. J. Wilkinson, I.C.S. ...	12th March 1919.
30	Major C. T. C. Plowden, I.A. (Secretary to Resident).	21st April 1919.
31	Mr. F. Williamson, I.C.S.	24th November 1922.
32	Mr. A. N. L. Cater, I.C.S.	20th February 1925.
33	Major K. A. G. Evans-Gordon	13th February 1925.

APPENDIX I.

HISTORIC AREAS.

Ashtagram (the eight townships.) The country on both banks of the Cauvery near Seringapatam, Mysore State, bestowed by the Hoysala king Vishnuvardhana, early in the twelfth century, on the Vaishnava reformer Ramanuja, by whom he had been converted from the Jain faith. The reformer appointed Brāhmans to administer the tract, under the designation of *Hebbars* and *Prabhus*. settling them in eight towns. The chiefs of Nāgamangala, probably descended from these, were put down at the end of the fifteenth century by the Vijayanagar king Narasinga, who took possession of Seringapatam. Under the Mysore kings, the tract was formed into the Patna Ashtagrām and Maisur Ashtagrām *taluks*, the former to the north of the river and the latter to the South. In 1863, Mysore and Hassan Districts were constituted the Ashtagrām Division, which was abolished in 1880.

Balaghat (above the Ghats.) The name given by the Musalmans of Bijāpur to a region conquered by them from Vijayanagar in the seventeenth century. It comprised the north-east part of Mysore and the Bellary, Anantapur, Kurnool and Cuddapah Districts of Madras.

Banavasi. A 'twelve thousand' province, corresponding generally with the Shimoga District of Mysore, formed under the Chalukyas (sixth century) and subsequent rulers, with its capital at Balligāve (Belgāmi in the Shikarpur *taluk.*) Banavāsi, from which the province took its name, is an ancient city on the north-west border of Mysore State. It was the capital of the Kadambas from the second to the fifth century, and even later remained identified with them. It is mentioned by Ptolemy, and before that, in the third century B.C., was one of the places to which Asoka is said to have sent a Buddhist missionary.

Carnatic (Kannada Karnata, Karnataka-dēsa.) (i) Properly, as the name implies, 'the Kanarese country.' The name has, however, been erroneously applied by modern European writers to the Tamil country of Madras, including the Telugu District of Nellore. The boundaries of the true Carnatic, or Karnātaka-dēsa, are given by Wilks as:—

'Commencing near the town of Bidar, 18° 45′ N., about 60 miles north-west from Hyderabad (Deccan.) Following the course of the Kanarese language to the south-east, it is found to be limited by a waving line which nearly touches Adoni, winds to the west of Gooty, skirts the town of Anantapur and passing through Nandidroog, touches the range of the Eastern Ghats; thence pursuing their southern course to the mountainous Pass of Gazzalhati, it continues to follow the abrupt turn caused by the great chasm of western hills between the towns of Coimbatore, Pollachi and Palghat; and, sweeping to the north-west, skirts the edges of the precipitous Western Ghats, nearly as far north as the sources of the Kistna; whence following first an eastern and afterwards a north-eastern course, it terminates in rather an acute angle near Bidar, already described as its northern limit.'

This country has been ruled wholly or in part by many dynasties, of whom the Āndhras or Sātavāhanas, the Kadambas the Pallavas, the Gangas, the Chalukyas, the Hoysalas, the Rāshtrakutas, the Cholas, the later Chālukyas, the Hoysalas, and the House of Vijayanagar are the most prominent. The Vijayanagar kings, who came into power about the year 1336, conquered the whole of the peninsula south of the Tungabhadra river. They were completely overthrown by the Muhammadans in 1565, and retired first to Penukonda, and then to Chandragiri, one branch of the family remaining at Anagundi opposite to their old capital. It was these conquests that probably led to the extension of the term "Carnatic" to the southern plain country; and this latter region came to be called Karnāta Payanghat, or 'lowlands' to distinguish it from Karnāta Balaghat or the 'hill country'. When the Muhammadan kings of the Deccan ousted the Vijayanagar dynasty, they divided the north to the Vijayanagar country between them into Carnatic Hyderabad (or Golconda) and Carnatic Bijāpur, each being further subdivided into Payanghat and Balaghāt. At this time, according to Wilks, the northern boundary of Karnata (Carnatic) was the Tungabhadra.

The later or Madras Carnatic,

(ii) Speaking of this period and the modern misapplication of the name, Bishop Caldwell says (*Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*, pp. 34-5):—

'The term *Karnata* or *Karnataka* is said to have been a generic term, including both the Telugu and Kanarese peoples and their languages, though it is admitted that it usually denoted the latter alone, and though it is to the latter that the abbreviated form Kannadam has been appropriated. Karnataka (that which belongs to Karnata) is regarded as a Sanskrit word by native Pandits; but I agree with Dr. Gundert in preferring to derive it from the Dravidian words *kar*, "black," *nadu* (the adjective form of which in Telugu is *nati*), "country," that is, "the black country," a term very suitable to designate the "black cotton soil," as it is called, of the plateau of the Southern Deccan. The use of the term is of considerable antiquity, as we find it in the *Varaha-Mihira* at the beginning of the sixth century A.D. Taranatha also mentions Karnata. The word Karnata or Karnataka, though at first a generic term, became in process of time the appellation of the Kanarese people and of their language alone, to the entire exclusion of the Telugu. Karnataka has now got into the hands of the foreigners, who have given it a new and erroneous application. When the Muhammadans arrived in Southern India, they found that part of it with which they first became acquainted —the country above the Ghats, including Mysore and part of Telingana—and called it the Karnata country. In course of time, by a mis-application of terms, they applied the same name Karnatak, or Carnatic, to designate the country below the Ghats, as well as that which was above. The English have carried the misapplication a step farther, and restricted the name to the country below the Ghats, which never had any right to it whatever. Hence the Mysore country, which is probably the true Carnatic, is no longer called by that name; and what is now geographically termed "the Carnatic" is exclusively the country below the Ghats on the Coromandel coast.'

The Bombay Carnatic.

(iii) It is this latter country which formed the dominions of the Nawābs of the Carnātic, who played such an important part in the struggle for supremacy between the English and the French in the eighteenth century, and which now forms the greater portion of the present Madras Presidency. This connotation still survives in the designation of Madras regiments as Carnatic infantry. Administratively, however, the term Carnatic (or Karnātak as it is there used) is now restricted to the Bombay portion of the original Karnāta, namely, the Districts of Belgaum, Dhārwār, and Bijāpur, and part of North Kanara, with the Native States of the Southern Maratha Agency and Kolhapur.

Deccan (or Dakhan.)

This name, a corruption of the Sānskrit *dakshina*= "southern," includes, in its widest sense, the whole of India south of the Narbada river, or, which is nearly the same thing, south of the Vindhya mountains. In its narrower sense, it has much the same meaning as *Maharashtra,* or the country where the Marathi language is spoken, if the below-Ghāt tract be omitted. In this connotation, its southern boundary lies along the course of the Kistna river. In a still narrower sense, the Deccan is regarded as bounded on the north by the Satmala hills. Adopting the broadest meaning, the Deccan on its western side descends seaward by a succession of terraces from the Western Ghāts, which rise in parts to over 4,000 feet in height and terminate abruptly near Cape Comorin, the extreme southern point of the peninsula, at an elevation of 2,000 feet. From here, following the coastline, the Eastern Ghāts commence in a series of detached groups, which, uniting in about latitude 11° 40^{1} N., run north-eastward along the Coromandel coast, with an average elevation of 1,500 feet, and join the Vindhyas, which cross the peninsula from west to east in nearly the same latitude (13° 20^{1} N.) as their western counterpart. The Vindhyan range thus joins the northern extremities of the two Ghats and completes the peninsular triangle of the Deccan. The eastern side of the enclosed table-land being much lower than the western, all the principal rivers of the Deccan, the Godavari, Kistna, and Cauvery, rising in the Western Ghāt, flow eastward and escape by openings in the Eastern Ghāts into the Bay of Bengal. Between the Ghāts and the sea on either side, the land differs in being, on the east, composed in part of alluvial deposits brought down from the mountains, and sloping gently; while on the west, the incline is abrupt, and the coast strip is broken by irregular spurs from the Ghats, which at places descend into the sea in steep cliffs.

Gangavadi.

The territory of the Ganga kings in Mysore, who ruled from the second to the eleventh century. It was a 'ninety-six thousand' province, the boundaries of which are given as north, Marandale (not identified); east, Tondanād (the Madras country east from Mysore); west, the ocean in the direction of Chēra (Cochin and Travancore); south, Kongu (Salem and Coimbatore.) The inhabitants of Gangavādi are represented by the existing Gangadikaras, a contraction of Gangavadikaras.

Nagara khanda.

An ancient province corresponding generally with the Shikarpur *taluk* of Shimoga District in Mysore. It was a 'seventy' province, and its capital was at Bandahikke, or Bandalikke, also called Bandhavapura, now deserted and in ruins. According to an old inscription, Nagarakhanda was at one time ruled by 'the wise Chandragupta.'

Nolambavadi (or Nonamba vadi.)

The territory of the Nonamba or Nolamba kings, a 'thirty-two thousand' province, corresponding generally with the Chitaldrug District of Mysore. The Nonambas or Nolambas were a branch of the Pallavas, the early rulers of the Telugu country and other parts of Madras, and their name appears from the ninth century. The existing Nonambas in Mysore represent the former inhabitants of Nonambavādi.

Payanghat (or below the Ghats.)

The name given by the Musalmans of Bijapur to the low country in the east of the present Mysore State, conquered by them from Vijayanagar in the seventeenth century.

Punnata.

An ancient kingdom in the south-west of Mysore State, with its capital at Kitthipura, now Kittur, on the Kabbani. It was a 'sixth-thousand' province, and was absorbed into the Ganga kingdom in the fifth century. In the fourth century B. C., Bhadrabāhu, the Jain leader, who is said to have been accompanied to the south, by Chandra Gupta, and who died at Sravana Belgola, directed the migration he had conducted from the north to proceed to Punnata, when he found that his own end was approaching. It is mentioned as *Pounata* by Ptolemy, who adds regarding it 'where is beryl.' (See *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Volume on *Mysore and Coorg*, 118-25).

APPENDIX J.

THE NAME "MYSORE."

The derivation of the name *Mysore* has been the subject of considerable discussion for some years now. The traditional derivation from *Mahisha*+*ūru*, literally buffalo town or country, from which Kannada *Maisa*+*ūru* is derived, commemorates, as mentioned in the text, the destruction of Mahishasura, the form under which the consort of Siva is worshipped as the tutelary goddess of the Mysore Royal House. In the *Mahawanso*, the term *Mahisha-mandala* (or Mahisa-mandala to which Asōka is said to have sent the *thera* Mahadēva) occurs, while in the early Tamil texts and in certain Chola inscriptional records, the name *Erumai-Nādu* is not uncommonly found. For example, we have reference to a *Erumaiyuran, he of the Buffalo country*, one of the seven chiefs located in the Mysore territory. (See S. K. Iyengar, *Ancient India*, 222.) Chāmundi is usually represented in sculpture as standing on the buffalo head of the giant *Mahisha*, whom she is said to have slain with the conch and the discus of Vishnu. She is represented as holding these two weapons in two of her four hands. The goddess is, on this account, commonly known as *Mahishāsura-mardhini*, the destroyer of the buffalo-headed monster. The question whether Mysore is identical with Mahishmati has also been discussed. Mahishmati has been identified with the name of the country on the Upper Nerbudda in the Central Provinces. (See Fleet in *J.R.A.S.* 1910, 429; see also *J.R.A.S.* 1908, 162, 169, 253, 261; *Journal of the Mythic Society*, III, No. 2,53-76.) As Mr. Narasimhachar has pointed out, *Mahisharāshtra* and *Maisa-nādu* occur as the names of Mysore in inscriptions and literature. *Maisa* is only a *tadbhava*, or corrupt form of *Mahisha*. (*Journal of the Mythic Society*, X. No. 3, 248-9).

The Mudduraja Urs Ms. referred to below under Hadanad states that in *Saka* 1440, *Tārana*, Yadurāya took possession of Mysore City, then known as *Puragere* and made it his capital giving it the name of *Mahisura* (the hero town.) He also built a fort at the place, mounting eleven cannon on its bastions. It would appear, according to this manuscript, that each of these eleven cannons had a distinctive name, *viz.*, Chāmundēsvari, Nagaruman, Ranganātha, Bhairava, Rāmabāna, Ugranarasimha, Trinayana, Rāmabhadra, Kōdanda-Rāma *alias* Hanumanta, Muddukrishna, and Lakshmīramana, and that there were 5 spare cannons for use, four in the Stores and one in the Palace. The same Ms. adds that the Lakshīramana temple was founded by the Chōla kings and that Rāja-Wodeyar on the acquisition of Seringapatam in 1610 A.D. transferred the capital to that famous place, where it was located till 1799.

The date given in the Ms., Saka 1440, cyclic year *Tārana* does not, however, appear to be correct as these do not agree. Taking the year Tārana as the year intended, it would correspond to Saka 1447, or A.D. 1525. This date falls within the period of the reign of Krishna-Dēva-Rāya, who was the ruling Vijayanagar sovereign. His conquest of Sivasamudram country was, as we have seen, one of the first acts of his reign. It is not impossible that about this time, the Kings of Mysore were ruling over Mysore and parts of the adjoining country.

Mr. V. Venkatasubbiah, B.A., Assistant Epigraphist, Archæological Survey of India, Southern Circle, has kindly furnished the following note on the subject :—

"So far, there is no reference in inscriptions to Mysore as *Erumai-nādu.* The Chieftain *Erumai* of Kuda-Nādu is referred to by the Sangam poets Mamulanar (*Ahananuru* V.115. I.) and Nakkirar (Ibid. V. 36. II) :—

Nunnpūnnerumai Kuda nattanna verai (115).
Por val yānaip-polam pūnnezhini nādari
naravī nerumaiyūran (36).

This chief (Erumai) was killed by Nedunchēliyan in the battle of Talaiyālangānam. The name of this chief was applied to his territory and it was known in Tamil literature as the territory of *Erumaiyūrān.* The territory of *Erumai* i.e., *Erumai-Nādu* or its Pali rendering *Mahisha-Mandala* mentioned in Asōka inscriptions and the Buddhist Chronicles was equated with the Southern Mysore State by scholars like Rice (J. A. R. S. 1911, 810, 814), Bühler (*E. I.* III, 136) and Griffith (*Rāmāyana*, Kishk. Ch. 41.) But Dr. Fleet, while pointing out that it was also called *Mahāmandala* or *Mahisha-rāshtra*, where the people called *Māhēsha* lived, (*J. R. A. S.* 833), has identified Mahishmati, the capital of the country Mahishaka with Mandhata, on the right bank of the Nerbuddah, forty miles to the south of Indore. This Mahishmati was the capital of Haihaya or Anūpadēsa, the City of Kārta-Vīryārjuna of the *Purānas*, who was killed by Parasu-Rāma, son of Jamadagni.

" The early inscription at Sittannavasal in the Pudukkōttai State begins with the words *Eomy-natu* (*Madras Epigraphy Report* for 1915, page 86 and Proceedings of the Third Oriental Conference, Madras, 1924, p. 296), but it is not certain if this can refer to *Erumai-nādu* of Tamil literature.

" Considering the description and the incidents given in Tamil literature about the territory of *Erumai*, *Erumaiyūr* may be identified with Yemmiganūru (*Enuma* in Telugu meaning a buffalo), about 18 miles north-east of Adoni in the Bellary District, nor far from the Mysore border. The connection of Mysore with *Erumai-nādu* is thus not yet quite proved, though it is just likely that a part of the country at least might have formed a part of *Mahisha-mandala.*

" In this connection, it may also be mentioned that the eastern portion of the Jaffna peninsula was, in ancient times, a separate island known by the name of *Erumai-mullai-tīvu*, from the name of the plant *Erumai-mullai* which it contained abundantly. The shortened form of *Erumai-Mullai-tīvu* will be *Erumai-tīvu*, which may be rendered into Pali as *Mahisha-dvīpa.*

" The identification of Erumaiyūr with Yemmiganūru is only tentative. But it seems very probable considering the existence of Asōkan edicts in Mysore and the Kurnool District of the Madras Presidency and the proximity of the river Hagiri identified with Iri of the Sangam works.

" An inscription (No. 254 of 1909 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection) from Pattukkanāmpatti in the Salem District, dated in the 2 (5)th year of the Chōla king Rājarāja I, mentions a person Erumainālkāmundan (*i. e.*) Kāmundan of Erumai-Nādu. This is perhaps the earliest direct reference to the territory of *Erumai* in the Tamil inscriptions of the Madras Presidency. The identification of this *Nādu* is, however, not clear from the inscription."

APPENDIX K.

HADA-NAD.

This place has been identified by Mr. Rice with Hadināru, 9 miles north-east of Mysore and 6 miles north of Nanjangud. (See last edition of this work, II. 361). This identification has been supported by Mr. R. Narasimhachar (see *M.A.R.* 1918, Para 38). The latter suggests that *Adinaru*, the name which occurs in certain inscriptions, was later corrupted into *Hadi-nādu*. According to a Mss. written in Saka 1707 (or A.D. 1785) the place to which Yadurāya, the founder of the Mysore Royal House, came in the course of his wanderings, after visiting Seringapatam, was *Hadadana* (in which the first *d* is pronounced as *d* in *daughter* and the second *d* as *d* in *durbar*), a fortified village to the south of the Chāmundi Hill. In the same MS., this village is described as a hamlet of Karuguhalli, and as close to Sakkalli. As a matter of fact, the modern village of Hadadana is close to Sakkalli. As the village of Hadadana still exists and is to the south of Chamundi Hill and as it is nearer to Mysore than Adināru, near Nanjangud, it has been suggested that this is the place which Yadurāya reached and not Adināru as suggested by Messrs. Rice and Narasimhachar. (See *Annals of the Mysore Royal Family*, II, 85-87, quoting Muddurāja Urs' Mss.)

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CHAPTER XII.

THE ROLL OF HONOUR.

The short biographical notices of persons, Indian and European, connected with Mysore, given in the list below, should not be considered as exhaustive. An attempt has been made to include in it only the names of the more important of those who have attained to historical or administrative celebrity. The names of many others will be found referred to in their proper places in the body of this work, especially in Volumes I, II and IV. Accuracy and brevity have been aimed at, though the narrative style has not been altogether excluded in certain cases. The list is capable of addition but exigencies of space have not permitted a more comprehensive collection of names.

ABERCROMBY, SIR ROBERT (1740-1827).—Distinguished himself in the first war against Tipū Sultān. Younger brother of Sir Ralph Abercromby; entered the Army in 1758; served in North America till the peace in 1763; and again, from 1776 to 1783, throughout the war to the capitulation of York-town; went to India 1788, and in 1790 was Governor of Bombay and C. in C. there; Maj-General, 1790. After operations on the Malabar coast, he joined Lord Cornwallis in attacking and defeating Tipu Sultan at Seringapatam in 1792; K. B.; succeeded Lord Cornwallis as C. in C. in India, October 1793, being at the same time Member of the Supreme Council till February 1797; he defeated the Rohillas at Batina in Rohilkund in 1794; Lieutant-General in 1797; M. P. for Clackmannan County in 1798; Governor of Edinburgh Castle, 1801; General, 1802; died in November 1827.

ABDUL RAHIMAN.—Member of Council, (*Retd.*) 1895; made Khan Bahadur.

ADAM, WILLIAM PATRICK (1823-1881).—As Governor of Madras, took part in the installation of Sri Chāmarājēndra Wodeyar, 1881; son of Admiral Sir Charles Adam, K. C. B.; born 1823; educated at Rugby and Trinity College, Cambridge, B.A.; called to the bar by the Inner Temple, 1849; Private Secretary to Lord Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay, 1853-58; M. P. for Clackmannan and Kinross, 1859-80; Lord of the Treasury, 1865-66, and 1868-73; First Commissioner of Works in 1873, and Privy Councillor; 'Whip' of the Liberal party, 1874-80, and Governor of Madras, December 20, 1880; died at Ootacamund May 24, 1881; his eldest son was created a Baronet in recognition of his father's public services; his widow was given the rank of a Baronet's widow and made a member of the Order of the Crown of India.

ANANDA RAO, TANJORE, C. I. E.—Dewan, Mysore State. Born 15th May, 1852; eldest son of the late Raja Sir T. Madhava Rao, the well-known Dewan of Travancore and Baroda; educated at Presidency College, Madras, and Maharaja's College, Trivandrum, Travancore State; had a brilliant scholastic career, matriculating in 1st class, 1867; F.A. 1st class, 1869; B.A. (Madras) 1871, 1st class in History, Logic and Psychology; first employed in Madras, Board of Revenue; Tutor to the sons of late Maharaja Tukaji Rao

Holkar; joined as an Attache, Mysore Commission 14th November 1873; Assistant Commissioner, Bangalore, 7th July 1876; in charge of Palace, 1st December 1879; settled Palace accounts, January 1883; served as Assistant Commissioner, Hassan and Kadur 1883; Acting Deputy Commissioner, Hassan and Mysore, 1st April 1886; Chief Secretary to the Dewan of Mysore, November 1889; Director of Agricultural and other Statistics in Mysore, 1897; Census Superintendent, 14th March 1904; his Report on Mysore Census has been described to be a delight to those "who, not satisfied with dry statistical details, wish to wander in the by-paths of Ethnology." Revenue Commissioner, Mysore State, 14th March 1904; First Member of Council, Mysore State, 30th March 1906; Dewan of Mysore, 1st April 1909; retired, 1912; C. I. E. 1910. Died, July 1919.

AUCHMUTY, SIR SAMUEL (1756-1822).—General; took part in the first war against Tipū Sultān; born in New York, 1756, the grandson of a Scotch settler in Boston; saw service, first as a volunteer, from 1777 in the Army, in North America; went to India in 1783 in the 52nd regiment; became Adjutant; promoted to Captain in the 75th, in 1788; was in the campaigns of 1790-91 against Tipu Sultan, and at the first seige of Seringapatam under Lord Cornwallis in 1792; D. Q. M. G. at Calcutta; Military Secretary to Sir Robert Abercromby (q. v.) when C. in C., 1795-97, in his campaign against the Rohillas; returned to England in 1797; commanded a force from the Cape to Egypt to co-operate with Sir D. Baird and Sir Ralph Abercromby against the French; Adjutant-General in Egypt; K. C. B. in 1803; in 1806-07, Brig-General in S. America at Monte Video and Buenos Ayros; Major-General in 1808; went out to Madras as C. in C., May 1810; in 1811 took Java and Batavia, and defeated the Dutch at Cornelis and Samarang; left Madras for England in March, 1813; Lieutant-General; G. C. B., 1815; C. in C., and Privy Councillor in Ireland, 1821; died August 11, 1822.

BABU RAO.—Commonly called Gubra Cutcherry Babu Rao, because he was at the head, at one time, of that office. Thrice Dewan of Mysore during the reign of Krishnaraja Wodeyar III (1817-1818, 1820-21 and 1822-1825). On the British Commission taking over the administration, 1831, he was recalled from retirement by Col. Briggs, the Senior Commissioner, and re-appointed Dewan. He accepted office at the instance of Krishna-Raja Wodeyar III and under the advice of Mr. Casamaijor, the Resident. His previous career was as follows:—Entered service, in his youth, under Haidar; present at the battle of Perambākkam at the defeat of Baillie; served in the army till Haidar's death; entered Gubra Cutcherry, subsequently called the Dewan's Cutcherry; considered the rival of Pūrnaiya, and treated by His Highness Krishna-Raja Wodeyar "next to that distinguished individual as most fit to perform the office of Finance Minister." First appointed Dewan in 1817 in succession to Bārgir Bakhshi Rama Rao; again recalled twice and appointed to that post; Col. Briggs re-installed him in that office on 15th May 1832; had extensive knowledge of the revenue administration of the country. Briggs remarked of him that his "experience of the revenue details of Mysore exceeds that of any man in the country." (See his Minute, dated 14th may 1832). Died: 1834, when the office of Dewan was abolished and his cutcherry amalgamated with the office of the Commissioner in Mysore.

BAILLIE, WILLIAM 1782.—Took part in the war against Haidar Alī., 1783. Entered the E. I. Co.'s service in the Madras N. I., 1759; Lieutenant-Colonel, 1775; served against Haidar Ali, 1767-8; held a command at Pondicherry, 1779, against the French; and in the Guntur Circars in 1780; defeated, in 1780, a portion of Haidar Alī's invading army under Tipu near Perambakam; was unable to join Sir Hector Munro's army, but on receipt of small reinforcements, advanced from Polilore to do so; was attacked by Haidar's force and overwhelmed, September 10, 1780; severely wounded and captured; with the few survivors was kept prisoner at Seringapatam, generally in chains; died in captivity, November 13, 1782.

BAIRD, SIR DAVID, BARONET (1757-1829).—General; led the storming party in the last siege of Seringapatam, 1799; son of William Baird, of Newbyth; born December 1757; entered the Army in the 2nd foot, in 1772; came to England from Gibraltar in 1776; went to India in the 73rd in 1779-80; was in Colonel Baillie's force which was overwhelmed by Haidar Ali at Perambakam, September 10, 1780; was imprisoned by Haidar Ali at Seringapatam for 3¾ years, and released at the Treaty of Mangalore in 1784. His mother, knowing his intractable temper, remarked, on hearing of his imprisonment, that "she pitied the man who was chained to our Davie." He commanded a Brigade, and served under Lord Cornwallis at the capture of Savandrug in 1791, and at Seringapatam in 1792; in 1793 he took Pondicherry; commanded a Brigade at the Cape of Good Hope in 1797, and, returning to India in 1798, as Major-General, led the storming party at the siege of Seringapatam on May 4, 1799, after which he considered himself slighted at Colonel Arthur Wellesley (afterwards Duke of Wellington, (q. v.) being placed in command at Seringapatam; commanded the Dinajpur Brigade, 1800; led an expedition to Egypt down the Nile in 1801, to co-operate with the British Army, and was at the capture of Alexandria; led back the Egyptian Indian army, 1802; in 1802 he commanded a Division of the Madras Army, but, when again placed under General A. Wellesley for the Mahratta war, resigned and returned to England, being captured on the voyage by the French; was knighted and became Lieutant-General; in 1805-06 was sent to retake the Cape of Good Hope from the Dutch; served at Copenhagen, and in Spain, in 1808, losing an arm at Corunna; was made K. B. 1809, and a Baronet, and General in 1814; G. C. B., 1815; C. in C. in Ireland, in 1820; Governor of Fort George, 1829; died in Perthshire, August 18, 1829.

BARLOW, SIR GEORGE HILARO, Baronet (1762-1847).—Governor of Madras, when Pūrnaiya was Dewan of Mysore; helped in the making of the Mysore Supplementary Treaty 1807. Son of William Barlow, Bath; joined the Bengal Civil Service in 1778; when employed, 1788-96, in the Revenue Secretariat, he had to carry out the Permanent Settlement of 1793 in Bengal; was Chief Secretary in 1796; became Member of the Supreme Council from October, 1801, and Vice-President in Council until, on Lord Cornwallis' death on October 5th 1805, he, as provisional Governor-General, acted in that capacity until Lord Minto's arrival on July 31st, 1807; Baronet, 1803; and K. C. B.; though he had supported Wellesley's policy of extending British power, he continued Cornwallis' policy of neutrality and conciliation towards the Indian States, making concessions to Scindia and Holkar, and annulling protective treaties with Chiefs in Rajputana. In 1807 he went to Madras as Governor from December 1824; suppressed the mutiny of European Officers; he was recalled and made over charge at Madras on May 21st, 1813; G. C. B., 1815; died in England, December 18, 1846.

BARTON, SIR WILLIAM PELL, K. C. S. I. I.C.S.—Resident in Mysore. Educated at Bedford Modern School; Worcester Coll. Oxford; University College, London; entered I. C. S. 1893; Agent on special duty, Kurram, 1899-1902, Assistant Commissioner, N. W. Frontier Province, 1903; Deputy Commissioner 1904; Divisional Judge, Peshawar, 1907; Deputy Commissioner, Dera Ismail Khan, 1907; Kohat, 1908; Political Agent, Dir, Swat and Chitral, 1910; officiating Revenue Commissioner, 1911; Judicial Commissioner at Peshawar, 1915-18; Resident in Baroda, 1919; served Afghan war; Resident at Mysore, 1920-24; Resident, Hyderabad, 1925, C.I.E., 1914; C.S.I. 1920: K.C.I.E., 1927.

BELL, THOMAS EVANS (1825-1887).—Major: Took a prominent part in the great "reversion" controversy of 1865. born November 11, 1825: son of

William Bell: educated at Wandsworth: went to Madras in the E. I. Co's military service, 1841: joined the 2nd Madras Europeans: appointed Assistant Commissioner at Nagpur, 1855; lost his appointment, 1860, for insubordination to the Chief Commissioner in advocating the claims of the dispossessed ruling family: all the measures recommended by Major Bell were, however, approved and carried out by Lord Canning, and he was appointed Deputy Commissioner of Police at Madras, 1861: retired 1863: devoted the remainder of his life to advocating measures for the benefit of India and its people: wrote *The Task of To-day*, 1852: *The English in India*, 1859; *The Empire in India*, 1864: *Remarks on the Mysore Blue-Book*, 1866: *The Mysore Reversion*, 1865: *Retrospects and Prospects of Indian Policy*, 1868: *The Oxus and the Indus*, 1869, 1874: *The Great Parliamentary Bore*, 1869: *Our Great Vassal Empire*, 1870: *The Bengal Reversion*, 1872: *Last Counsels of an Unknown Counseller*, 1877: *Memoirs of General John Briggs*, 1886: died September 12, 1887.

BENTINCK, LORD WILLIAM CAVENDISH (1774-1839).—Governor-General: was responsible for the assumption of Mysore administration in 1831; son of the 3rd Duke of Portland, born September 14, 1774: entered the Army 1791, saw service in the Netherlands, in Italy, with the Australian forces: Governor of Madras, from August 1803, to September 1807, when on account of the mutiny of sepoys against their officers at Vellore, for which he was held responsible, the Court of Directors recalled him: changes affecting the sepoys had been introduced by the C. in C., with the support of the Governor. He was employed in Portugal and commanded a Brigade at Corunna: as Lt.-General he was C. in C. in Sicily, 1811; served in Spain, and led an expedition against Genoa, 1814. After 13 years without employment, he was Governor of Bengal from July, 1828, was C. in C. from May, 1833, and the first Governor-General of India from November 1834, to March, 1835: it devolved on him to insist on economies to restore financial equilibrium, to reform the land revenue settlement in the N. W. P., to establish a Board of Revenue in the N. W. P. and reorganize the judicial courts, to devote funds to education through the medium of English, and to increase the employment of educated Indians in higher offices. He also by Regulation abolished the practice of *sati*, and suppressed the Thugs. He took over the administration of Mysore on grounds afterwards declared by him to be wholly unjustified, and as the one act of his Indian administration which he looked back upon with a feeling of remorse; he met Ranjit Singh, ruler of the Punjab, on the Satlaj. In general, he reformed the administration in a liberal spirit, and established the principle that, in the Government of India, the interests of the people should have the first claim. His memory is still cherished by Indians. The eloquent inscription on his statue in Calcutta was written by Macaulay, Legal Member of Council from November 1834. Bentinck was greatly regretted on his retirement. He became M. P. for Glasgow in 1837: refused a peerage, and died June 17, 1839.

BEST, JAMES WILLIAM I.C.S. Bar-at-Law.—Entered Service, 1862; Judge, Madras High Court, 1892-5; Chief Judge, Chief Court, 1895; Retired 1902; Fellow, Madras University, 1894; Member of the Society for the propagation of the Gospel in Foreign parts.

BHABHA, HORMASJI JEHANGIR.—I.-G. of Education in Mysore (Retd). *b.* 27, June 1852. *Educ.* Elphinstone College, Bombay and in England. *Senr.* Fellow, Elephinstone College, 1874-76, Vice-Principal and Professor of Logic and Ethics, Central College, Bangalore, 1876; Principal, Maharaja's College, Mysore, 1884. Educational Secretary to Government, Mysore, 1890; Inspector-General, Education, 1899-1909. *Publications*: Special Report on Manual Training in schools of General Education; made C. I. E.; *Munir-ul-Talim* (Mysore), 1909. Hon. D. Litt. (Mysore University), 1926.

BOURDILLION, SIR JAMES AUSTIN, I. C. S.—Resident in Mysore. Born at Madras, March 1848; son of J. D. Bourdillion, educated at Marlborough: went out to India, 1870: Superintendent of Census of Bengal, 1880-3; Acting Secretary to the Bengal Government, Financial Department. 1893-5; Commissioner of Patna, in the famine, 1897. C. S. I. 1898: Chief Secrerary to the Government of Bengal, 1900: Member of the Famine Commission in India, 1901: Member of the Board of Revenue, 1902: for some years, Member of the Bengal Legislative Council. Acted as Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, November 1902-1903. Resident in Mysore, 1903; K.C.S.I. January 1904. V. D. 1896, for long service as a Volunteer in the Calcutta Light Horse and Bihar Light Horse.

BOWRING, LEWIN BENTHAM (1824-1890) I.C.S.—Chief Commissioner of Mysore; born July 15, 1824; third son of Sir George Bowring; educated at Exeter, Leipzig and Haileybury, 1841-3; went out to India, 1843; Deputy Commissioner in the Punjab, 1849-54; Private Secretary to Lord Canning, when Viceroy, April, 1858 to 1862; Chief Commissioner of Mysore and Coorg, 1862-70; the memory of his administration of Mysore is still cherished in the State; retired, 1870; C. S. I., 1867; author of *Eastern Experiences*, *Haidar Alī and Tipū Sultān*, and contributions to the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.*

BRIGGS, JOHN (1785-1875).—The First Senior Commissioner in Mysore, on the assumption of the administration of the State of Lord William Bentinck. Entered the E. I. Co's Madras Army in 1801; served in the Mahratta wars; accompanied Sir J. Malcolm on his mission to Persia, 1810; became Resident at Satara, and in 1831 was Senior Member of the Board of Administration of Mysore; resigned in 1832; Resident at Nagpur, 1832-5, when he retired; Maj-General, 1838. As Member of the Court of Proprietors of the E. I. Co., he opposed Lord Dalhousie's policy; he was one of the deputation that waited on the Secretary of State for India to secure the reversion of the State in 1886; he translated Ferishta's *Muhammadan Power in India* and the *Siyar-ul-mutas' akhkhirin* from Persian into English; F. R. S.; died April 27, 1875. A nephew of his, Major Briggs of the 6 N. I., was for a time Town Magistrate of Mysore in 1867. His Highness Krishnaraja-Wodeyar III writing in 5th May 1867 said of his services in India:—"It had always been a matter of much delight to me to know that the whole of your career in India at the head of many important offices which you filled had indeed acquired you much fame and the high esteem of being on the one side a real well wisher of the Government and its subjects, and on the other side a zealous lover of justice and a true friend to Native Princes".

BUCHANAN-HAMILTON, FRANCIS (1762-1829).—Doctor. Author of a Report of a *Journey through Mysore*; born February 15, 1762, son of Dr. Thomas Buchanan; took his degree of M. D. at Edinburgh in 1783: after serving on a man-of-war, joined the E. I. Co's service in 1794: employed on a mission to the Court of Ava, and on various botanical, zoological and statistical inquiries in Chittagong and Tippera, and in 1800-01, through Mysore, Canara and Malabar, on which he wrote a full report; went to Nepal in 1802: he was Surgeon to Lord Wellesley, and accompanied him to England in 1805. The records of his subsequent inquiries in several Bengal Districts and Assam were deposited at the India House in 1816 and not utilised for 22 years. He was Superintendent of the Botanic Garden, Calcutta 1814-5, when he returned to Sctoland and took the additional name of Hamilton on succeeding to his mother's property. F. R. S. and F. R. A. S. and contributed largely to the literary and scientific Societies to which he belonged. Wrote on the history of *Nepal*, the *Genealogy of the Hindu Gods*, the *Fishes of the Ganges*, etc.; died June 15, 1829.

CAMPBELL, DR. JOHN COLIN.—Durbar Surgeon in Mysore; served at the Court of His Highness Krishnaraja Wodeyar III for 16 years from 1849 to 1865; prior to that he had served in Her Majesty's Indian service from 1834 to 1849; described by His Highness Krishnaraja Wodeyar III as "a true supporter both of my interests and those of the British Government." He was on the most intimate terms of friendship with Sir Mark Cubbon, whose mortal remains he conveyed to the Isle of Man, where they were laid to rest. He was a great friend of His Highness Krishnaraja Wodeyar III, who, in a letter dated 1st February 1865, said of him:—"To him am I indebted for much wise counsel over many years, a counsel, bestowed as freely as it was needed in times of great disturbances and anxiety." He was of a quiet and unostentatious disposition and did much useful work in England, between 1865 and 1867, for the restoration of the Kingdom to the present ruling dynasty. A steady friend of His Highness Krishnaraja Wodeyar III, he worked for him in the most disinterested and honourable manner.

CAMPBELL, R. H.—Formerly Private Secretary to His Highness the Maharaja Sir Krishnaraja Wodeyar IV; C.I.E., (1912); *Educated* at the Edinburgh University; joined service, 1885; Under Secretary to Government, Revenue Department, 1892; Collector and Magistrate, 1896; Private Secretary to H. E. the Governor of Madras, 1899; Collector of Vizagapatam, 1903; Private Secretary to His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore, 1909; Retired from British Service, 1912. Died at Rome, 1922.

CASAMAIJOR, JAMES ARCHIBALD.—Resident at Mysore. 1802: Writer, 1803: Assistant to the Secretary to the Board of Trade. 1804: Secretary and Accountant to the Sinking Fund. 1806: Deputy Secretary to the Board of Revenue 1809: Registrar of Seringapatam; Judge, Magistrate, and Collector of Seringapatam. 1811: Military Paymaster at the Presidency and of Extraordinaries. 1818: Judge, Magistrate, and Collector of Seringapatam. 1818: Assistant to the Resident at Mysore. 1827: Resident at Mysore. 1832: Occasional Member of Council, and Officiating President of the Revenue and Marine Board. 1834: Resident at Travancore and Cochin. 1836: *At home on absentee allowance.* (*Annuitant on the Fund from 1st May 1837.*) Died in 1863.

CHAMARAJENDRA WODEYAR BAHADUR, SRI, MAHARAJA OF MYSORE (1863-1894).—Of the ancient ruling family of Mysore; his adoption by Sri Krishna Rāja Wodeyar Bahadur in June, 1865, was recognized by Government; and, on Krishna Raja's death on March 27, 1868, Srī Chāmarājēndra Wodeyar Bahadur succeeded him, and was installed on September 23, 1868, and was invested with power at the age of 18; he was carefully educated under Col. Malleson, the historian of *French India*, as guardian and became an enlightened ruler, during whose reign the resources of the State were greatly developed; created G.C.S.I.; died of diphtheria during his visit to Calcutta, December 27, 1894. (See text of this work for an account of his reign.)

CHANDRASEKHARA AIYAR, K.S.—Retd. Chief Judge; born 2nd August 1869; joined Mysore Service, 28th July 1892 as Probationary Assistant Commissioner; Deputy Secretary to Government, General and Revenue Department, 1904; District and Sessions Judge, Bangalore Division, 1904; Secretary to Government, General and Revenue Department, 1906; Judge, Chief Court of Mysore, 1907; Secretary to Government, General and Revenue Department, 1908; Judge, Chief Court of Mysore, 1909; Temporary Second Member of Council, 1916; Chief Judge, 1922; Dewan Bahadur, 1923; *Raja Dharmapravina*, 1921.

CHANDY, K., B.A.—First Member of Council, (Retd.), born 12th June 1873, joined as Probationary Assistant Commissioner, Dewan's Office 1894, Assistant Census Superintendent, 1900. Assistant Commissioner (First Class), 1903. Deputy Commissioner (First Class), 1914. Excise Commissioner and Inspector-General of Registration, 1917. Excise Commissioner of Income-tax and *ex-officio* Registrar of Joint Stock Companies and Inspector-General of Registration since 1922.

Revenue Commissioner, 1923-24; Mem- of Council, 1925.

Chatterton, Sir Alfred, B.Sc., F.C.G.I., A.M.I.C.E., M.I.M.E.—Director of Industries in Mysore (Rtd.), Consulting Engineer with Mesrrs. Martin & Co., Calcutta, born 10th October 1866; *Educ.* Finsbury Technical College; Central Technical College, South Kensington, Indian Education Service, 1888; Director of Industries, Madras, 1908; Director of Industries, Mysore, 1912; Member of Indian Industrial Commission, 1916-18; Industrial Adviser and Director of Sandal Oil Factories, Government of Myrore, 1918-1923. *K.* T. H., 1900; C. I. E., 1912; Kt. 1919.

Cherry, George Frederick, (1761-1799) B. C. S.—son of George Cherry: born 1761: entered the Bengal Civil Service, 1778: accompanied Lord Cornwallis as his Persian Secretary to Madras, where, in 1792, peace was made with Tīpu at Seringapatam: Cherry's picture of Tīpu is at the India Office: appointed Resident at Benares, 1793; there murdered by Wazir Ali, the reputed son of the late Nawab Asaf-ud-daula of Oudh, on January 14, 1799.

Chenchal Rao, P.—Member of Council (Retd.), 1889; C.I.E.

Devaraja Urs, D.—Member of Council, 1912 (Retd.). Deputy Commissioner, Hassan; I.-G. of Police; Member of Council.

Clark, Lt.-Col. T. G.—Deputy Superintendent, Ashtagram Division, 1867; Officiating Secretary to Chief Commissioner, 1876; Chief Judge, 1881, in succession to Mr. J. D. Sandford, in the Pre-rendition period: (the Mysore Chief Court was first formed in 1879; and was presided over by a single Judge. Reformed in 1884 under Mysore Court Regulation, I of 1884, under which it was constituted into a Court of three Judges, one of whom was styled the Chief Judge. The Notification of the Government of India dated 10th October 1879 under which the Chief Court was originally formed was repealed by Regulation I of 1884. It was under the Notification of 1879 that Mr. Sandford, Judicial Commissioner and Col. T. G. Clark were Chief Judges of the Pre-Rendition Chief Court). Officiating Resident in Mysore, 1884-5.

Clerk, Sir George Russell (1800-89) I.C.S.—As a Member of the Council of India opposed the annexation of Mysore in 1865. Son of John Clerk: educated at Haileybury: entered the service as "Writer" in 1817; after holding some unimportant appointments in Bengal, he entered the Political Department, was in the Secretariat, in Rajaputana, at Delhi, Political Agent at Umbala and Ludiana, Envoy at Lahore 1842, Agent to the Governor-General on the North-Western Frontier during the first Afghan War, in which capacity, he pushed forth reinforcements with energy, and after the massacre of the Army, urged a policy of retribution. He was Lieutenant-Governor of N. W. P., June to December 1843; provisional Member of the Supreme Council, 1844. Twice Governor of Bombay, from 1847 to 1848: and from 1860-2. He refused the Government of the Cape, but served there on boundary and political work, 1853-4: was Under-Secretary and Secretary to the Board of Control in 1856-8 and Permanent Under-Secretary of State for India, 1858-60. He was a Member of the Council of India, 1863-76: K.C.B. K.C.S.I. 1861. G.C.S.I. 1866. Died July 25, 1889.

Close, Sir Barry, Baronet (1756-1813).—First Resident at the Court of Mysore, 1799; probably the greatest diplomat of his time; appointed to the Madras Army in 1771: besieged at Tellicherry in 1780 by Haidar Alī's troops: conducted boundary negotiations with Tipu's Commissioners: was present at the seiges of Seringapatam in 1792 and 1799, as Deputy and Assistant Adjutant-General: his services warmly acknowledged by the C. in C., General Harris: appointed Resident at Mysore in 1799; materially helped Pūrnaiya in his administration; Resident at Poona in 1801, remaining there for ten years. While there, as Resident, negotiated the treaty of Bassein of December 31, 1802, with the Peishwa, Bāji Rao: this virtually ended the Mahratta Empire; Major-General, July 1810; retired to England in 1811: created a Baronet: died April 20, 1813, aged 56. The Court of Directors sent out a handsome monument to his memory "in testimony of their gratitude for his ardent zeal, and entire devotion to their service, equally manifested in the application of high military attainments, and of profound political knowledge." This monument by Flaxman is now in St. Mary's Church, Fort St. George, where it is perhaps the finest. The inscription on it says:—"His character derived its brightest honours from that union of conciliation and firmness, which after contributing to terminate a successful war, was eminently displayed in diffusing the blessings of peace over a numerous native population, who without being subject to British rule, felt the protecting influence of British counsels in the mild administration of authority which succeeded the usurpation of Mysore." There is an engraving of this monument in Neill's *History of the First Madras European Regiment.* Mountstuart Elphinstone wrote of him:—"I doubt whether such an assembly of manly virtues remains behind him. A strong, erect, and handy frame, a clear head and vigorous understanding, fixed principles, unshaken courage, contempt for pomp and pleasure, entire devotion to the public service, formed the character of Sir Barry Close—a character one would rather think imagined in ancient Rome than met with in our own age and nation." Wilks was an intimate of Close and dedicated his *History of Mysoor* to Close and he speaks of him in it as having mastered the logic, the ethics and the metaphysics of Greece through the medium of the Arabic and Persian languages." In his dedication, Wilks says he was affectionately attached to him and that he had been "the pride and delight of the best years of his life and the chief source of whatever he may have deserved or attained of distinction in its progress." Closepet, near Bangalore, was founded by Pūrnaiya to perpetuate his memory.

COBB, HENRY VENN, C.I.E., I.C.S.—Resident in Mysore; 4th *s.* of late Rev. Clement F. Cobb, M.A.; *Educ.*: King's school, Canterbury; Trinity College, Cambridge, B.A., and LL.B., 1886, M.A. 1896; entered I.C.S. 1883; arrived in India 1886; served in various capacities till 1895; Assistant Resident, Mysore; Political Agent, Ajmer, 1895-97, Assistant Resident, Kashmir, 1899-1900; Resident, Jaipur, 1900-03; Pol. Agent East Rajputana, 1904; Gwalior, 1905-07; Jodhpur, 1908; Baroda, 1909; C.I.E. 1910; C.S.I. Resident in Mysore, 1915-20.

COCHRANE, JAMES.—Assistant Resident in Mysore. 1794: Writer. 1796: Assistant under the Secretary in the Public, Commercial and Revenue Departments. 1797; Assistant under the Sea Customer. 1798: Deputy Persian Translator. 1799: Senior Assistant under the Resident at Mysore and Postmaster. 1800: Subordinate Collector in the Ceded Districts. 1803: Collector of Ramnad and Tinnavelly. 1806: Judge and Magistrate of the Northern Division of Canara. 1807: *At home.* 1811: *Returned to India*; Sub-Treasurer. 1812; Superintendent of Government Lotteries. 1814: Second Member of the Board of Revenue. 1819; Senior Member of the Board of Revenue. 1824: Acting Member of Council and President of the Board of Revenue. 1825: Second Puisne Judge of Sudder and Foujdarry Adawlut. 1830: *At home on absentee allowance. Died, 8th August 1830, at Cheltenham.*

COLE, THE HON. ARTHUR HENRY.—Resident at Mysore, 1801· Writer. 1806: Secretary to the Resident at Mysore. 1809: Acting Resident at Mysore. 1812: Resident at Mysore. 1818: Superintendent of the Government Lotteries. Resident at Mysore 1818 to 1827. 1827: *At home on absentee allowance.* (*Annuitant on the Fund from 1st May 1829.*) Died: 1844. Cole's Park in the C. & M. Station, Bangalore, is called after him.

CORNWALLIS, CHARLES, FIRST MARQUIS (1738-1805).—Governor-General: took the chief part in the War against

Tīpū, which ended with the Treaty of Seringapatam of 1792; son of Charles, first Earl; born Dec. 31, 1738; educated at Eton; entered the Guards, 1756; student at the Military Academy, Turin; served in Germany, 1758-62; at Minden; M. P. for Eye; became Earl in June, 1762; Lord of the Bedchamber; Constable of the Tower, 1770; Maj.-General, 1775; served in the American War, 1776; second in command in 1778 to Sir H. Clinton: forced to capitulate at Yorktown on Oct. 19, 1781, no blame attaching to him; in 1782 and 1785, he refused to go to India, but, against his will, accepted the Governor-Generalship in 1786; held the appointment from Sep., 1786; being also C. in C.; Ceated K. G.; he reformed both the Civil and Military services; in Dec. 1790, he took the command in Madras against Tīpu; captured Bangalore, March 21, 1791; defeated Tipū near Seringapatam; took Nandidrug, Oct. 19; Savandrug, Dec. 21; besieged Seringapatam, Feb. 1792, when Tīpu submitted, and signed peace, ceding territory and paying a large indemnity; created a Marquis, Aug., 1792. He then announced the permanent settlement of the land revenue to be paid by the zamindars in Bengal, 1793, acting against the advice of Sir John Shore; he reformed the Law Courts; he sailed for Madras to attack Pondicherry, but it had surrendered before his arrival; he left Madras, homewards, on Oct. 10, 1793. From England, he was sent to military service on the continent: was Master-General of the Ordnance from 1795; when military question occasioned anxiety in Bengal, Cornwallis was re-appointed Governor-General on Feb. 1, 1797; did not proceed to India: his services were required as Viceroy and C. in C., Ireland, to crush the rebellion of 1798; defeated the French there under General Humbert; supported the Act of Union, but resigned the Viceroyalty in 1801, when the King declined to agree to Catholic Emancipation; deputed to negotiate the Peace of Amiens, 1802. In 1805 he was re-appointed Governor-General and C. in C. in India, and assumed charge on July 30: sent out to inaugurate a pacific regime instead of the expensive policy of Lord Wellesley. But it was too severe a tax on his age and health. On his way up-country, in pursuit of his pacific policy, he died at Ghazipur, Oct. 5, 1805. Statues were erected in his honour at Calcutta and Madras, the one at Madras, is now located in the Connemara Public Library.

CORNWALLIS, SIR WILLIAM (1744-1819).—Son of Charles, first Earl Cornwallis: entered the Navy, 1755: engaged constantly during his service, in N. America, the Mediterranean, W. Indies, etc., until, in 1789, he went out to India, as naval C. in C.: in 1791, when there was war against Tipū, he insisted on searching French ships for contraband of war, and, when war against French broke out, he siezed French ships at Chandernagore and Pondicherry: returned to England, 1794, and saw further service in the Channel and W. Indies: G. C. B.; died July 5, 1819.

COSBY, SIR HENRY AUGUSTUS MONTAGU (1743-1822).—Fought in the war against Haidar Alī; son of Captain Alexander Cosby: born in 1743: was a volunteer at the capture of Gheria, the fort of the pirate Angria, in 1756: was in Coote's attack on Pondidherry, 1760-1: at the captures of Vellore and Madura, at Rajahmundry, at the Chengama Pass, Errore, Arlier, and Vellore again; Adjutant-General: at the siege of Tanjore in 1773: served against the Chittore Poligars, 1777: commanded, in 1778, the Nawab of Arcot's cavalry, and led it against Haidar Alī with success: made prisoner at the Cape on his way to way to England, 1782, but soon released: knighted in 1782: Brig-General in India, 1784-6: held commands at Trichinopoly and Tinnevelly: to England, 1786: Lt. General: died Jan. 17. 1822.

COWELY, HENRY WELLESLEY, FIRST BARON (1773-1847).—Born January 20, 1773: Member, Board of Commissioners for Mysore, 1799. Youngest son of the first Earl of Mornington, brother of Marquis Wellesley (q. v.) and Duke of Wellington (q. v.) served in the Army before going as Secretary of Legation to Stockholm, 1792: Private Secretary to his brother Marquis Wellesley, when Governor-

General, 1798-1801. A Commissioner for the settlement of Mysore after its capture, 1799. Sent to England to explain the war with Tipu in 1799-1800. Sent on a mission to Oudh: negotiated treaty for cession of certain districts by the Nawab. Lieutenant-Governor of Ceded Districts of Oudh, 1801-3: left India 1803: M. P. for Eyr. 1807-9. Secretary to the Treasury 1803-9. P. C. 1809; Secretary to Embassy to Spain, 1809 and Ambassador 1811-22: knighted 1812; G. C. B. 1815: Ambassador to Vienna, 1823-31: to Paris, 1841-6: made Baron Cowley, 1828: died April 27, 1847.

CRAWFORD JAMES, ADAIR, late Indian C.S. (Bombay).—Resident, Mysore (Rtd). Educated at Rugby; appointed after examination of 1876; arrived, 17th September 1878, and served in Bombay as Assistant collector and mag. from February 1881, served in the Pol. Dept., and acted as Assistant to the Agent for Rajputana, Boundary Settlement Officer in Mewar, and Assistant to the Resident at Hyderabad; Attache, Foreign Department, May, 1882; in charge of office of Press Commissioner, 1882-83; Assistant Commissioner, Ajmir, April, 1884; Assistant Secretary, Foreign Depart, Han., 1885; Pol. Agent, Quetta and Pishin, November 1885; Junior Under-Secretary to Government, Foreign Department, March, 1888; acting First Assistant (and Secretary for Berar) to Rest. at Hyderabad, May, 1890; Under-Secretary to Government of India, Foreign Department, April, 1892; and again with the Archduke of Austria during his tour in India, 1892-93: offg. Pol. Resident, Persian Gulf, July-December, 1893; Rest. and Rev. Commissioner, Baluchistan, March, 1395; Commissioner, Berar, April, 1899; Offg. Resident, Mysore, and Chief Commissioner, Coorg, June, 1399, and May, 1901; retired August 1903.

CUBBON, SIR MARK (1785-1861). - Last Junior Commissioner of Mysore; Succeeded Col. W. Morison as sole Commissioner of Mysore from 1834-1861. Born September 1785: went to India in the Madras Infantry in 1800: Captain in 1816: in the Commissariat Department in the Pindari war, 1817-8, and in Madras; Lieut.-Colonel, 1818; member of Lord William Bentinck's Commission of Enquiry into Mysore Affairs, 1831; Junior Commissioner of Mysore: then in 1834 sole Commissioner of Mysore: this post he held for 27 years, governing the province patriararchally but successfully, through Indian agency, and exercising a profuse hospitality: Lt.-General, 1852: C. B., 1856: K. C. B., 1859. He never married or left India until he retired in 1861, after 60 years of service in India, when he died at Suez, on April 23; his remains were taken to the Isle of Man and buried there; declared as the "greatest man" that that island had produced for centuries back. His equestrian statue is in the Cubbon Park at Bangalore.

CUNNINGHAM, FRANCIS (1820-1875.)—Son of Allan Cunningham, and brother of Sir Alexander: born 1820: educated at Addiscombe: joined the Madras Army, 1838: was distinguished as an engineer in the defence of Jalalabad 1842: served in the British Commission in Mysore under Sir Mark Cubbon and retired in 1861. He edited Marlowe, Massinger and Ben Jonson, by which he is best known: also wrote for the *Saturday Review*: he died December 3, 1875.

CUNNINGHAM, SIR WILLIAM JOHN I.C.S.—Assistant to Chief Commissioner, Mysore. Born, November 20, 1848; son of Alexander Cunningham; educated at Edinburgh Academy and privately; went out to Bombay 1870; served as Assistant to the Chief Commissioner of Mysore; Under Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, 1885: Secretary in the Foreign Department, 1894-1901: C. S. I. 1894; K. C. S.I. 1897.

CURRIE, SIR FRED
(1799-1875).—I. C.
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India, 1842: with Sir Henry Hardinge in the first Sikh War, 1845-6, and after Sobraon, drew up the Treaty with the Sikhs, made Baronet in January 1847; officiated as Member of the Supreme Council, April 1847 to January 1848: resinged his seat and succeeded Sir Henry Lawrence as Resident at Lahore in 1848: accepted the resignation of Mulraj, the Governor of Multan: confirmed as Member of Supreme Council, resuming his seat, March 1849: retired in 1853: was elected a Director of E. I. Co., in 1854, Chairman, 1857, member of the Council of India from 1858: D. C. L., Oxford in 1866. Died September 11, 1875.

CURZON OF KEDLESTON, GEORGE NATHANIEL, FIRST BARON (1859).—Took leading part in the enthroning of Sri-Krishna-Raja Wodeyar IV, the reigning Sovereign of Mysore; Viceroy and Governor-General; born January 11, 1859, son of Fourth Baron Scarsdale: educated at Eton and Balliol College, Oxford: President of the Union Society, 1880: Fellow of all Souls' College, 1883: gained the Arnold Essay Prize, 1884: Assistant Private Secretary to the Marquis of Salisbury, 1885; Under Secretary of State for India, 1891-2: for Foreign Affairs, 1895-8: travelled in Central Asia, Persia, Afghanistan, the Pamirs, Siam, Indo-China, the Korea: M. P. for Southport Division, 1886-98: published *Russia in Central Asia*, 1889: *Persia and the Persian Question*, 1892: *Problems of the Far East*, 1894: Viceroy and Governor-General of India from January 6, 1899, to April, 1904: paid much attention to the control and defence of the frontiers of India, changing the policy on the N. W. frontier: created a Chief Commissionership of the Trans-Indus districts: enforced the blockade of Waziristan: showed distrust of Russian objects and Russian methods: visited the Persian Gulf, with a view to prevention of any encroachment on British interest, to increase trade and maintain sphere of influence in Persia: despatched Tibet mission to carry out Anglo-Chinese convention of 1890 and trade regulations of 1893, and check Russian influence in Tibet: the mission leading to war with Tibet and the treaty of Lhasa, September 1904: examined into every branch of the administration to introduce improvements: appointed several Commissions, on the Universities, to reform Higher Education, on Irrigation, on the Police: had to deal with a famine in Bombay: aimed at improving relations with the Indian Chiefs, and the character of their rule; reformed the four Chiefs' College; founded the Imperial Cadet Crops: settled the question of the Berars: set on foot the Victoria Memorial Hall, obtaining large subscriptions from wealthy Indians: held the Delhi Coronation Darbar of December 1902-January 1903: reduced Lower Bengal by three Divisions, adding them to Assam to make a new Lieutenant-Governorship: had large financial surpluses, twice reduced the Salt Tax, and removed the Income-Tax on the lowest incomes; passed some improtant legislative measures, such as the Universities Act, the Indian Mines Act, the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act, the Co-operative Credit Societies' Act: G. M. S. I., G. M. I. E., P. C., F. R. S., J. P., D. C. L.: reappointed Viceroy and Governor-General in 1904: returned to India, December 1904: Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, 1903-4: in August, 1905, resigned the Viceroyalty on a point arising out of an adverse decision of the Cabinet on a difference of opinion between the C. in C. (Lord Kitchener) and the rest of the Government of India regarding military affairs in India. Re entered public life in England; became Secretary for Foreign Affairs in England; died 1922.

DALTON, JOHN, (1725-1811).—Defended Trichinopoly against Nanja Raja, the Dalavai of Mysore, in 1752. Son of Capt. James Dalton of the 6th regt.: born 1725: appointed to Hanmer's Marine regt., 1741; 2nd Lt. of Marines on the *Preston*, 1743: to Fort St. David, 1745: the French took Madras, 1746: the Marine regts. being reduced at the peace with France, Dalton joined the Independent Companies under Admiral Boscawen: became a Captain in the E. I. Co's service: in the expedition to

Devikota, 1749: Muhammad Alī, son of Anwaruddīn, late Nawab of the Carnatic, fled on his father's death to Trichonopoly and applied to the English for help: Dalton was in the force sent to his aid: was in retreat at Volkonda, June, 19, 1751: at Wootatoor and at Kistnavaram: in the fighting on behalf of Muhammad Alī against Chanda Sehib near Trichinopoly: Dalton made Commandant there, June, 15, 1752, to keep it for Muhammad Alī against the Dalavai (the Regent of Mysore), and Morari Rao, the Mahratta: defended it with great skill and courage against famine, treachery, blockade and the French also: relieved by Major Stringer Lawrence, May, 6, 1753, and again September 21: resigned the E. I. Co's service March 1, 1754, and returned to England: died July 11, 1811.

DALY, SIR HUGH.—Resident at Mysore, 1910-1916. Born 1860: son of Sir H. D. Daly: entered Gloucestershire regt. 1881: joined the Indian Staff Corps: Captain, 1892: served in Burmese expedition, 1886-7: Superintendent of the Northern Shan States, 1888: C. I. E.: Assistant, and, later, Deputy-Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department: Major and C. S.I., 1903: Agent to the Governor-General for Central India, 1905: Resident at Mysore, 1910-1916; proved a true friend of the State, and worthily maintained the highest traditions of British Statesmanship. The Daly Memorial Hall at Bangalore, in which the Mythic Society is housed, is named after him. A fine portrait of him is to be seen there.

DE MEURON, PIERRE FREDRICH, (1746-1813).—Served in the last war against Tipū. Born, 1746: Commanded the regiment De Meuron under the Dutch in Ceylon: when the English invaded Ceylon in August 1795, several detachments of the regiment were defeated: that under P. F. De Meuron held out on its cession to England in 1795, it embarked for Tuticorin, where De Meuron was made, by Lord Hobart, Military Governor of Ceylon, 1797-8: commanded the troops there till 1799: then commanded at Vellore, and Arie, while the regiment was in the Mysore Campaign of 1799: took the regiment from Vellore to Madras, 1801, and left for London: he retired in 1807: settled at Neuchatel, died there, March 30, 1813: the regiment was disbanded in 1816, after 14 years' service under the Dutch, 21 years' under the English. Many of his regiment lie buried in Seringapatam.

DICKINSON, JOHN (1815-1876).—A Member of deputation that waited on Lord Cranborne in 1866, to secure the reversion of Mysore. Born Decemder 28, 1815: educated at Eton: son of a papermaker; entered no profession, but took up an independent line as a reformer of India; wrote letters on the cotton and roads of Western India, 1851: became Honorary Secretary of the Indian Reform Society formed in 1853, and was made its chairman on John Bright's resignation of that Office in 1861: maintained a correspondence with the Maharaja Holkar of Indore: wrote *India, Its Government Under a Bureucracy*, in 1852, and *Dhar not Restored* in 1864, besides other pamphlets and papers on Indian subjects: died November 23, 1876.

DOBBS, MAJOR-GENERAL.—R. S. well-known officer of the Mysore Commission; Superintendent of Nandidrug Division; 1867; served in Burma and South Africa. Author of *Reminiscences of Life in Mysore, South Africa and Burma. Dobbspet* in Bangalore and *Dobb's Bangalow* in Tumkur are named after him.

DODWELL, WILLIAM.—Assistant Resident at Mysore. 1797: Writer. 1798: Assistant in the Military, Political, and Secret Department. 1799: Assistant under the Resident at Mysore. 1801: Head Assistant under the Collector in the Jaghire. 1802: Assistant to the Resident at Mysore. 1804: Assistant to the Secretary to the Board of Trade and to the Superintendent of the Quality of Investments. 1806: *At home.* 1808: *Returned to India*; Deputy Commercial Resident at Mandepollam and Masulipatam. 1818: Commercial Resident at Vizagapatam. 1820: *At home.* (*Annuitant on the Fund in* 1824).

DORAISWAMY IYER, C. S.—Public Prosecutor, 1st July 1911; Judge, Chief Court, 1919 and 1925; Chief Judge, 2nd August 1927.

DOVETON, SIR JOHN (1768-1847.—Son of Frederick Doveton; born 1768; entered the Madras Cavalry in 1785; served against Tipū, both in Cornwallis' campaign of 1791-2 and in Harris' of 1799, and in the pursuit of the bandit Dhoondia Waugh, under Colonel Arthur Wellesley; not to be confused with Captain Gabriel Doveton, who in February 1794, escorted the sons of Tipū back to Seringapatam; commanded the Hyderabad Contingent in 1814, which was utilized in the Pindari war of 1817. After the battle of Sitabaldi in November 1817, he marched to Nagpur to assist the Resident, Jenkins, against Appa Sahib, the Bhonsla Rāja. Appa surrendered, and his troops, after a fight, abandoned Nagpur to Doveton. He was made C. B. in 1818 and K. C. B. in 1819; retired, 1820; Lt.-General and G. C. B., 1837: died at Madras, Nov. 7, 1847.

DRURY, GEORGE DOMINICO.—Commissioner in Mysore. 1812: Writer. 1815: Head Assistant to the Collector of Madura. 1816: Assistant Magistrate of Madura. 1823: Sub-Collector and Assistant Magistrate, Southern Division of Arcot. 1828: Collector and Magistrate of Tinnevelly. 1832: Commissioner for the Government of Mysore; Acting Member of the Board of Revenue; Principal Collector and Magistrate of Coimbatore. 1842: Second Member of the Board of Revenue. 1843: Chief Secretary to Government. 1845: Member of the Board of Revenue. 1847: First Member of the Board of Revenue. 1850: Resigned the service, 1st July, in India, (Annuitant on the Fund, 1850.) Died, 5th August 1870.

DUBOIS, JEAN A (1765-1848).—Abbé: worked as Catholic Missionary in the State; ordained at 27 in the diocese of Vivers, in 1792; escaped from the massacres of the French Revolution, and the same year, leaving France for mission work under the Missions Etrangeres, was first attached to the Pondicherry mission; after the fall of Seringapatam, 1799, he was invited to visit it, to reconvert those forced into Islam. He was 31 years in India, living entirely among the people from 17 to 18 years, chiefly in Mysore, where he established, at Sathalli, an agricultural settlement of reconverted Christians. He popularized vaccination in the State. Wilks bears testimony to the universal respect shown to him while he lived in it. *His description of the Character, Manners and Customs of the people of India, and of their Institutions, Religious and Civil,* was stated to be " the most correct, comprehensive and minute account extant in any European language of the Hindus" of South India; the Madras Government bought the MSS. from him in 1806 for 2,000 pagodas; this was translated in London in 1816, and was for long the only published edition; meanwhile, in 1815, the Abbé had revised and amplified his work, but this was not published until 1897. New Edition was edited by Henry K. Beauchamp and published by the Oxford University Press. On returning to France in June, 1823, with a pension from the E. I. Co., he published *Letters on the State of Christianity in India*, containing his conviction that the conversion of the Hindus was impossible. He became a Director, and, from 1836 to 1839, Superior of the Missions Etrangeres at Paris, where he died February 17, 1848.

EASTWICK, WILLIAM JOSEPH (1808-1889).—As a Member of the Council of India, opposed the annexation of Mysore in 1865. Captain in the Army. Born, 1808: son of Captain Robert William Eastwick: educated at Winchester: went to India in the Bombay Army 1826: served in the Kolhapur and S. Mahratta Country: in the Political Department: Assistant to Sir H. Pottinger in Sind: negotiated a treaty with the Amirs of Hyderabad, 1839: secured the freedom of the Indus to commercial enterprise: in the First Afghan War: obtained supplies for Nott at Kandahar, 1841: to England 1841, and did not return to India: Director of the E. I. Co. 1846: Deputy Chairman, 1858: Member of the Council of India, September 21, 1858. Died February 24, 1889.

ELLIOTT, MAJOR G. C. B.—Sessions Judge, 1866; Civil Judge of Appeal; Described as an "excellent authority upon the law of Mysore".

ELLIOTT, SIR CHARLES ALFRED, I. C. S. (1835-1877).—rendered great service to the State as Famine Commissioner; son of the Rev. H. V. Elliott of Brighton; born December 1835; educated at Harrow and Trinity College, Cambridge; after open competition arrived in India in November 1856; served in the N. W. P., Oudh and Central Provinces; was Secretary to the N. E. P. Government, 1870-7; Famine Commissioner, Mysore, 1877; C. S. I., 1878; Secretary to the Famine Commission (Sir Richard Strachey's) 1878; Census Commissioner, 1880; Chief Commissioner of Assam, 1881; President of the Committee for the retrenchment of public expenditure, 1886; Member of the Supreme Council, 1887-90; Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, 1890-5. He wrote the *Chronicles of Unao*, the Reports of the Mysore Famine, and of the Famine, and Finance Commissions. After retirement, in 1895, he became Finance Member of the London School Board, and Member of the Educational Committee of the London County Council. Throughout his career, he laboured with great energy and ability in his various charges, and made a reputation as an expert in matters pertaining to Settlement, Famine, Finance, and Education.

FERGUSSON, JAMES (1808-1886).—Eminent authority of Indian Architecture who, more than anybody else, made the architecture and sculpture of Mysore famous in the east and the west; son of Dr. William Fergusson; born January 22, 1808; educated at the Edinburg High School, and privately; went to India, at first into business at Calcutta; and in ten years at his indigo factory made sufficient to retire upon; lost some of his money afterwards; travelled largely in India to study styles of Architecture; 1835-42; finally left India in 1845; joined the Royal Asiatic Society, 1840, and became a Vice-President; was General Manager of the Crystal Palace Company, 1856-8; a member in 1857 of the Royal Commission on the defences of the United Kingdom; Secretary to the First Commissioner of Public Works in 1869, and was later designated "Inspector of Public Buildings and Monuments." He wrote; *Picturesque illustrations of ancient Architecture in Hindostan*; *The rockcut temples of India*; a number of valuable papers in the *transactions of the Royal Institute of British Architects*; *an historical enquiry into the true principles of Beauty in Art*; on a new system of substituting earthworks for masonry in fortification; on the topography of Jerusalem; a *Hand-book of Architecture*; *a History of the modern styles of Architecture*; *a History of Architecture in all countries*; *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*; *Tree and Serpent Worship*; *The Parthenon*, etc., besides other works on Architecture and connected subjects. In some of his works—especially in those relating to India, he has written at length on the architectural beauties of Mysore. It was said of him that he invested the historical study of Architecture, particularly Indian Architecture, with a new interest. He received the gold medal for Architecture from the Institute of British Architects, and was often consulted on architectural questions. He was D.C.L.: F.R.S: F.G.S.: LL.D.; died January 9, 1886.

FITZPATRICK, SIR DENNIS, I. C. S.—Resident in Mysore. Born 1837: educated at Trinity College, Dublin: entered the Indian Civil Service, called to the bar from the Inner Temple: acted as Judge of the Punjab Chief Court, 1876-7: was Secretary to the Government of India in the Legislative Department, 1877-85: Secretary in the Home Department 1885: Acting Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces, 1885-87. Acting Resident in Mysore: Chief Commissioner of Assam: Resident at Hyderabad. Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, 1892-7: Member of the Council of India, 1897. K. C. S. I. 1890.

FLOYD, SIR JOHN, BARONET (1748-1818).—Son of Captain John Floyd; born

February 22, 1748; entered the Army as Cornet in Elliot's Light Dragoons in 1760; was riding master in 1763 to his regiment, the 15th Hussars; went to India in 1781-2, as Lt. Colonel of the 19th Light Dragoons; commanded the King's troops at Madras, 1789, in succession to Sir A. Campbell; greatly distinguished himself as a cavalry commander on the Coromandel Coast in Cornwalls' campaign of 1791-2, especially in the action at Cheyur near Satyamangalam, 1790, and afterwards against Tipū, ; was at Bangalore, where he was wounded in a memorable cavalry charge: and Arikera, in 1791; at Seringapatam, 1792; at the capture of Bangalore, 1793; commanded cavalry at Pondicherry, on its capitulation in 1793; Major-General, 1794; in the Second War with Tipū, commanded the cavalry under General Harris; was at Malavalli, and commanded the covering Army during the siege of Seringapatam, 1799; President, Seringapatam Prize Committee, 1799; returned to England in 1800; held command in Ireland; General, 1812; Governor of Gravesend and Tilbury; Baronet, 1816; died January 10, 1818.

FRASER, JAMES STUART (1783-1869).—Resident at Mysore, 1834; son of Colonel Charles Fraser; born July 1, 1783; educated at Ham and Glasgow University; joined the Madras N.I., 1800; escorted the Mysore Princess to Bengal, 1807; A.D.C., to Sir G. Barlow, when Governor of Madras; Private Secretary, 1810; Deputy Commissary in the Madras expedition to Mauritius, 1810; Military Secretary to the Governor of Madras, 1813; Commandant at Pondicherry, 1816; Commissioner for the restitution of French and Dutch possessions, 1816-7, having great knowledge of the French language; Secretary to Government in the Military Department, 1834, in several actions in Coorg; carried out the deposition of the Raja of Coorg and the annexation of that Province, 1834: Resident in Mysore, and Chief Commissioner of Coorg; Resident at Travancore and Cochin, 1836; Resident at Hyderabad from September 1838 to December 1852; resigned his appointment because of strained relations with Lord Dalhousie; Lt. General, 1851; General, 1862; took great interest in the "revertion" of the State in 1866-7; a personal friend of H. H. Krishnaraja Wodeyar III; died August 22, 1869. On his transfer to Hyderabad, the *Cour. de Pondicherry* (1838) published the following appreciation of his services:—"The remembrance of General Fraser's residence in this town will be long cherished by our countrymen with feelings of the highest honour and respect. His noble and excellent qualities have been duly appreciated by the inhabitants of Pondicherry. In this town, where so many families are reduced in circumstances, those in particular will preserve a lasting remembrance of him, who was invariably found a protector and a friend. No unfortunate being ever pleaded in vain to General Fraser." The *Memories and correspondence of General J. S. Fraser* has been published by his son Colonel Hastings Fraser, M. S. C.

FRASER, SIR STUART MITFORD, K.C.S.I., I.C.S., (Retired).—Resident in Mysore. Educated at Blundell's school, Tiverton, and Balliol College, Oxford; appointed after examination of 1882; arrived, 25th November 1884, and served in Bombay as Assistant Collector and Magistrate and Forest Settlement Officer; tutor and guardian to the Raja of Kolhapur, the Chief of Kagal, and Kunvar Saheb of Bhaunagar, May, 1889, to April 1894; Tutor and Governor to H. H. the Maharaja of Mysore, May, 1896, and Assistant to Resident, July, 1898; C.I.E., June, 1902; Junior Collector, August 1902; Department Secretary to Government of India, Foreign Department, November 1903, and April, 1905; Resident, December, 1903; Political Agent, January 1904: special duty in Foreign Department, October from December 1903; Officiating Secretary, Foreign Department, October 1904 to October 1905; Department Secretary, Foreign Department, April 1905, to October 1905; Resident, Mysore, and Chief and Judicial Commissioner of Coorg, November 1905 to 25th March 1910; Resident, Kashmir, December 1911; C.S.I., January 1913; Resident, Hyderabad, March, 1914, K.C.S.I., 1918) Retired, 1920.

FULLARTON, WILLIAM (1754-1808).—Colonel; took a prominent part in the War against Tipū which ended with the disgraceful treaty of Mangalore. Son of William Fullarton; born 1754; educated at Edinburg University; raised a Scotch regiment and gazetted Commandant of the 98th in 1780; went to India: engaged near Madras, in the Second Mysore War with Haider Alī, 1780-2; at the supression of the Kallars of Madura, and capture of Dindigul; commanded the troops south of the Coleroon, 1783; took Dharapuram, Palghat and Coimbatore; showed great military ability and organising capacity; after his capture of these, he had planned on advancing on Satyamangalam and from thence to Seringapatam, hoping either to attack that place at a disadvantage during the absence of Tipū then before Mangalore with a considerable army or to force him to raise that siege. His attempt foiled by the Commissioners appointed to make peace with Tipū. Strongly condemned the abolition of batta in 1784; returned to England on the peace; wrote his, *View of English Interests in India*, 1787, in whieh among other things, he strongly administrated on the policy of the Madras Government's Resolutions in respect of disputes between the Civil and Military Officers; this letter, originally addressed to Lord Macartney and the Members of the Madras Council, in 1795, is vigorously written and gives a good view of the condition of Southern India on the eve of the British conquest; it has been pronounced a "very able" document; he expressed a high opinion of the officers of the (Madras) Coast Army, describing them as "habituated to act in emergencies with a facility that few subordinate officers in Europe ever have a prospect of acquiring". Of the Indian Sepoys, he spoke equally highly. Writing of the Native Infantry in 1784, he said:—"The troops have carried their provisions on their backs from Palghaut-cherry to this place (Dindigul). and have enough remaining to subsist them as far as Madura, being nearly 200 miles. I mention this circumstance, my Lords and Gentlemen, as a proof of the willing spirit of your sepoys in this quarter who have borne all their hardships with alacrity seldom equalled, and never surpassed". F.R.S. of London and Edinburgh; raised the 23rd Dragoons; M.P., 1787-1803; appointed first Commissioner for Trinidad; tried his colleague, Colonel Thomas Picton, for torturing a Spanish girl; died February 13, 1808.

GARDINER, HENRY.—Assistant Collector, Seringapatam, 1811: Writer. 1814: Registrar and Assistant Collector of the Zillah of Seringapatam. 1821: At home. 1826: Returned to India. Acting Collector and Magistrate of Rajahmundry; Acting Collector and Magistrate of Vizagapatam. 1833: At home. (Annuitant on the Fund from 1st January 1836.)

GIRDLESTONE, C. E. R.—Officiating Resident in Mysore, June 1885-1886; there is a ward for incurables maintained in his name from Muzrai Funds in the Government Hospital at Bangalore.

GORDON, SIR JAMES DAVIDSON (1835-1889) I.C.S.—First Resident after the Rendition of the State. Son of Evelyn Meadows Gordon; born 1835; educated at Haileybury, 1852-4; joined the Civil Service in Lower Bengal, 1854; Private Secretary, January 23, 1866, to Lord Lawrence, when Viceroy and Governor-General; Judicial Commissioner of Mysore, 1873; Chief Commissioner of Mysore, 1878; Resident 1881; took keen interest in the improvement of the Anglo-Indian Community, and helped in the formation of the Whitefield and other settlements near Bangalore, 1881: "Glen Gordon", one of the four settlements, 8 miles west of Bangalore, on the Magadi Road, being named after him; retired, 1883: C.S.I., 1866; K.C.S.I., 1881; died June 27, 1889. There has been erected in front of the Public Offices at Mysore a statue to perpetuate his memory.

GOUGH, HUGH. FIRST VISCOUNT (1779-1869).—Field-Marshal; Commanded the Mysore Division, 1857; born November

8, 1779; fourth son of George Gough; entered the Militia, 1793, the Army in 1794; Adjutant of the 119th at fifteen; with the 78th in 1895 at the capture of the Cape; served in the W. Indies until 1803; in the peninsula force, 1809, at Talavera, Barossa, Tarifa, Victoria, Nivelle, twice severely wounded; knighted, 1815; Major-General, 1830: K.C.B., 1831; commanded the Mysore Division of the Madras Army, 1857; sent to command at Canton, 1841; captured the forts, penetrated 170 miles up the Yang-tze-kiang, won several actions, concluded the treaty of Nankin, 1842; G.C.B. and Baronet; returned to Madras as C. in C. and became C. in C. in India, 1843; defeated Sindia's troops at Maharajpur, December 28, 1843; took the command in person in the first Sikh War, 1845 6, and won the battle of Mudki, December 18, 1845; Firozshahr, December 21, and Sobraon, February 10, 1846, Lord Hardinge, the Governor-General, serving under his command; made Baron Gough, of Ching-keangfoo in China, Maharajpur and the Satlaj in the East Indies; commanded again in the second Sikh War, 1848-9, and won the battles of Ramnagar, November 22, 1846; Chilianwala, January 13, 1849. The result of Chilianwala was regarded as being so indecisive that Sir Charles Napier was sent out to supersede Gough, but, before his arrival, Gough had won Gujarat, February 21, 1849, the Sikhs being thoroughly defeated. He retired in May, 1849; was made Viscount Gough of Gujarat and Limerick; received thanks of Parliament and a pension, and freedom of the city of London: General in 1854; sent in 1856 to Sebastopol to invest Pelissier and others with the Order of the Bath; K.P. in 1857; P.C. in 1859; K.C.S.I., in 1861; Field-Marshal in 1862; he died, March 2, 1869. He is said to have commanded in more general actions than any British Officer in the century, the Duke of Wellington excepted. He was very popular with the soldiers.

GRANT, MALCOLM (1762-1831).—Present at the final siege of Seringapatam, 1799; joined the E. I. Co's Bombay Army in 1777; served against the Mahrattas, 1779, and with Goddard's force at Bassein, in 1780-1; in Malabar, until 1788, and again from 1792 to 1798; commanded against the Mahrattas, was in the capture of Mysore, under General James Stuart at Mangalore, in Kanara, and Jamalghar; in the chief command in Malabar and Kanara, 1804; captured Savandrug; returned to England, 1807; Major-General, 1813; Lt.-General, 1815; died September 28, 1831.

GRANT-DUFF, SIR MOUNTSTUART ELPHINSTONE.—One of the Members of the deputation that waited on Lord Cranborne in 1867 for securing the reversion of Mysore. Born February 21, 1829, son of James Cunningham Grant-Duff: educated at Edinburg University, The Grange, Bishop Wearmouth, and Balliol College, Oxford. Barrister of the Inner Temple: M. P. for the Elgin Burghs 1857-81: Under Secretary of State for India, 1868-74: and for the Colonies, 1880-81: Privy Councillor, 1880; Governor of Madras, 1881-86: advanced education and Science.: Constructed the Marina at Madras: President of the Royal Geographical Society, 1889-93. President of the Royal Historical Society 1892-99. Author of *Studies in European Politics, Elgin Speeches, notes of an Indian Journey, Memoir of Sir H. S. Maine, Notes from a Diary etc., etc.,* C.I.E., 1881: G.C.S.I., 1886: F.R.S.: D.L.

HAWKER, Major-General.—Member, Bentinck Committee for investigating the causes of Nagar disturbances; took part in the suppression of the same.

HAVILLAND, THOMAS FIOTT DE (1775-1866).—Colonel: Superintending Engineer at Seringapatam, after Col. Arthur Wellesley was in command of the place; son of Sir Peter de Havilland, Kt.; born April 10, 1775; entered the Madras Engineers, 1793; at the siege of Pondicherry, 1793; at the capture of Ceylon, 1795-96; served against Tipū, 1799, and under Baird in Egypt, 1801; there surveyed Lake Mareotis, and the Cairo-Suez desert for water: captured by the French when returning to India, 1803: Superintending Engineer at Seringapatam, 1804; designed the back part of the Government House at Mysore, which contains one of the largest rooms in Southern India without pillars; also built the "swinging arch" at Seringapatam, which has been described as "an ingenious bridge" which "illustrates Lord Palmerston's motto *flecti non frangi*"; Chief Engineer and Architect for Madras, 1814-25; built the Madras Cathedral and the Presbyterian Church; also, by 1822, the sea-wall; carried out other important works; after retirement, in 1825, became, until 1855, a Jurat of the Royal Court of Guernsey; died February 23, 1866. It has been spoken of him that he was, as an Engineer, much in advance of his times.

HAIDAR ALI (1717-1782).—Son of Fatah Muhammad, a military commander, and *Jagirdar* of Budikote in Mysore; born in 1717 or as some authorities hold, 1722; first known as Haider Naik; employed by the Mysore Raja as a volunteer in the siege of Devanhalli in 1749; next against Arcot, and in the subsequent struggle for the Nizamat; by 1755 he was Military Governor of Dindigul, then a Mysore stronghold; by 1759, he commanded the Mysore Army, and received the title of Fatah Bahadur; gradually obtained the control of affairs and usurped the sovereign power, deposing the Hindu Raja, Chikka Krishnaraja Wodeyar; captured Bednore and conquered Malabar in 1766; allied with the Nizam, he invaded the Karnatic in 1767, and on the Nizam's retirement, prosecuted the war alone; in 1769, he was within five miles of Madras, when the Madras Government concluded an offensive and defensive treaty with him, and in 1770 the Bombay Government made another treaty with him. He was more than once reduced to great straits by the Mahrattas, who several times invaded the Mysore dominions, but the English declained to assist him. When the French and English declared war in 1778, and the English took Mahe, Haidar, who became the most formidable power in the Peninsula, received the missionary, Schwartz, as an envoy from the Governor of Madras, but, negotiations failing, invaded the Madras territory in 1780, defeated Colonel Baillie at Perambakam, took Arcot and other places; he was, however, defeated at Porto Novo on July 1, 1781, by Sir Eyre Coote, who relieved Vellore, and met him in the indecisive action at Arni on June 2, 1782; he died near Chitoor, December 7, 1782. Haidar was a born soldier, a first-rate horseman, heedless of danger, full of energy, and resource, severe, cruel, cold, indifferent to religion, shrewed in business—though quite uneducated—with a retentive memory; he inspired great terror; with better support from the French, he might have proved a more formidable opponent of the English in Southern India than he actually did in the circumstances he found himself.

HALIFAX, CHARLES WOOD, VISCOUNT (1800-1885).—A warm friend of H. H. Sri Krishnaraja Wodeyar III. Born December 20, 1800: Son of Sir Francis Lindley Wood, Second Baronet: educated at Eton and Oriel College, Oxford: double first: 1821, was M.P. for Grimsby and and Wareham, and for Halifax, 1832-65: Joint Secretary to the Treasury, 1832: Secretary to Admiralty 1835-9: Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1846-52: P. C. and succeeded to the Baronetcy in 1846: was President of the Board of Control, December 1852 to February 1855, and passed the Indian Charter Act of 1853: First Lord of the Admiralty 1855-8: G. C. B. 1857: Secretary of the State, for India, 1859-66; during this time he passed several important measures for the re-organisation of the Indian Army, the constitution of the Indian Legislative Councils, and the establishment of the High Courts, and at the end of this period, the equillibrium of the Indian Finance had been practically restored: M. P. for Ripon, 1865: Created Viscount Halifax, 1866: Lord Privy Seal, 1870-4: made his reputation by his excellent discharge of his duties, his business qualities and judicious administration: Died August 8, 1885.

HARDINGE OF PENSHURST, BARON, Right Hon. Charles Hardinge, P. C., G.C.B., G.M.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.M.I.E., G.C.V.O., I.S.O.—Concluded as (*Viceroy and Governor-General of India*) new treaty of Mysore, 1913. Educ. at Harrow and Trinity College, Cambridge; entered the diplomatic service, as attache, 12th February 1880; appointed to Constantinople, February, 1881; third secretary, May, 1882; Private Secretary to the late Lord Dufferin; transferred to Berlin, December, 1884; to Washington, November, 1885; second Secretary, December, 1885; transferred to Sofia, April, 1887; to Constantinople, July, 1888; acted as *charge d'affaires* at Bucharest, September, 1892 to April, 1893; transferred to Paris, April, 1893; C. B., July, 1895: Secretary of Legation at Teheran, September, 1896; Secretary of Embassy at St. Petersburg, July, 1898; Assistant Under Secretary of State for foreign affairs, February, 1903; C.V O., April, 1203; Privy Councillor, March, 1904; K.C.M.G., March, 1904; Ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary at St. Petersburg, April, 1904; K.C.V.O., May, 1904; G.C.M.G., January, 1905; G.C. V.O., November, 1905; permanent Under Secretary of State for foreign affairs, February, 1906; I.S.O., June, 1906; Viceroy and Governor-General of India, assumed office, 23rd November, 1910; G.M.S.I., and G.M.I.E., November, 1910; Royal Chain of the Victorian Order, February, 1912; Ambassador at Paris; retired 1928, has many foreign decorations.

HARRIS, WILLIAM GEORGE, SECOND BARON (1782-1845).—Son of the first Baron; served in the final siege of Seringapatam; born January 19, 1782; educated at Chelsea; joined the Army in 1795; and the 74th Highlanders in Madras, 1797; served in his father's Army against Tipū, 1799; in the storming part at Seringapatam; conveyed home the standards taken there to the King; at the battle of Copenhagen; in Canada; was a volunteer in Sir D. Baird's re-capture of the Cape, 1805; served in N.-Germany and in the Netherlands. 1813-4; wounded at Waterloo, 1815; held commands in Ireland and England; succeeded as Peer, 1829; Lt.-General, 1837; C.B.; K.C.H.; died May 30, 1845. His son, third Baron, (1810-1872) was Governor of Madras from 1854-1859. H. H. Krishnaraja Wodeyar III corresponded with him.

HENDERSON, PHILIP DURHAM, Major-General.—Resident at Mysore, 1892-95; born August 19, 1840; son of General R. Henderson, R. E.; educated privately; joined Madras Cavalry, 1857; Under Secretary to the Foreign Department of the Government of India, 1872; on special duty in Kashmir, 1874; Superintendent of operations for suppression of Thuggi and Dacoity, 1878; Resident in Mysore, 1892-95; performed the installation of Maharaja Sir Sri Krishnaraja Wodeyar IV at Mysore, 1st February 1895; left India, 1895; C.S.I., 1875, for his services in attendance on H. R. H. the Prince of Wales on his visit to India, 1875-76.

HOME, ROBERT (1764? -1834).—Artist; made Mysore famous in England by his pictures after the first siege of Seringapatam. Son of Robert Boyne Home, Army Surgeon; descended from Sir David Home of Wedderbern, who fell, with his eldest son, at Flodden in 1513; he was a pupil of Angelica Kauffman, R. A., and he studied subsequently at Rome; from 1770 exhibited portraits at the Royal Academy and at Dublin, went to Madras, 1790; with Lord Cornwallis' Army before Seringapatam, 1791-92; he painted the well-known pictures of the "Reception of the Mysore Princes as Hostages by the Marquis Cornwallis," and "The death of Colonel Moorhouse at the storming of Bangalore." He painted a portrait of the Marquis of Wellesley, which is now in Madras; went to Calcutta 1792; at Lucknow he was chief painter to the king of Oudh for some years and made a large fortune; he returned to Calcutta in 1797 and died there about 1836; was Secretary to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1802, and painted for it. Indian pictures by Home were exhibited at the Academy. He published *Select Views in Mysore, The Country of Tippu Sultan, and A Description of Seringapatam, the Capital of Tippu Sultan,* illustrated. He painted in India pictures of Marquis Wellesley and Colonel Arthur Wellesley, Bishop Heber and Dr. Carey.

IDDESLEIGH, EARL OF.—Well-known as Sir Stafford Northcote. Born 1818;

Conservation statesman of great dignity of character and political sincerity. He was in the House of Commons from 1855 to 1885, when he was raised to the peerage. As Secretary of State for India, he penned on 16th April 1867, the famous Despatch announcing the restoration of the administration of the State to the adopted son of H. H. Sri Krishnaraja Wodeyar, III. He was one of the most successful Tory Chancellors of the Exchequer and was Foreign Secretary from 1886 to 1887, when he died. His son Henry Stafford Northcote, First Baron, became Governor of Bombay (1899-1903) and Governor-General of the Commonwealth of Australia, 1903.

ISMAIL SAIT, SIR HAJEE, KT.—Banker, Mill-owner, and merchant. b. 7th March 1159; Hon. Magistrate, Bangalore 1888; Member, Madras Legislative Council; Chairman and Director of several Joint Stock Companies, including Mysore Bank, Ltd., Bhadravati Iron Works, and Mysore Government Sandalwood Factory; maintains a mosque at C. & M. Station, Bangalore; constructed and endowed a Gosha Hospital at Bangalore; travelled extensively in Europe, America, Japan and China; Member, Madras Anjuman and life-member, Anjuman-Islam, Bombay; Member of the Cosmopolitan. Khan Bahadur, 1911; Fakhruttujar and Kt., 1923.

ISMAY, STANLEY.—Bar-at-law; Chief Judge, 3rd April 1908; retired 5th December 1911. C. S. I.

KANTARAJ URS, SIR M.—C.S.I. (1914) Dewan of Mysore, born 1870; educated at the Madras Christian College, from which he graduated 1894; Probationary Assistant Commissioner 1884; Assistant Private Secretary to H. H. the Maharani Regent 1895-9; Special Assistant Commissioner, 1899-1900; Special S. D. O. 1901-4; Deputy Commissioner 1904; Married a sister of H. H. the Maharaja of Mysore; Member of Council, 1913; Dewan of Mysore, 1918. Died 1922.

KANTIRAVA NARASIMHARAJA WADIYAR BAHADUR, YUVARAJA OF MYSORE, SIR SRI.—Second son of the late Maharaja of Mysore, H. H. Chamaraj Wadiyar Bahadur and brother of H. H. the Maharaja Krishnaraj Wadiyar Bahadur, born 5th June 1888. Educated in Mysore under Sir S. M. Fraser, I. C. S., assisted by P. Raghavendra Rao; accompanied H. H. the Maharaja of Mysore on his tour through Burma 1901; joined the Mayo Rajkumar College, Ajmere, 1903; returned to Mysore, 1904; Continued studies under Captain R. J. W. Heale; visited Kashmir accompanied by Col. Drake-Brockman, I.M.S., 1908. Married Kempa Cheluvajammani, fourth daughter of the late Sirdar Dalavai Devaraj Urs, one of the leading Sirdars of Mysore, 1910; accompanied H. H. the Maharaja to Delhi Durbar, 1911; visited Europe, 1913; Extraordinary Member of Council in charge of Military Portfolio; interested in Social Reform, Co-operative movement, elevation of the depressed classes, etc.

KINDERSLEY, J. B.—Officiating Judicial Commissioner, 1867-8. Greatly improved Judicial administration in the State.

KIRKPATRICK, JAMES ACHILLES (1764-1805).—Lt.-Colonel; took part in the War against Tipū in 1792; son of Colonel James Kirkpatrick, and brother of William Kirkpatrick; born August 1764; educated in France and at Eton; joined the E. I. Co.'s Madras Army in 1779-80; in the Mysore war, 1791-2; in charge of garrison at Vizianagaram, 1793; Assistant to his brother William, Resident at Hyderabad, in 1795; succeeded him in 1797; negotiated the several treaties of 1798, 1799, 1800, 1802, 1803, 1804 on behalf of the Governor-General with the Nizam of Hyderabad, for various objects, the suppression of French influence, etc., gaining the full confidence of the Marquess of Wellesley; brought the Nizam's contingent of 60,000 men into the field against Tipū, 1799; died, while Resident at Hyderabad, on a visit to Calcutta, on October 15, 1805.

KIRKPATRICK, WILLIAM (1754-1812).—Member of the Commission for Mysore Affairs in 1799; born 1754; son of Colonel

James Kirkpatrick of the Madras Cavalry; joined the Bengal Infantry in 1773*;* became Major-General in 1811; was Persian Interpreter to General Stibbert, C. in C. in Bengal for periods between 1777 and 1785; was Resident at Gwalior, and Persian Interpreter with Lord Cornwallis in the Mysore war, 1791-2; mediated in Nepal, until then unvisited by any Englishman, between the Nepalese and Chinese in 1793; Resident at Hyderabad in 1795; met Lord Mornington at the Cape in 1798 and became his Military Secretary in 1798 and Private Secretary in 1799; after Seringapatam in 1799 was made a Commissioner for the partition of Mysore; Resident at Poona in 1801; left India in 1801; well versed in Oriental languages and Indian lore*;* translated Tipū's diary and letters from Persian, and wrote an account of his mission to Nepal; died August 22, 1812.

KNOX, STUART GEORGE.—Lieut-Col., Indian Army; Officiating Resident in Mysore; joined the service, 19th September, 1888; regimental duty to November, 1894; Officiating Political Assistant at Bussorah, November, 1894; Political Assistant, Kalat, April, 1898; served in a similar capacity at Thal Chotiali and Quetta; Assistant to Political Resident, Persian Gulf, April, 1904; Political Agent, August, 1904; Political Agent and H. B. M.'s Consul, Muscat, April, 1911; C. I. E., June 1909; Officiating Political Resident in Persian Gulf and H. B. M.'s Consul-General for Fars, Khuzistan, etc., March, 1914; C. S. I.; Officiating Resident in Mysore, 13th February 1921 to 13th October 1921.

KRISHNAMURTI, SIR, PURNIAH NARASINGA RAO: Dewan of Mysore. Born August 12, 1849: fourth in direct descent from Purniah (q. v.), the great Mysore Statesman. Educated at Bangalore. B. L. of the Madras University: Assistant Superintendent in Mysore 1870: After the Rendition of the State, to the Maharaja in 1881, he remained in State service, rising to be a Judge of the Chief Court Member of the Council of Regency, and Dewan of Mysore in 1901. C.I.E. in 1897: K.C.I.E. 1903, in recognition of his eminent services; died, 1911.

KRISHNARAJA WADIYAR, SRI, MAHARAJA OF MYSORE: (1796-1868).—A descendant of the ancient Hindu reigning family of Mysore, who was restored to the throne when a child, after the death of Tipū at the fall of Seringapatam, May 4, 1799; in 1811, he assumed charge of the Government until the British Government took over the administration on October 3, 1831. Adopted late Sri Chamarajendra Wodeyar Bahadur as heir; he died in 1868. He has been described as a versatile person, proficient in many languages, and interested in the Arts. His charity was proverbial. He stood by the British during the great Sepoy Mutiny, 1857: has been described as the earliest and staunchest ally of Britain; a commemorative *muntap* to his memory was put up at Seringapatam by his gradson, the present ruler, on 1st July 1915.

KRISHNARAJA WADIYAR BAHADUR of Mysore G.C.S.I., G.B.E.—Sir Sri H. H. THE MAHARAJA OF MYSORE, born 4th June 1884; succeeded his father 1895; invested with full ruling powers by Lord Curzon, at Mysore, 1902; Chancellor of the Mysore University; celebrated the Silver Jubilee of his Installation, 1927.

KRISHNA RAO, M. N.—Born 27th January 1877; Probationer, Account Department, 1897; Assistant Comptroller, 1900; Assistant Secretary to Government, 1904; Assistant Comptroller, 1906; On deputation to Madras, Simla for training, 1911; Officiating Comptroller 1912 and 1915; on deputation to Calcutta to study system of work in Comptroller-General's office and in the office of Financial Secretary to Government of India, 1912; Deputy Comptroller, 1913; Comptroller, 1917; Acting Financial Secretary to Government, 1918; Financial Secretary to Government, 1921; Second Member of Council, 16th May 1926; First Member, 12th June 1928. Dewan Bahadur, 1925; Rajakaryaprasakta, 1922.

KRISHNA RAO, P.; Member of Council (Retired), 1881-89; Rao Bahadur.

KRISHNA RAO, P. S.—District and Sessions Judge, C. and M. Station, Bangalore, 1886-1906; 3rd Judge, Chief Court, 1906; 2nd Judge, 1909; Officiating Chief Judge, 1809; 1911; Chief Judge, 1912. Rao Bahadur.

KRISHNIENGAR, B.—Deputy Superintendent, Kolar, 1866; wrote the *Kolar District Gazetteer*, 1869.

LAMBTON, WILLIAM (1756-1823).—Served in the final siege of Seringapatam and did valuable survey work for Mysore. Born 1756; educated at Northallerton Grammar School and Newcastle-on-Tyne; entered the Army in 1781; went with the 33rd regiment under Arthur Wellesley to the Cape in 1796, to Bengal and Madras in 1798; was Brig-Major to Baird at the siege of Seringapatam (May, 1799); was appointed Superintendent of the survey connecting the Malabar and Coromandel coasts, proposed by him; Superintendent of the Great Trigonometrical Survey; the survey lines, scientific observations and other operations connected with geodesy, occupied him the rest of his life; F.R.S., and Fellow of the Asiatic Society; Lt.-Colonel; died at Hinganghat, January 26, 1823.

LEE-WARNER, SIR WILLIAM.—I.C.S.; Resident at Mysore, 1895; born April 18, 1846; son of Canon James Lee-Warner; educated at Rugby and St. John's College, Cambridge Scholar; joined the Indian Civil Service in Bombay, 1869; was Secretary to the Government of Bombay in the Political Judicial Department; Additional member of the Governor-General's Legislative Council; Chief Commissioner of Coorg, and Resident of Mysore, February to September 1895; retired, 1895; Secretary in the Political Department, at the India office, 1895-1902; Member of the Council of India, 1902; author of *The Protected Princes of India, The Citizen of India, The Marquis of Dalhousie*, 1904; C.S.I., 1892; K.C.I.E., 1898.

LEWIN, FREDERICK MORTIMER.—Assistant Collector of Seringapatam 1818: Writer. 1821: Assistant to the Collector and Magistrate of the Southern Division of Arcot, 1824: Registrar and Assistant Collector of Seringapatam. 1827: Assistant Judge and Joint Criminal Judge of Salem. 1828: Judge and Criminal Judge of Salem. 1831: At home on absentee allowance. 1833: Returned to India, per "Horatia." 1835: Acting Zillah Judge of Combaconum. 1844: Civil and Sessions Judge of Kumbakonam. 1874; Resigned the service. (Annuitant on the Fund, 1847.) Died, 17th June 1877, in England.

LEYDEN, JOHN (1775-1811).—One of those who served in Mysore after the Restoration of the present dynasty in 1799; son of John Leyden; born September 8, 1775; educated at Kirktown and Edinburgh University; studied languages and contributed to literary periodicals and produced independent works, besides collaborating with Sir Walter Scott; licensed as a preacher, 1798; studied medicine, and became M. D. at St. Andrew's; went to Madras in 1803; Assistant Surgeon; surveyed in, and reported on, Mysore; travelled to Penang; to Calcutta in 1806; wrote on Oriental languages, became Professor of Hindustani at the College of Fort William, and Judge of the 24 Parganas, near Calcutta, and in 1809 Commissioner of the Court of Requests in Calcutta; Assay Master of the Mint, 1810; to Java in 1811 with Lord Minto, as Malay Interpreter; died of fever at Cornelis, August 28, 1811; he translated *Malay Annals* into English, and the *Commentaries of Baber*; his early death was deplored by leading literati as a loss to Oriental learning and literature. A monument to his memory was erected in his native village, by public subscription, in 1861. A collection of his poems, edited by P. Seshadri, M. A. was issued at Madras in 1912 by Messrs. Higginbothams, Ltd. Among the poems of note in it relating to Mysore are:—*The Dirge of Tippoo Sultan* and *On the death of Tippoo Sultan*. His *Battle of Assaye* is a poem of rare merit.

LUSHINGTON, CHARLES MAY.—1801: Writer. 1803: Assistant to the Registrar of the of the Sudder and Faujdarry Adawlut. 1804: 'Registrar to the Zillah of Rajahmundry. 1808: *Out of employ.* 1809: Second Assistant to the Registrar of the Sudder and Foujdarry Adawlut; Assistant Judge of Rajahmudry. 1813: Assistant Judge of Kumbakonum. 1815: Collector and Magistrate of Trichinopoly. 1823: Third Judge of the Provincial Court, Southern Division. 1824: Second Judge of the Provincial Court, Southern Division. 1830: Third Puisne Judge of the Sudder and Foujdarry Adawlut. 1831: Second Puisne Judge of the Sudder and Foujdarry Adawlut. 4th October 1831: Junior Commissioner Mysore. 1832: First Puisne Judge of the Sudder and Foujdarry Adawlut. 1838: Chief Puisne Judge, Sudder and Foujdarry Adawlut and Member of Council of the Governor. 1841: Member of Council and President of the Revenue, Marine and College Boards. 1843: Resigned the service, 24th January, in India. (Annuitant on the Fund, 1843.) Died, 8th March 1844, in England.

LUSHINGTON, STEPHEN RUMBOLD (1776-1868).—Governor of Madras. Visited Mysore in 1831 on assumption of administration and stayed at Yelwal. Son of Rev. James Stephen Lushington. Born, May 1776: *m.* a daughter of Lord Harris (First Baron of Seringapatam and Mysore). 1790: Writer. 1792: Assistant under the Secretary in the Military, Political and Secret department. 1793: Assistant under the Translator to the Board of Revenue. 1794: Deputy Persian Translator to Government and Persian Translator to the Board of Revenue. 1796: Deputy Secretary to the Board of Revenue. Under Searcher at the Seagate. 1798: Secretary and Persian Translator to the Board of Revenue. 1799: Collector of the Southern Polygar Peishcush at Ramnad. Private Secretary to General (Lord) Harris, when Commander-in-Chief at Madras and Acting Governor (1796-1800). 1801: Collector of Tinnevelly. 1803: Registrar of the Sudder and Foujdarry Adawlut. At home, 1807: out of service: M. P. for Rye, 1807-1812; M. P. for Canterbury 1812-27; Chairman of Committees in the House of Commons, Joint Secretary to the Treasury, 1824-27; P. C. 1827; Governor of Madras, October 1827. October 1832; again M. P. for Canterbury, 1835-7; D. C. L., died August 5, 1868. Wrote a Life of Lord Harris, 1848.

LYALL, SIR JAMES BROADWOOD.—(1838), I.C.S.; Resident in Mysore, Born March 6, 1838; son of Rev. Alfred Lyall: educated at Eton and Haileybury; went to the Punjab in the Bengal Civil Service, 1858-9: Financial Commissioner in the Punjab; Resident in Mysore, 1883-7; Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, 1887-92; Member of the Royal Opium Commission, 1893-4; President of the Indian Famine Commission, 1898; K.C.S.I., 1888; G.C.I.E., 1892.

MACARTNEY, GEORGE, FIRST EARL (1737-1806).—Governor of Madras; great friend of the Mysore Royal House; concluded treaty with Mahārani Lakshmi Ammanni, 28th October 1782; son of George Macartney; born May 14, 1737; educated at Trinity College, Dublin; Friend of Charles James Fox; M. P.; Envoy Extraordinary to St. Petersburg, 1764-7; Knighted; Chief Secretary for Ireland, 1767-72; K. B.; Captain-General and Governor of the Caribbee Islands, 1775-9; made an Irish Peer, 1776; defended Grenada and made prisoner of war, but released; appointed Governor of Madras and held the office from June 22, 1781 to June 18, 1785; refused present offered by Nabob of Karnatic, a thing uncommon in those days; reduced the Dutch Settlements in S. India; conducted war against Haidar Alī and Tipu; resented control from the Bengal Government: arrested and sent home Coote's successor, Major-General James Stuart for dilatory and unsatisfactory conduct; made treaty of Mangalore with Tipu, 1783, which has been severely criticised; his policy not upheld by Supreme Government in India; declined the Governor-Generalship, February 1785; granted a pension by the

East India Company; severely wounded by Stuart in duel near Kensington, 1786, Colonel Fullarton being Lord Macartney's second; made an Irish Earl in 1792; sent as plenipotentiary on an embassy to Pekin, 1792-94; deputed on a mission to Louis XVIII of France at Vevrai, 1795; made an English Baron, 1796; Governor of Cape of Good Hope, 1796-8; declined the Presidency of the Board of Control; died, aged 69, May 31, 1806; wrote accounts of his Embassies; an account of his public life was published by Sir John Barrow, F.R.S.; He served his country with "the most unsullied honour, the strictest integrity, good credit, and advantage to his King."

MACDOWALL, SIR ANDREW.—In the wars against Tipu in 1792 and 1799. Entered the East India Company's Madras Establishment, 1783; at the siege of Palghautcherry, 1783 and the reduction of many forts during the war with Tipu; in the defence of the Raja of Travancore's lines, 1789; in the force under Cornwallis, and Medows at Seringapatam, 1791-92; at Malvalli and the capture of Seringapatam, 1799; in the settlement of the ceded country, 1801-03; commanded a Brigade under Sir T. Hislop, C. in C., Madras, at Mahidpur, 1817; commanded a detachment in Khandesh and took the Rajdeir, Trimback and numerous other forts; also Mulligaum, by assault; reduced Amulnair; commanded a brigade at Aseerghur on its surrender and annexation, 1818; C. B.: K. C. B.; 1831; Lieutenant-General, 1835; died May 15, 1835.

MACKENZIE, COLIN (1753?-1821).—Surveyor in Mysore, 1799-1810. Famous by his Ms. Collections. Born about 1753; went to India in 1782 and joined the Madras Engineers; rose to be Colonel in 1819; in 1783 formed plans of collecting materials for Indian History; was in the war of 1790-92 against Tipu; after Seringapatam, sent by Cornwallis to examine the geography of the ceded territory, including the Dekhan; at the siege of Pondicherry, 1793; Commanding Engineer at the taking of Ceylon, 1796; at the siege of Seringapatam, May, 1799; surveyed Mysore, until 1801; his map of Mysore illustrates Wilks' *Historical Sketches*; Surveyor-General of Madras, 1810; commanded the Engineers in Java on its conquest, 1811-13; thanked by the Lieutenant-Governor in Council at Batavia; he compiled a general statistical table for Java; Surveyor-General, Madras, 1810; Surveyor-General of India, 26th May 1816; died near Calcutta, May 8, 1821. From 1783 he made extensive and valuable collections of Indian MSS., plans, tracts, drawings, antiquities, coins, statues, etc.: initiated detailed topographical surveys; wrote in the *Oriental Annual Register* and in *Asiatic Researches* on the Life of Haidar Ali, the Vijayanagar and Anegondi Rajas, on the Bhats, or Indian Bards; on buildings and sculptures, and on survey matters; his collections purchased from his widow for the East India Company for £10,000; a large portion of them sent to England; the South Indian books and tracts were made over to the Madras College Library, and later to the Madras Literary Society and are now lodged in the Madras Government Oriental Manuscript Library. Many of the MSS. relating to Mysore History have been re-copied and placed in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library at Mysore. These MSS. have in recent years attracted considerable attention.

MACLEAN, SIR HECTOR (1756—1848).—Served in the War against Tipu in 1792. Son of Hugh Maclean; in the East India Company's service; took part in an expedition to Arcot, in the siege of Pondicherry, and in the reduction of Pulicat; commanded Cuddalore and its defences, 1786; under Cornwallis at Bangalore, and at Seringapatam, 1792; commanded an Indian corps in Ceylon, 1798; and the 9th North India in 1800; under Colonel Arthur Wellesley; Brigadier, 1800-3; at Asirghar, Gawilghar and Argaum; commanded the forces near Hyderabad, 1805; K. C. B., 1815; Lt.-General, 1821; General, 1838; Died December 11, 1848.

MACLEOD, SIR JOHN M'PHERSOM,.—Commissioner in Mysore. Born, 1792; son of Donald Macleod! Educated at

Edinburg University and at Haileybury; at Fort St. George, 1811; 1811: Writer. 1814: Second Assistant, afterwards First Assistant to Secretary to Government in the several Civil Departments. 1816: Member and Secretary of the Committee for Revising the Customs Laws. 1820: At home on account of health. 1823: Returned to India: Acting Secretary to Government in Financial and General Departments. 1824: Secretary to Government Financial and General Departments. 1825: Tamil Translator to Government, Member of the College Board, of the Board of Public Instruction, and of the Mint Committee. 1826: Persian Translator to Government. 1827: Secretary in the Revenue and Judicial Departments. 1829: Temporary Member, afterwards Third Member of the Board of Revenue. 1832: Commissioner for the Government of Mysore. 1834: Deputed to Hyderabad on Special duty by the Governor-General. 1835: Member of the Indian Law Commission with Lord Macaulay, 1836: Member of the Committee for Revising the System of Prison Discipline throughout India, 1838: in England on absentee allowance, 1841: Retired from the service. (Annuitant on the Fund, 1841). Died, 1st March 1881, in England.

MACONOCHIE, SIR EVAN.—Private Secretary to His Highness Krishnaraja Wodeyar IV. Educated at Sherborne Sch., and New College, Oxford; appointed after examination of 1887; arrived, 29th October 1889, and served in Bombay as Assistant Magistrate and Collector; acted as Administrator, Sachine State, 1890 and 1891; Dep. Superintendent, Gujarat Revenue Survey, April, 1896; 2nd Assistant, July, 1896, Under Secretary to Government of India, Revenue and Agricultural Department, December, 1897; 1st Assistant, March, 1901; Private Secretary to Maharaja of Mysore, June, 1902; Junior Collector, March, 1909; Senior Collector, August, 1910; Officiating Commissioner, Central Division, February, 1914, Pub. *Life in the Indian Civil Service.*

MADHAVA RAO, VISVANATH PATANKER.— Dewan of Mysore, 1906-1909; born 1850; educated at the Kumbakonam College, under Mr. W. A. Porter; B.A., 1869; entered the Mysore Service, as Head Master of the Royal School; Public Prosecutor; served in the Judicial and Revenue Departments; Inspector-General of Police in Mysore; Plague Commissioner in Mysore; C.I.E., 1899; Kaisar-i-Hind Medal, 1900; Revenue Commissioner in Mysore, 1902; Dewan of Travancore, 1904; introduced various reforms in the administration in Travancore; Dewan of Mysore, 30th June 1906; Retired, 31st March 1909; Dewan of Baroda, 1910—1913.

MADIAH, C.—Member of Council, 1904; Rao Bahadur.

MALCOLM, SIR JOHN (1769—1833).—Resident in Mysore, 1803. Son of George Malcolm; born May 2, 1769; educated at Westerkirk; to India in the East India Company's Military Service, 1782; reached Madras, 1783; in 1792 was at the siege of Seringapatam, under Cornwallis, and appointed Persian Interpreter to the Nizam's troops; Secretary to Sir Alured Clarke who was C. in C., Madras, 1795-7; at the taking of the Cape; Secretary to Lord Harris 1797-8; Assistant Resident at Hyderabad, 1798; present with Nizam's troops at the capture of Seringapatam, May 4, 1799; Secretary, jointly with Munro, to the Commission for the Settlement of Mysore; selected by Lord Wellesley to be an envoy to Persia, 1799-1801; negotiated two treaties, commercial and political; on his return appointed Private Secretary to the Governor-General, Lord Wellesley, 1801-3; sent on special mission to Bombay in 1802; nominated Resident in Mysore, February, 1803; Political Officer with General Arthur Wellesley on the outbreak of the Mahratta War, 1803; drew up the treaties of Sirji-Anjengaum of December 30, 1803; and of Burhanpur of February 27, 1804; Resident at Sindia's court, 1804, and in Mysore, 1805; served with Lord Lake, 1805; made the treaty of November 22, 1805, with Daulat Rao Sindia, and of December 24, 1805, with Jeswant Holkar; sent by Lord Minto on a mission to Persia, 1808, which was foiled by French influence; deputed to deal with the mutinous Madras officers at Masulipatam; again sent to Persia, 1810; overshadowed there by Sir Harford Jones; wrote his *Political History of India*, 1811; and *History of Persia*, 1815; knighted and K. C. B. in 1815; D. C. L. at Oxford, 1816; Political Agent to the Governor-General, and Brig-General with the Army of the Dekhan in the Pindari-Mahratta War, 1817-8; won the battle of Mahidpur, December 21, 1817; made the treaty of Mandiswar of January 6, 1818, with Malhar Rao Holkar; made Baji Rao, the Peshwa, abdicate; took Asirghar, April 9, 1819; administered Central India, including Malwa; returned to England, 1822; made Governor of Bombay, 1827; had disputes with the Supreme Court of Bombay, the Government declining to execute the process of the Court, which Sir J. P. Grant then sole judge, thereupon closed; new judges were appointed, and Grant resigned; left India in December 1830; M. P. for Launceston, 1831-2; began the *Life of Lord Clive*: wrote on the *Government of India*; died, July 30, 1833; his statue, by Chantrey, placed in Westminister Abbey; wrote also on *Central India* and a *Sketch of the Sikhs*. He had great diplomatic experience and skill, and was very successful and influential with all classes. "Send Malcolm" wherever there was trouble was a favorite saying of the period to which he belonged.

MALLESON, GEORGE BRUCE (1825—1898).—Guardian of Sri Chāmarajendra Wodeyar, 1869-1877. Born May 8, 1825; son of John Malleson; educated at Wimbledon and Winchester; joined the Bengal N. I. in 1844; in the second Burmese war of 1852-3; in the Commissariat Department till 1856; wrote *the Mutiny of the Bengal Army*, called "the Red Pamphlet," in 1857; Sanitary Commissioner in Bengal, 1866-8; Controller of the Military Finance Department, 1868-9; Guardian of Sri Chamarājēndra Wodeyar Bahadur, Maharaja of Mysore, 1869-77; C. S. I. 1872; Colonel, 1873; retired, 1877; died March 1, 1898. Wrote constantly in the *Calcutta Review*, and otherwise on Indian subjects; among his works are *Essays* and *Lectures on Indian Historical subjects*, 1866; *History of the French in India*, 1868; *Recreations of an Indian Official*, 1871; *An Historical Sketch of the Native States of India, 1875*; *Studies of Genoese History*, 1875; *Seringapatam, Past and Present*, a monograph, 1876; *Final French struggles in India and on the Indian Seas, 1878; History of the Indian Mutiny, 1878-80; History of Afghanistan, 1879; Herat, 1880; the Founder of the Indian Empire, Lord Clive. 1882; the Decisive Battles of India, 1883; The Russo-Afghan question and the invasion of India, 1885; Wellesley; Akbar; Dupleix; Warren Hastings.*

MANDLIK, VISWANATH NARAYAN, RAO SAHIB, (1833-1889).—Indian Lawyer, who wrote in favour of the reversion of Mysore in 1866-7. Born, March 8, 1833, in the Ratnagiri District in the Konkan. Educated at the Elphinstone High School: distinguished himself there. Began life as Personal Assistant to Colonel Jacob in Sind, and afterwards held several Government appointments. Resigned them in 1862, and joined the Bombay Bar, soon obtaining lucrative practice as Pleader. Appointed Government Pleader in 1884: as justice of the peace, Municipal Commissioner, Fellow of the Bombay University, Member of the Legislative Council, Journalist and Author, he won universal respect. In 1874, was made a Member of the Bombay Legislative Council (retaining the position for 8 years) and in 1884, a Member of the Legislative Council of the Governor-General. He translated into Gujarati *Elphinstone's History of India*, and published *A Manual of Hindu Law*, etc. C.S.I. 1877. He advocated political and educational advancement, but opposed any State intervention in Social Reforms. Died, May, 9, 1889.

MANGLES, ROSS DONNELLY (1801—1877) I.C.S.—As a Member of Council of India in 1865, opposed the annexation of Mysore. Son of James Mangles; born 1801: educated at Eton and Haileybury: went to India in 1820: after some minor appointments, he became, in the Burmese War of 1825, Secretary to the Commissioner of Pegu and Ava, and in 1826, Deputy Secretary in the Judicial and Territorial Departments: In 1832, Deputy Secretary in the General Department: held charge of several districts: Secretary to the Government of Bengal in the Judicial and Revenue Departments, 1835--9. In 1838, also temporary Member of the Board of Revenue: Retired in 1839: Was M. P. for Guildford, 1841-58: Director of East India Company, Chairman, 1857: One of the original members of the new Council of India in September 1858 till 1866: Died August 16, 1877. Wrote articles on India in the *Edinburgh Review*.

MANGLES, ROSS LEWIS (1833—1905). I.C.S. Judicial Commissioner of Mysore. Born April 14th, 1833: son of Ross D. Mangles, M. P. Educated at Bath Grammar School and Haileybury: Joined the Bengal Civil Service in 1853. In the Mutiny, he served as a Volunteer in the Expedition for the relief of the Arrah Garrison: the force fell into an ambush, and had to retreat: he at great personal risk, carried and supported for five miles, a wounded soldier who otherwise must have been left to die. Mangles received the V. C. He was Judicial Commissioner of Mysore: Secretary to the Bengal Government: Member of the Board of Revenue in Bengal: Retired, 1883: Died February 28, 1905.

MATTHAN, RAJAMANTRAPRAVINA K., B.A.,—Member of Council. Born 14th October 1877. Joined Mysore Service as Probationary Assistant Commissioner 1897; Assistant Commissioner 1898: Under Secretary to Government, 1906; Special Magistrate, Kolar Gold Field, 1912; Deputy Commissioner, Shimoga 1913; Deputy Commissioner, Mysore 1916; Food Controller for the Mysore State 1918; Commissioner of Income-tax 1920; Chief Secretary to Government 1921; I.-G. of Education 1925; Member of Council, 1928.

MEADE, SIR RICHARD JOHN (1821—1894).—Chief Commissioner in Mysore, 1870. Son of Captain John Meade, R. N.; educated at the Royal Naval School; entered the Bengal Army, 1838; Lt.-General, 1883; General 1889; in the Mutiny of 1857-9, while in charge of a column, captured Tantiah Topi, the rebel leader; Political Agent at Gwalior 1860; A. G. G., Central India, at Indore 1861; Chief Commissioner in Mysore, 1870; A. G. G, and Special Commissioner at Baroda, 1875; Member of the Court for the trial of Malhar Rao, Gaekwar of Baroda, 1875; Resident at Hyderabad, 1876-81; died in the South of France March 20, 1894. To him Bangalore owes the Cubbon Park, at first called Meade Park, the name being changed in accordance with his wishes.

MEDOWS, SIR WILLIAM (1738-1813),—Commander-in-Chief in the War against Tipu in 1792. A great friend of the Mysore Royal House, whose restoration he desired. Governor of Madras. Son of Philip Medows; born, December 31, 1738; joined the 50th regiment, 1756; served in Germany, America, at Brandywine, 1776; at St. Lucia; at the Cape of Good Hope, 1781; to India, 1782, co-operated with Sir E. Hughes in dispersing the French fleet under Suffrein; Governor and C. in C., Bombay, from September 1788 to January 1790; held similar appointments at Madras from February 1790 to August 1792; took the field, 1790, against Tipu; took some places, but the campaign was generally unsuccessful; Cornwallis took command in person in 1791-2; Medows captured Nandidrug, October 19, 1791; led a column in the attack on Seringapatam, February 1792; to England in 1792; K.C.B.; General, 1798; Governor of the Isle of Wight; C. in C. in Ireland 1801; died November 14, 1813. His partiality for the Mysore Royal House was well known even in his own days. In the first War against Tipu, Medows wrote to Cornwallis, said:—"I mean that the three Governors (English, the Nizam and the Peishwah) should dine at Seringapatam, with the old Queen of Mysore (Maharani Lakshmi Ammanni) sitting at the head of the table. For·

my own part I freely confess that I should prefer the dignity and justice of dethroning the cruel tyrant and usurper (Tipu), and restoring the kingdom to the Hindoo family—the lawful owner—to the wiser policy perhaps of clipping his wings so effectually that he could do no more harm in our time." The "wiser policy" was adopted but another war was required to put down the "cruel tyrant and usurper" seven years later. The strong legitimist sympathies which Medows had shown ultimately triumphed in 1799 and the Restoration of the ancient Hindu Royal House became an accomplished fact after the fall of Seringapatam.

MILES, WILLIAM.—Translator of the histories of Haidar and Tipu. Joined the Bombay N. I., 1800; served at Baroda; made a treaty in 1820 with the Raja of Rodanpur; commanded a regt. in the first Burmese War; took Mergui; made a treaty with the Suigam chiefs, in Gujarat, in 1826; Political Officer at Palanpur, 1829; retired, 1834; Maj-General; died May 21, 1860; good Persian scholar; translated works on the *History of Hyder Naik, 1842;* and *History of the Reign of Tipu Sultan, 1844.*

MILL, JOHN STUART (1806-1873).—The Philosopher. Presented, in 1866, the famous Memorial to the House of Commons urging the House to take into consideration the restoration of H. H. the Maharaja's Government in Mysore. Son of James Mill: born May 20, 1806: educated privately: he was never in India, but was connected with it by joining the India House as a Junior Clerk, In 1823: he was third in the Office, on £1,200 a year, when his father died in 1836: Chief of the Office on £ 2,000 a year, in 1856: he prepared in 1858, the document in which the E. I. Co., stated their case against their threatened termination. When the Statute of 1858 was passed and the Government of E. I. Co., came to an end, Mill retired on a pension of £1,500 a year. It is said that for 23 years, he wrote all the political despatches from the India Office: he wrote no single special work on India: died May, 8, 1873.

MILLER, SIR LESLIE CREARY. I.C.S.—Chief Judge, Mysore Chief Court. retired; *b.* 1862, *s.* of Alexander Miller. *Educ.* Trinity College, Dublin, Entered Indian Civil Service, Madras, 1884; District and Sessions Judge 1896; Served on the Indian Police Commission being co-opted as Madras member, 1898; Judge, Madras High Court; retiring from Madras service in 1914; Chief Judge, Chief Court, 1914; Kt. 1914; C.B.E. 1919.

MIR HUMZA HUSSAIN, B.A., B.L., Mushir-ul-Mulk, (1923).—Late Member of Council, *b.* 15th March 1869. Joined service as Judicial Probationer 1893; Extra Assistant Commissioner 1897; Assistant Superintendent of Police 1898; Assistant Commissioner and Sub-Judge 1903; Senior Assistant Commissioner 1909; District and Sessions Judge 1911; Inspector-General of Police 1920; Second Member 1922; First Member, 1923. Acting Dewan 1924; Retired 1925.

MIRZA MAHOMED ISMAIL, SIR.—Dewan of Mysore since 1926; *b.* 23rd October 1883; Assistant Superintendent of Police, (Probation) 1905; Assistant Superintendent 1907; Assistant Commissioner 1908; Assistant Secretary to His Highness 1910; Offg. Huzur Secretary to His Highness the Maharaja, 1913; Huzur Secretary 1914; Private Secretary to His Highness the Maharaja, 1922; Dewan of Mysore, 1926. C.I.E., 1924 O.B.E., 1923; Kt., 1930

MONTGOMERY, SIR HENRY CUNNINGHAM. BARONET I.C.S. (1833-1878),—As a member of Council of India, opposed in 1865 the annexation of Mysore: eldest son of Sir Henry C. Montgomery, Bart: educated at Eton, and Haileybury: was Assistant Private Secretary to Lord Wellesley when Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland (1822-4); finally left Heileybury, 1824: out to Madras, 1825 in the Civil Service: succeeded to the Baronetcy, 1830: sent on a special Commission to the Rajamundry (Godavari) District, which led to the irrigation of that District from the Godavari:

Secretary to the Madras Government in the Revenue and P. W. departments 1845-50; Chief Secretary, 1850-5: Member of Council, 1855-7. When he retired, made one of the original Members of the new Council of India, chosen by the Crown in September 1858: retired 1876: Privy Councillor: died June 24, 1878.

MOORE, LEWIS, I.C.S.; Judge, Madras High Court; Chief Judge, Chief Court, 9th August 1906.

MORISON, WILLIAM.—Member, Lord William Bentinck's Commission on Mysore Affairs, 1831; Sole Commissioner of Mysore, 1833; transferred from the line to the Artillery solely on account of his talents and made Instructor; Surveyor-General; Commissary General on the formation of that Department, on 1st December; in 1810 with head-quarters at Hunsur; though a Captain at the time, he was given the rank of Major with a seat at the Military Board; he had under him seven officers as his Assistants and four others as Sub-Assistants; Lieut.-Col.; objected to alterations in the uniform of Commissariat introduced by the Commander-in-Chief of the time without reference to Government; his appeal upheld by Sir Thomas Munro, Governor and then by the Court of Directors, the order of the Commander-in-Chief being cancelled by them; Resident at Travancore; Senior and then Sole Commissioner in Mysore, 1833; Member of the Council of the Governor-General at Calcutta, 1834. Thorough in his work, he never left anything to chance. Has been declared the first Madras officer since the days of Lord Clive, selected for a seat in the Supreme Council. His *Notes on Mysore* is a most valuable series of official papers throwing light on the administrative history of the State of the period to which they relate.

MORLEY, RIGHT HON. JOHN, VISCOUNT, OF BLACKBURN, P. C., O.M., M.A., F.R.S., LL.D., D.C.L., Barr. (1873). Took prominent part in urging the reversion of the State in 1867.—*Edu.* at Cheltenham Coll., and Lincoln Coll., Oxford; hon. LL.D. Glasgow, 1879, Cambridge, 1892, St. Andrews, 1029, Edinburgh, 1904; hon. D. C. L., Oxford, 1896; M. P. for Newcastle-on-Tyne, 1883-1895, and for the Montorse Burghs from 1896; Chief Sec. for Ireland, 1886 and 1892-1895; Privy councillor, 1886; bencher of Lincoln's Inn, 1891; trustee of British Museum, 1894; member of Historical Mss. Comm.; O.M., 1902; Sec. of State for India, Dec., 1905, to Nov., 1910, and from March to May, 1911; Lord President of the Council from Nov., 1910; Viscount Morley of Blackburn, 1908; Chancellor of Manchester Univ., 1908; author of '*Edmund Burke*,' 1867; '*Critical Miscellanies*,' 1871; *Voltaire*,' 1871 '*Rousseau*,' 1873; '*On Compromise*,' 1874; '*Diderot and she Encyclopædista*,' 1878; '*Burke*,' 1879; '*The Life of Richard Cobden*,' 1881; '*Oliver Cromwel*,' 1900; '*Life of Gladstone*,' 1903.

MUNRO, SIR HECTOR (1726-1805).—Served in the war against Haidar, 1780-1. Born 1726; son of Hugh Munro; was ensign in the 48th regt. in 1749; commanded the 89th regt. out to Bombay in 1761; suppressed a mutiny of sepoys at Patna in 1764; won the decisive battle of Baxar. Oct. 23, 1764, defeating the Nawab Wazir of Oudh, Shuja-ud-daula, and Mir Kasim; Lt-Colonel, 1765; M. P. for the Inverness Burghs, 1768-1801; commanded the Madras Army, 1778; took Pondicherry from the French, 1778: K. B., 1779; engaged in the field against Haidar Ali, 1780-1; commanded a Division in Sir Eyre Coote's victory at Porto Novo. July 1, 1781; captured Negapatam, Nov. 1781; returned to England; Maj-General, 1782; General, 1798; died at Novar, Dec. 27, 1805.

MUNRO INNES (?—1827).—Of Poyntzfield, Cromarty, N. B., Lieutenant—Colonel and author; Historian of Haidar's War of 1780; was related to Sir Hector Munro of Novar (q. v.). Appointed on 29th December 1777 to a Lieutenancy in the 73rd, afterwards 71st, Highlanders, then raised by Lord Macleod. As Lieutenant and Captain in the First battalion of that regiment, he took part in the campaigns of 1780-4 against

Haidar Ali, which he afterwards described; at the close of these campaigns was placed on half-pay as Captain of the disbanded second battalion of the regiment. On 8th July 1793, he was brought on full pay as Captain in the Scottish Brigade (disbanded as the 94th foot in 1818). He belonged to that regiment until 1808, when he left the army as Major and Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel. He had served for many years as paymaster of a recruiting district. Munro, who had married Anne, daughter of George Gordon, Minister of Clyne, died at Poyntzfield in 1827. He published *A narrative of the Military Operations in the Carnatic in 1780-4*, London, 1789, and *A system of Farm Book-keeping based on Actual Practice*, Edinburgh, 1821. Donald says of the latter : "It is the most complex idea that has ever been published. It may amuse the gentleman, but would never suit the farmer."

MUNRO, SIR THOMAS, BARONET (1761-1827). Joint Secretary to Commission for Mysore Affairs, 1799. Maj-General and Governor of Madras ; son of Alexander Munro, of Glasgow : born May 27, 1761; educated at Glasgow; entered the mercantile profession, but left it and joined the E. I. Co.'s Madras Army in 1780 ; was in the Mysore War of 1780-3 under Sir Hector Munro and Sir Eyre Coote ; in 1788 in the Intelligence Department; in the actions under Lord Cornwallis; after 1792 served in the Baramahal under Capt. Reade in the civil line ; rejoined the Army in 1799, and after Seringapatam was appointed, with Capt. Malcolm, Joint Secretary to the Commissioners for the Settlement of Mysore ; his views on the settlement did not meet with the approval of the Marquis of Wellesley ; administered Kanara on the Malabar coast and suppressed disorder; from 1800 to 1807 he administered the Ceded Districts south of the Tungabhadra, and elaborated the *Ryotwari* system of land tenure ; he is still known in these districts as the *Father* of the people ; was in England 1807-18 ; was examined by the House of Commons regarding the renewal of the Company's Charter, and on important questions connected with the civil and military administration in India ; Colonel in 1813 ; employed on a Commission for improving the Judicial and Police Departments ; returned to military service as Brig.-General in the War of 1817-18 against the Pindaris and Mahrattas ; reduced Sandur ; raised troops at Dharwar and took Dummul, Hubli, Badami, Belgaum ; joined by Brig-General Pritzsler, took Sholapur; services commended by Prince Regent; made K.C.B., 1818 ; appointed Governor of Madras, 10th June 1820; vigorously assisted in the prosecution of the first Burmese War of 1824-26 ; thanked by the Supreme Government and the Court of Directors in this connection, 11th April 1826 and 12th November 1826 ; visited Mysore in 1827 ; objected to the unauthorized alterations in military dress, 1824 ; made a Baronet ; his government of Madras was very successful, based as it was on his thorough knowledge of the country and languages, his ability and principles, power of work and firmness. His death through an attack of cholera while on tour at Pattikonda in the Ceded Districts, on July 7, 1827, was universally deplored. His magnificient equestrian statue by Sir Francis Chantrey was unveiled at Madras on October 23, 1839, under a salute of seventeen guns.

NANJUNDAIYA, H. V.—Member of Council. Born, 13th October 1860 ; Educated, Wesleyan Mission School, Mysore; and Christian College, Madras; B.A., 1880, B.L., 1883 ; M.A., 1885, M.L., 1896. Joined Mysore Service as Munsiff, 1885 ; Probationary Assistant Commissioner, 1886 ; Subordinate Judge, 1888 ; Under Secretary to Government, 1895 : Offg. District and Sessions Judge, 1895 ; Deputy Commissioner, 1897 ; Judge, Chief Court, 1902 ; Offg. Chief Judge, 1907 ; Second Member of Council, 1909 ; in charge of Education Department, 1912 ; First Member of Council, 1912; Chief Judge, Chief Court, in addition to his own duties, 1912-13 ; Retired 1916. C.I.E. 1914 ; Rajamantrapravina 1913. Vice-Chancellor, Mysore University, 1918.

PEARSE, COLONEL J. L. Superintendent; Commissioner, Nandidurg Division, 1863-1873. Officiating Judicial Commissioner, 1873-4.

PEARS, STEUART EDMUND, I.C.S.—Resident in Mysore, *b.* 25th November 1875, *m.* Winifred M. Barton *Educ.* Edinburgh University and Trinity Hall, Cambridge. Entered I.C.S., 1898; served in N. W. Frontier Province from 1901 onwards, as Political Agent in Tochi, Kurram, Khyber and Malakand. Delegate to Anglo-Afghan conference at Mussoorie in 1920; Resident, Wazaristan 1922-24. Agent to Governor-General, Baluchistan, 1924; Resident in Mysore, 1925; C.I.E. 1916; C.S.I. 1923; Chief Commission N.W.F., 1930.

PEILE, JOHN HENRY.—Secretary to the Resident in Mysore, 1806: Writer. 1796: Assistant in the Military, Political, and Secret Departments. 1799: Head Assistant under the Resident at Mysore. 1800: Postmaster at Mysore, 1803: Secretary to the Resident at Mysore, 1806: Judge and Magistrate of Cuddapah, 1809: Secretary to Government in Military Department, and Superintendent of Stamps, 1811: Persian Translator to Government; Third Judge of the Provincial Court, Southern Division, 1818: *At home.* 1823: *Out of the service.*

PLUMER, C. G.—entered M.C.S., District Judge, N. Arcot; Chief Judge, Chief Court, 1882; retired 1890.

PLUMER, R. B., Bar-at-Law.—Born 28th March 1871; Joined Mysore Service, 29th March 1890, as Probationer; Probationery Assistant Commissioner, 1892; Special Magistrate and Munsiff, K.G.F., 1897; District and Sessions Judge, Shimoga, 1906; District and Sessions Judge, Bangalore, 1913: Judge, Chief Court, 1922; Chief Judge, Chief Court, 2nd August; 1924; retired, 1927.

POWIS, EDWARD, SECOND LORD CLIVE, and FIRST EARL OF (1754-1839).—Governor of Madras, at the time of the final siege of Seringapatam and during nearly the whole period of Pūrnaiya's administration; born March 7, 1754; eldest son of the first Lord Clive; succeeded his father, 1774; M.P. for Ludlow; English Peer, 1794; Governor of Madras, as Lord Clive, September 1799 to August 1803, during the period of the last war with Tipu; he was overshadowed by Marquis of Wellesley, while he stayed at Madras during the progress of the war; Marquis of Wellesley acknowledged the "honourable, generous and disinterested support" he received from him; thanked by Parliament, 1804, for his services in the Mahratta War; P.C. and created Earl of Powis and Viscount Clive, 1804; nominated Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, but did not take up the appointment; remarkable for his physical vigour; died May 16, 1839. Colonel Arthur Wellesley (later Duke of Wellington) described him as "a mild, moderate man, remarkably reserved, having a bad delivery, and apparently a heavy understanding ....but I doubt whether he is dull as he appears, or as people imagine he is." His correspondence with Pūrnaiya shows him as a remarkably acute man and as one thoroughly alive to the interests of his nation in India.

PORTER, WILLIAM ARCHER (1824-1890).—Son of Rev. James Porter, of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland. *Edu.* at Glasgow and Cambridge Uuniversities; third Wrangler; Fellow and Tutor, Peterhouse, Cambridge; Bar-at-Law; Principal, Kumbakonam College, 1863-78, where his memory is perpetuated by the Porter Town Hall; Tutor and Secretary to His Highness Maharaja Sri Chamarajendra Wodeyar, 1878-85; died 1890; a sister of his married Peter Guthrie Tait, the famous Professor of Experimental Physics at the Edinburgh University, whose son J. G. Tait M.A., Bar-at-Law, became in succession Professor and Principal, Central College, Bangalore.

PRENDERGAST, GUY LUSHINGTON.—Asst. Resident in Mysore, 1827: Writer, 1829: Assistant to the Secretary in the Revenue Department, 1830: Assistant to the Resident at Mysore; Senior Assistant to the Registrar of the Sudder and Foujdarry Adawlut; Superintendent of Government Lotteries, 1832: Senior Deputy Registrar of the Sudder and Foujdarry Adawlut 1838: at home on absentee allowance, 1839: returned to India, per "General Kyd." 1840: Assistant Judge and Joint Criminal Judge, Malabar; Deputy Accountant-General, 1857: Accountant-General and Member of the Mint Committee, 1859: out of service, 3rd September, in India.

PRENDERGAST, SIR HARRY NORTH DALYRMPLE.—Born, October 15, 1834: Son of Thomas Prendergast, M.C.S: educated at Cheltenham and Addiscombe: entered the Indian Engineers in Madras, 1854: became General, 1887: served in the Persian War, 1857, : in the Indian Mutiny 1857-58; in the Central India Field Force: severely wounded: gained the V.C. on 31st November 1857, at Mandishwar, saving the life of Lt. Dew. 14th Light Dragoons, at the risk of his own, by attempting to cut down a rebel: also for gallantry in actions when A.D.C. to Sir Hugh Rose, at Ratnagarh and Betwa: severely wounded: Brevet Major: in Abyssynian War, 1867-8: Brevet Colonel: Commanded Sappers in Indian Expedition to Malta, 1878: acted as Military Secy. to the Government of Madras: commanded Western District 1880: Ceded Districts, 1881: as Q.M.G., commanded the British Burma Division, 1883: Hyderabad Subsidiary Force, 1884: Burma Expedition, 1885-6: Officiating Resident in Travancore and Cochin, 1887: Offg. Resident in Mysore, 1887: Governor-General's Agent in Baroda, 1889: Officiating Governor-General's Agent in Beluchistan; 1889: Officiating Resident in Mysore, 1891-2, K.C.S.I. 1885, G.C.B., 1902.

PRENDERGAST, SIR JEFFERY, (1769-1856).—Served in the last War against Tipu Sultan. Son of Thomas Prendergast: born 1769: given appointment in S. Domingo: at the age of 15, he was captured *en route* taken to France, but escaped to England: became a Cadet in the E.I. Co's. Military service: went to Madras: served in the Madras Fusiliers in Mysore and at Seringapatam, 1779: was on the guard placed over Tipu's body: A.D.C. to General (Lord) Harris at Madras: stationed at Fort St. George; rose to be Military Auditor-General: absent from Europe for 40 years: knighted: died at Brighton, July 1856:

PRINSEP, SIR HENRY THOBY.—Judl. Commissioner in Mysore. Born 1836: Son of Henry Thoby Prinsep. educated at Harrow and Haileybury: arrived in India on December 7, 1855: Assistant Magistrate at Midnapur during the Mutiny and as Civil Officer accompanied a Naval Brigade with light guns sent from Midnapur to join troops, to subdue a rising among the Kols: became Registrar of the Sadr Court in January 1862, and of the High Court on its establishment on July 1, of the same year: held several temporary appointments before becoming a District Judge in 1867: Judicial Commissioner in Mysore, 1875-6: Officiating Judge of the Calcutta High Court, 1877: confirmed 1878: he acted as Chief Justice in 1902;: Presided in 1893-4, over the Jury Commission, and in 1896-8, joined the Governor-General's Legislative Council, to assist in revising the Codes of Criminal and Civil Procedure: knighted in 1894, and made K.C.I.E. on retirement in March 1904· for 26 years, he was District Grand Master of the Free-Masons in Bengal, and was the last of the Members of the Indian Civil Service educated at Haileybury employed in India.

PURNAIYA (1732-1812).—Regent and Dewan of Mysore, 1799-1811. A Brahman of the Mādhva sect; born at Shrotriam village of Kunjimedu in the Chidambaram Taluk, South Arcot District: was a Treasury Officer in the employ of Haidur Ali in Mysore, and on Haidar's death kept the Army in order until Tipū arrived from Malabar; was Dewan, or Finance Minister, to Tipū for many years; and on his death in 1799 was nominated to the post by the Marquis of Wellesley when he restored the ancient Mysore Royal family in the person of Sri-Krishna-Raja Wodeyar III, then a child of about three years. He was greatly trusted by successive British Residents in Mysore, and during his administration of Mysore the country was greatly benefited by the improvements which he introduced, while he accumulated large sums in the Treasury. He received the Yelandur *Jaghir* in recognition of his services. The *Jaghir* is governed by a special Regulation, which among other matters regulates its succession. Retired in December 1811; a great friend of Col. Arthur Wellesley, afterwards Duke of Wellington, while serving as Governor of Seringapatam : one of the last gifts of Wellington to Pūrnaiya was a portrait of his which now adorns the Residency at Mysore : in his last letter to Pūrnaiya, dated 2nd March 1805, Wellesley bore warm testimony to the success of his administration of Mysore; lived at Seringapatam on pension, and died March 29, 1812. His letters, written in elegant language, excited considerable curiosity in Earl Powis, then Governor of Madras, who expressed a desire to see him, a wish that was never realized by either party.

PUTTANNA CHETTY, SIR K. P.—First Member of Council Rtd. *b.* 1856; Edu. Central College, Bangalore; entered Mysore service 1875; Traffic Manager, Mysore State Railways, 1884; Deputy Commissioner and District Magistrate, 1898-1906; Member of Council, 1906-09; retired 1912; President of several Trusts and charities; Chairman, Board of Directors, Bank of Mysore, since 1912; President, Central Co-operative Bank, Bangalore; Chairman, Board of Directors, Sri Krishnarajendra Mills, Mysore; elected Member, Mysore Legislative Council, 1925; Fellow of the Mysore University 1916; Hon. President, Bangalore City Municipality, 1913-19; donated Rs. 25,000 towards constructing out-patients' dispensary, Victoria Hospital, Bangalore; awarded Durbar Medal 1911; Kaiser-i-Hind Gold Medal 1914, *Rajasabhabhushana*, Diwan Bahadur 1911; C.I.E. 1917. Kt. Bachelor, 1925.

RAGHAVENDRA RAO, B.A., B.L., Member, Mysore Council (Retd.) *b.* 23rd March 1869. Entered Mysore service as Tutor to H. H. the Maharaja, 1890; Offg. Private Secretary to H. H. Maharaja, 1910; accompanied H. H. The Yuvaraja of Mysore on his European tour, 1913; Excise Commissioner, 1914-18; Revenue Commissioner, 1918; Member of Council, 1918-23. Diwan Bahadur, 1911; *Rajamantrapravina*, 1921.

RAMACHANDRA IYER, A., B.A., B.L.,—born April 1894; 2nd Judge, Chief Court, 1890; Offg. Chief Judge, 1890, 1892, 1893, 1898, and 1901; Chief Judge, 1902; Diwan Bahadur, 1900; *Raja Dharma Pravina*, 1904.

RAM RAZ.—Chief Judge of the court established in 1832 under the British Commission. Born at Tanjore. Brought up by his maternal uncle Govinda Rao, an officer of Tipū at Seringapatam. Lived at Seringapatam till 1805; then went to Trichinopoly and thence to Madras in 1813, where he completed his education. Became Superintendent of English Department at the College, Madras, for some years: was then appointed Interpreter of the Supreme Court of Justice, Madras, in 1820; appointed special Interpreter to a Commission formed for the investigation of a very important subject which demanded the faithful services of a person of high character; well acquainted with English History and Law, and with the Laws, Institutions and Languages of his own country : obtained the high distinction of diploma, "the first to be granted to a native of Madras;" became corresponding Member of the R. A. S. of Great Britain; took interest in the study of antiquities of India and wrote on them; his "elegant composition" in English attracted the notice of the learned in Europe: Fergusson in his *History of Indian Architecture* refers to his writings. Col. Briggs chose him for the post of Chief Justice in the Mysore Huzur Adaūlat Court died, 1833. Col. Briggs described him as "a very extraordinary person under any circumstances."

RANGACHARLU, CETTIPANYAM VIRAVALLI.— C.I.E.; Dewan of Mysore. Deputy Collector, Madras; Assistant, Inam Enquiry; entered Mysore Service 1868, at the instance of Mr. Bowring, and posted to duty in the Palace Department: in this connection, he showed, according to Mr. Bowring, the Commissioner, "great tact, discrimination and good judgment."; Controller of the Palace; Revenue Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, 1879; Dewan of Mysore, on the Rendition of the State, 25th March 1881; died at Madras, 20th January 1883. C. I. E. 1878. Wrote *Fifty years of British Administration in Mysore.* Wrote English worthy of a classical scholar; described as *Father of the Mysore Representative Assembly.* His Highness the Maharaja in notifying his death, said: "By the death of this valued public servant, H. H. the Maharaja feels that he has been deprived of an able, faithful and devoted counsellor and that the people have lost a true and sympathetic friend." In consideration of his eminent services to the State during a period of 15 years, H. H. the Maharaja Srī Chāmāraja Wodeyar, was pleased to grant a bonus of rupees one lakh to his family. The Rangacharlu Memorial Hall at Mysore was erected partly by subscription, as a memorial to him.

RAWLINSON, SIR HENRY CRESWICKE, BARONET (1810-1895).—Headed the deputation to Lord Cranborne in 1867, for securing the reversion of Mysore. Born April 11, 1801, son of Abraham Tyzack Rawlinson: educated at Wrington and Ealing: Went to Bombay in the E. I. Co's Military service, 1827, Sir John Malcolm (q. v.) being a fellow passenger. Learnt Persian and the Vernaculars: served in Persia, to discipline the Persian troops, 1833-9: Political Assistant to Sir W. Macnaghten at Kabul: Political Agent at Kandahar: at the Battle there, May, 29, 1842: with Nott, returned to India, *via* Kabul: C. B. Political Agent in Turkish Arabia, 1843: Council General at Baghdad, 1844: deciphered the Persian Cuniform inscription of Darius Hystaspes at Behistun, 1846: made great explorations and excavations in Babylonia and adjacent countries: returned to England 1855: K. C. B. 1856: Lt.-Colonel: Director of E. I. Co.: M. P. for Reigate, 1858: Member of the Council of India, 1858-9: Minister to Persia, 1859-60: M. P. for Frome, 1865-8: Member again in the Council of India from 1868, for the rest of his life: G.C.B. 1889; Baronet, 1891: President of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1878-81: and its Director, 1862-95: President of Geographical Society, 1871-2, and 1874-5: and of the Oriental Congress in London, 1874: D. C. L., L. L. D. of Cambridge and Edinburgh, and a member of the several foreign academies: Trustee of the British Museum: died March 5, 1895. Wrote constantly in the *Royal Asiatic Society's Journal* and for the Geographical Society on Assyria and Babylonia, Persia, Turkistan, Central Asia: also in the periodical Reviews: and published *England and Russia in the East*, 1875, expressing his pronounced views on Russian Policy and action in Central Asia.

ROBERTSON, SIR DONALD, K. C. S. I.—Lieut., Col., Indian Army, late Foreign Dept., Govt. of India.—Resident in Mysore. Ensign Royal Scots fusiliers, Aug. 1865; arrived, Oct., 1865; served from Nov. 1869, as Asst. Commr. in the Central Prov.; transfd. to Rajputana, June, 1872; Cantonmt. mag., Nasirabad May, 1877; Offg. Asst. Commr., Merwara and Ajmir, 1877-78; Offg. Supt. Jahalawar, 1879; 1st Asst. Agent, Indore, 1881; Pol. Agent, Bhopal February 1885, Pol. Agent, Budel-khand, May, 1885; Assist. to the Resident in Mysore and Secretary to the Chief Commr. of Coorg, Dec. 1886; pol. agent in Bundelkhand, and Supt, of the Rewa State, Dec., 1888; Resident, Gwalior, Feb., 1894; Offg Govr.-Gen's Agent, Central India, April, 1895; Resident Mysore, and Chief Commr., Coorg, Dec., 1896; C. S. I. Dec., 1898; K. C. S. I., Jan., 1903; retd. from foreign dept, Oct. 1903. On coronation duty at India Office, June to Oct., 1911.

RICE, BENJAMIN LEWIS. (1837-1928).—Archaeologist, antiquarian and educationalist. Son of Rev. T. Rice: educated privately: appointed Principal of the High School (now Central College), Bangalore 1860-5; Inspector of Schools, Mysore and Coorg, 1865-8, 1870-3;

Director of Public Instruction in Mysore and Coorg, 1868-9, 1873-83: Secretary to the Mysore Government, Education Department, 1883-90: Director of Archæological Researches in Mysore, 1890-1905: introduced the Hobli School system of Primary Education in Mysore, 1868: was Secretary to the Education Commission (Sir W. W. Hunter's) 1882-3: C.I.E.; Author of *Gazetteer of Mysore and Coorg.*: *Mysore Inscriptions*: *Epigraphia Carnatica*, 12 vols.; *Bibliotheca Carnatica*. Died, 1928.

RUSSELL, GEORGE EDWARD.—Officiating Resident in Mysore 1802: Writer, 1803: Assistant to the Secretary in the Revenue and Judicial Departments, 1804: Assistant under the Registrar of the Zillah of Chingleput, 1805: Registrar of the Zillah of Chingleput. 1812: Collector and Magistrate of Musulipatam 1815: In charge of General Treasury at Masulipatam, 1822: Second Member of the Board of Revenue, 1824: At first Acting, then Senior Member of the Board of Revenue. 1832: Officiating as Resident at the Court of His Highness the Rajah of Mysore; Commissioner to inquire into the State of affairs at Ganjam and Vizagapatam. 1834: Member of Council of the Governor, and President of the Revenue and Marine Boards, 1836: Chief Judge of Sudder and Foujdarry Adawlut. (*Retired on the Annuity Fund in 1838.*) Died, 20th October 1863 in England

SABAPATHI MUDALIAR. A.—Member of Council, 1881-9; Rai Bahadur.

SALISBURY, ROBERT ARTHUR TALBOT GASCOIGNE CECIL, THIRD MARQUIS OF (1830-1903).—As Secretary of State for India, determined on the restoration of Mysore in 1867. Born February 3, 1830: son of the Second Marquis: educated at Eton, and Christ Church, Oxford; Fellow of All Soul's College; M. P. for Stampford, 1853-68; Marquis, 1868. Secretary of State for India, as Lord Cranborne, from July 6, 1866 to March 9, 1867. In 1867, announced in the House of Commons the decision of the British Cabinet that the existence of well governed Indian States is a benefit to the stability of British Rule. He reversed the Wood despatch in regard to Mysore: again as Marquis of Salisbury, Secretary of State for India, from February 22, 1874 to March 30, 1878: Chancellor of the University of Oxford, 1869: wrote for the *Quarterly Review* and other Periodicals: his career as Ambassador, etc., Foreign Secretary, and thrice Prime Minister, belongs to English and European Politics and History: died August 22, 1903: K.G., D.C.L., L.L.D.

SANDFORD, JOHN DOUGLAS, (1833-92):—I.C.S.; Judicial Commissioner in Mysore. Son of venereble Archdeacon Sandford: educated at Rugby and at Trinity College, Oxford: Scholar: first class Moderations and in the final Classical School: to India in 1856: Served in the N.W.P.; Judical Commissioner of Burma and of Mysore, 25th March 1881; Officiating Resident in Mysore, May 1882 to June 1883; left India 1882; retired 1884; died June 1892:

SANKEY, SIR RICHARD HIERAM.—Chief Engineer in Mysore, (1864-77). Born March 12, 1829; son of Mathew Sankey; educated at Addiscombe; entered Madras Engineers, 1846, and became Lt.-General, 1884; Superintendent of the East Coast Canal, 1856-7; in the mutiny on special duty at Allahabad; Field Engineer at Cawnpore; Senior Engineer Officer with the Gurkha Force under Jang Bahadur; recommended for the V.C.; at the capture of Lucknow; Chief Engineer in Mysore, 1864-77; deputed to Victoria to report on water works, 1871; Deputy Secretary to the Government of India, 1877; Commanding Engineer in South Afghanistan under Sir D. Stewart, 1878-9; Chief Engineer and Secretary, Public Works Department, Madras, 1879, and Member of Legislative Council, Madras; Fellow, Madras University, 1881; resigned Public Works Department 1883; retired from Army, 1884; Chairman of Board of Works, Ireland, 1884-96: K.C.B., 1892. Sankey's Reservoir at Bangalore is named after him.

SCHWARTZ, REV. CHRISTIAN FRIEDRICH (1726-98).—Danish Missionary;

Ambassador of Madras Government to Haidar Ali in August 1779. Born October 22, 1726, in Prussia; son of George Schwartz: educated at Sonnenburg, Kustrian, Halle University; assisted Schultz, the Danish Missionary, to edit the Tamil Bible; ordained at Copenhagen, 1749; went out as a Missionary from the Government of Denmark to Cuddalore and to the Danish Settlement at Tranquebar, 1750; learnt to speak several Indian languages; placed in charge of the country S. of the Cauvery; went to Ceylon and Trichinopoly; at the siege of Madura, 1764, built a church there, 1766, Mission House and Schools; worked as a Missionary under the S.P.C.K.; settled as Chaplain to the troops at Trichinopoly, 1768-78; went to live at Tanjore, 1778; built a church there; went on behalf of the Madras Government on a secret mission to Haidar Ali at Seringapatam, 1779; the Journal of his mission is printed in Wilks' *Histoy of Mysoor*. Vol. I, 523-8 (Madras Edition); Haidar gave him free passage, but Tipū refused to see him; Schwartz established Government schools, including teaching of Christianity therein; founded the Tinnevelly Church; appointed interpreter at Tanjore; guardian of Serfoji, the young Raja there; died there, February 13, 1798; monuments erected to him at Madras and Tanjore; said to have made 6,000 converts; was most devout, zealous and high principled. He spoke Persian well.

SEAL, SIR BRAJENDRANATH, M.A., PH.D., Vice-Chancellor, Mysore University, 1921-1930. Professor of Mental and Moral Science, Calcutta University, 1914-20. Born 3rd September 1864. Educated at General Assembly, College, Calcutta; Del., Orientalist Congress, Rome, 1899; Member, Simla Committee for drawing up Calcutta University Register, 1905; Vice-Chancellor, Mysore University. 1921; Extra Member of Council, Knight Bachelor 1926; 1930, Rtd.

SESHADRI IYER, SIR KUMARAPURAM: late Dewan of Mysore. Born 1st June 1845; B.A., 1865; B.L. 1874; entered British Service as Translator in Collector's Office, Calicut; joined Mysore Service as Judicial Sherestadar, Ashtagram Division; Public Prosecutor; Judicial Assistant Commissioner; Comptroller to the Royal Household; Deputy Commissioner, Tumkur, 1879; Deputy Commissioner, Mysore, 1881; Officiating Dewan, 1882; Dewan, 1883; continued in the post for 18 years; his administration proved highly beneficial to the State; C.S.I. 1887; K.C.S.I. 1893; Among his greater achievements were:—the harnessing of the Cauvery at Sivasamudram for the generation of Electric power for lighting and industrial purposes; the working out of water supply schemes for Bangalore and Mysore; the organization of an efficient Civil Service; development of a sound system of Local Self Government; working out of generous scheme of Government Life Insurance for the benefit of employees, now extended to others as well; reform in the management of religious foundations; development of the financial resources of the State; and the evolving of effective checks against the ravages of famine and plague. The Marikanive Reservoir owes its existence to him. He opened out the congested areas in the areas of Mysore and Bangalore and thus paved the way for their being laid out on modern sanitary lines. He also developed medical aid and education and elaborated a system of Judicial administration which has enjoyed a reputation second to none in India. He provided for Archaeological research on scientific lines which has helped to elucidate the ancient history of Southern India as a whole. An enlightened administrator, who laboured hard for the good name of his sovereign and the reputation of his countrymen in the adminitrative field. Died within a few months of his retirement, in 1901. Described as a Statesman remarkable for his administrative talents, abilities and integrity; his most notable achievement was his conception and execution, with skilled assistance, of the Cauvery Power Installation Scheme, which besides bringing in a handsome revenue to the State is contributing materially to its industrial development. A statue has been erected at Bangalore to perpetuate his memory, the same being unveiled by Lord Hardinge, when on a visit to the State in 1913. Referring to the administration of his time, Lord Hardinge said, "His work is writ large on every page of Mysore History of that time."

SESHAGIRI RAO.—Chief Justice of the Mysore Huzur Adaulat Court, 1834. Dewan of Cochin from 1825-1830: a thoroughly honest and straight forward administrator: resigned the Dewanship, April 1830: appointed Chief Justice in Mysore, April 1833.

SMITH, CHARLES—M. 1805: Writer. 1809: Assistant under the Judge and Collector of Seringapatam. 1812: In England 1815: Out of the service.

SMITH, EDMUND.—Assistant Commissioner in Mysore. 1827: Writer. 1829: Assistant to the Chief Secretary to Government, and Deputy Persian Translator, 1831: Assistant to the Commissioners for the Government of Mysore, 1832: Junior Deputy Secretary to the Board of Revenue, and Secretary to the Board for the College, and for Public Instruction; Sub-Collector and Joint Magistrate of Malabar; Acting Private Socretary to the Governor. 1839: Acting Deputy Register to the Suddar and Foujdarry Adawlut. 1339: At home on absentee allowance, 1847: Not traced after being on furlough. Died, 16th August 1873 in England.

SMITH, JOHN.—Paymaster at Seringapatam, 1799: Writer on the Bencoolen Establishment. 1803: *Transferred to the Madras Presidency*: Assistant to the Chief Secretary to Government. 1804: Secretary to the Committee of Audit for Captured Dutch Settlements, 1806: Paymaster and Garrison Storekeeper at Seringapatam, 1813: Collector of Vizagapatam. Died, 20th June 1824, at Vizagapatam.

SMOLLET, PATRICK BOYLE.—Assistant Commissioner in Mysore. 1825: Writer. 1828: Head Assistant to the Collector of Guntoor. 1830: Head Assistant to the Secretary to the Board of Revenue. 1832: Assistant to the Commissioners for the Government of Mysore. 1833: Acting Assistant to the Chief Secretary in the Public and Secret Departments, 1834: Assistant Judge and Joint Criminal Judge of Madura; Head Assistant to the Principal Collector and Magistrate of Nellore, 1835: Acting Junior and Deputy Secretary to the Board of Revenue, 1838: Assistant Judge and Joint Criminal Judge of Rajahmundry; Sub-Secretary to the Board of Revenue, and Acting Secretary, 1839: Secretary to the Board of Revenue, 1843: Register to the Courts of Sudder and Suddery Foujdarry Adawlut, 1845: Principal Assistant to Collector Magistrate, and Agent to Governor, Vizagapatam. 1847: Collector Magistrate, and Agent to Governor, Vizagapatam, 1851: proceeded on furlough, 1954: Returned to India. 1855: Collector and Magistrate, Chingleput, 1856: Collector, Magistrate, and Agent to Governor, Vizagapatam 1857: proceeded on furlough; Resigned the service, from 28th December. (Annuitant on the Fund, 1859).

SRINIVASA IYENGAR C: born 1850; Member of Council, 1901-4; *Rajamantrapravina*, 1904; Diwan Bahadur, 1914;

SRINIVASIENGAR, K. R.,—M. A. (1893) Entered M.C.S. (1892), Assistant Commissioner, 1892; Deputy Commissioner and District Magistrate, 1907; Secretary to Government General and Revenue Departments, 1912; Inspector-General of Police, 1917; Revenue Commissioner, 1918; Member of Council, 1919; 1st Member of Council, 1925; Retired, 1926.

STALEY, A.E., I.C.S., Bar-at-law.—Chief Judge, (Retired, 1906); *Edn.* at St. Pant's School, Concord, U.S.A., and St. Peter's College, Radley; Entered Service 1873; served in N.W.P. and Oudh, 1875; transferred to Bengal, 1880; offg. U.S. to Secy., 1884 & 1885; Joint Mag. 1886; Junior Secy. Board of Rev. 1890; Dt. and Sessions Judge, 1891: Rtd. 1904: entered Mysore Service, as Chief Judge, 1st July 1904; Rtd., 1906.

ST. JOHN, SIR OLIVER.—Served in Persia and Abyssinia; Principal, Mayo

Chief's College, Ajmere; Political Agent, Kandahar; Resident in Mysore, 1889-1891; transferred to Beluchistan; died at Quetta a few days after his arrival there.

Stokes, Hudleston.—Superintendent Manjarabad Dn. 1826; Writer. 1828: Assistant to the Collector of Tinnevelly, 1830; Head Assistant to the Collector of Tinnevelly, 1831: Head Assistant to the Principal Collector and Magistrate of Canara, 1832: Under the orders of the Commissioners for the Government of Mysore, 1834: Superintendent of Manjarabad Division in Mysore, 1838: *In England on absentee allowance*, 1841: *Returned to India*, 1842: Assistant to Commissioner, Kurnool, 1843: Collector and Magistrate, Guntoor, and Member of the College Board, 1855: Collector and Magistrate, Guntur, 1856: Collector of Land Customs, Madras, 1856: *Resigned the service, 15th February in India (Annuitant on the Fund,* 1857.)

Stuart, James (1741-1815)—Served in the war against Tipū, 1792 and 1799. Son of John Stuart; born March 2, 1741, educated at Culross, Dumfermline, Edinburgh; entered the Army; in American War of Independence; to India as Brevet-Lt-Colonel, 78th Regiment in 1781; Lt-Colonel; arrived at Madras, April 1782 with 78 (afterwards 72nd) Regiment; under Coote against Haidar; at Cuddalore, 1783; with Colonel Fullarton's army in the South 1783-84; under General Medows in the War with Tipū, 1790; and Cornwallis, 1791-2; took Dindigal and Paulghatcherry; took Savandrug and Oitradurg; at Seringapatam; seige of Pondicherry, 1793; Maj-General, commanded the expedition against the Dutch in Ceylon 1795-96; commanded the Forces at Madras, 1796: Lt-General; commanded C.-in-C., Bombay, 1797; commanded the Bombay Force at Seringapatam, 1799; took part in the action at Seedasur: joined General Harris at Seringapatam; marched to Kanara, 1799; C.-inC., Madras, 28th July 1801; Lt-General, 1802; in the Mahratta War, 1803; resigned 21st October 1804; General, 1812: died April 29, 1815.

Sulivan, Stephen.—Of the E.I.Co's Madras Establishment, 1778; Persian Translator and Secretary, 1780: President at Tanjore, 1782; Commissioned by Lord Macartney, Governor of Madras, to conclude a treaty with the Mysore Rani Lakshmi Ammanni for the restoration of the ancient Royal House of Mysore. (His name appears as John Sullivan in the Treaty as published in the Aitchison's *Treaties*, v. 133; Princep, however, gives it as *Stephen Sulivan*).

Sullivan John.—Assistant Resident in Mysore. 1804: Writer. 1805: Assistant under the Secretary in the Revenue and Judicial Department, 1806; Register of the Zillah of Chittaput. 1807; Assistant to the Chief Secretary in the Secret, Political, and Foreign Department. 1809; Acting Assistant to the Resident at Mysore. 1811: *in England* 1814: *Returned to India*: Collector of Chingleput. 1815: Collector of Coimbatore. 1821: Principal Collector and Magistrate of Coimbatore. 1830; *In England on absentee allowance*. 1835: *Returned to India*; Senior Member of the Board of Revenue. 1836: President of the Revenue, Marine, and College Boards. 1839: Member of Council of the Governor, and President of the Revenue Marine, and College Boards (*Annuitant on the Fund*, 1841.) *Died, 16th January 1858, in England.*

Sullivan, Edward R.—Head Asst. Resident in Mysore, 1806; Writer, 1809: Assistant under the Collector of Malabar, 1811: Acting Assistant to the Resident at Mysore, 1813: Head Assistant to the Resident at Mysore. 1815: Postmaster-General and Superintendent of Government Lotteries, 1819: In England, 1822: *Returned to India:* Assistant to the Chief Secretary to the Government; Secretary and Treasurer of the Government Bank, 1824: *Out of the service.*

Sykes, William Henry (1790-1872)—One of the deputation that waited upon Lord Cranborne, in 1867, for securing the reversion of Mysore: Colonel; son of Samuel Sykes: born January 25, 1790: entered the E.I. Co's. Bombay Army in 1804, was present at Bharatpur under Lord Lake, 1805: served in the Deccan 1817-20: and commanded native troops at the battles of Kirki and Poona; was employed by the Bombay Government as statistical reporter from 1824 until he left India in 1831: wrote a number of reports, statistical, on natural history, etc., retired as Colonel in 1833: was a Royal Commissioner on Lunacy, 1835-45; became Director of the E.I. Co., in 1840: Chairman in 1856: in 1854, he was Lord Rector of the Aberdeen University: M.P. for Aberdeen, 1857-72: F.R.S.: Member of the Royal Asiatic Society; President of it in 1858: as also in 1863, of the Statistical Society, and of the Society of Arts. In Bombay, he advocated education for Indians, and in Parliament urged the rights and privileges of the Indian Army. He was the author of numerous works on scientific and literary questions and contributed largely to the transactions of learned societies on the ancient history, antiquities, statistics, geology, natural history and meteorology of India. Died June 1872.

TATA, JAMSETJI NASARWANJI (1839-1904).—Merchant-prince who founded the Indian Institute of Science at Bangalore; Born in 1839 at Nowsari in Gujarat: educated at the Elphinstone College: a successful and philanthropic merchant of Bombay: founder of the firm of Tata and Co., at Bombay, with branches in the Far East, Europe and America. After losing one fortune, he acquired a second. He was a pioneer of the cotton manufacturing industry in Western India; made the Alexandra Mills at Bombay; built the Empress Mills at Nagpur and the Swadeshi Mill; aimed at developing other Indian industries, such as silk culture in Mysore, the working of iron and copper ore in the Central Provinces, and built the Taj Mahal Palace Hotel at Bombay; he travelled widely, knew England well, and sought no honour; his ambition was to create an Institute of Research, with a view to provide new careers for promising youths and to promote the development of the resources of India; until this Institute could be started, on a financial basis of £14,000 a year, he intended to endow a Trust for sending Indian students to London to complete their education, and offered to the Government of India properties producing a large annual income for an Institute of Scientific Research in India, which has since been established at Bangalore. A Silk Farm named after him at Bangalore is at present being managed by the Salvation Army. He died at Nauheim, May 19, 1904.

THUMBOO CHETTY, T. R. A.;—3rd Judge, Chief Court, 1884; 2nd Judge 1888; Offg. Chief Judge, 1893-5; Offg. Dewan and President in Council, 1890; 1892, 1893, 1897, 1900; Retired as Officiating Dewan, 1901. *Rajadharmapravina.*

TIPŪ SULTAN (1753-1799)—Born 1753; commanded a part of his father Haidar Ali's Army in the second Mysore war with the English; the death of his father was kept concealed until Tipū could, from Malabar, rejoin the Army; he defeated General Matthews at Bednore and put him and others to death; he besieged and took Mangalore, and made a treaty with the English in March, 1784, regaining Kanara and Malabar; he attacked Coorg, 1785; in 1786 he called himself "Padshah," a king; he fought against the Nizam and the Mahrattas, and made peace with them in 1787; he sent envoys to Turkey and France, with little success; in Dec. 1789, he attacked Travancore; was repulsed at first, but afterwards inflicted great damage; Cornwallis allied with the Mahrattas and the Nizam against Tipū, who held his own againat General Medows but lost Malabar; Cornwallis in person, in 1791, besieged and took Bangalore on March 21; attacked Seringapatam, but failed and had to retire; he took the Nandidurg and Savandurg forts, and again besieged Seringapatam in Feb. 1792, where, finding resistance hopeless, Tipū yielded, and made great cessions of money and territory, but kept his throne and Capital; Tipū sought the aid of Zaman Shah, the Afghan ruler, and of the

French in the Mauritius, against the English, but obtained little help. Lord Mornington, arriving in India in May, 1798, regarded Tipū's conduct as openly hostile, and failing to obtain any satisfaction from correspondence with him, declared war early in 1799. Tipū's forces were defeated by the English under Generals Harris, Stuart, Baird, and Colonel Arthur Wellesley; and at the capture of Seringapatam, on May 4, 1799, by the English, Tipū was killed; his sons were made prisoners and sent to Vellore; the greater part of his territory was divided between the E.I. Co., and the Nizām, a portion being made over to the ancient Hindu royal family of Mysore. His energy and ability as a ruler were overshadowed by his ferocity, and bigotry.

TODHUNTER, SIR CHARLES, K.C.S.I., I.C S.. Retd.—Private Secretary to H. H. the Maharaja of Mysore. *b.* 16th February 1869. *Educ.* Aldenham School and King's College, Cambridge. Member and Prizeman, Cambridge University, 1888; *m.* Alice *d.* of Captain C. Losack, 28rd Highlanders; served in Madras Districts and Secretariat; conducted special enquiries into Customs and Excise matters in Kashmir, the C.P. and Central India States; Secretary, Indian Excise Committee, 1906; I. G. of Excise and Salt to the Government of India, 1909-12; President, Life Saving Appliance Committee, 1913; President of the Indian Taxation Committee, 1924-25. Member of Executive Council, Madras; Private Secretary to H. H. the Maharaja of Mysore, 1926. C.S.I. 1920; Kt., K.C.S.I. 1924.

TUCKER, ALEXANDER LAUZUN PENDOCK, C.I.E., late Indian C.S.—Education at Winchester and Balliol College, Oxford; appointed after examination of 1880; arrived, 28th December 1882, and served in Bombay as Asstistant Collector and mag.; Forest Settlement Officer, Bijapur, February 1886; Assistant to Rest. at Haiderabad; and Asst. Secretary for Berar, April, 1888; on deputation to Khetri State, 1888-89; Assistant to the Governor-General's Agent, Central India, April, 1890; in 1891 acted as Under Secretary to Government of India, Foreign Department; 1st Assistant to Resident, Hyderabad, and Secretary for Berar, October 1893; political agent, Harooti and Tonk, December 1895; officiating Commissioner, Ajmer-Merwar, August 1899; confirmation February 1902; C.I.E., November 1901; on special duty in For. Dept. Secretriat, 1904; officiating Resident in Mysore, July to October 1904; officiating agent to Governor-General in Baluchistan, January 1905; political Resident, Persian Gulf, April, 1907; Resident and Revenue Commissioner N.W.F. Province January 1909; Judical Commissioner, March 1910; Resident, Indore, and agent to Governor-General in Central India, May 1913; retd. November 1913.

VENKATA RAO, RAI RAAYA RAI.—Special Assistant to the Chief Commissioner in Mysore. Born at Kumbakonam; Head Sherestadar to the Chief Commissioner in Mysore 1834; Native Assistant to the Commissioner; Dewan of Travancore, 1838; Special Assistant to the Chief Commissioner in Mysore, 1840; on six month's leave, 1843; "a man of great ability," possessed of administrative talents of "a first-rate order." Lord Ellenborough sanctioned his services being placed at the disposal of General J. S. Fraser, Resident at Hyderabad, for his eventual appointment there as Dewan in succession to Chundoo Lall. Of him, General Fraser wrote on 14th July 1842 to Lord Ellenborough;—"It was after conversing with him for an hour or two, that Lord William Bentinck remarked it was such men who might be placed with advantage in the Supreme Council of India." General Fraser had the highest confidence in his ability and in his power in bringing about a radical reform in Haiderabad finance. Sir Mark Cubbon entirely concurred with General Fraser as to Venkata Rao's character and abilities. On reaching Haiderabad, he became seriously unwell with dropsy and returned to Bangalore, where he died in July 1843. Government of India bestowed on him the title of "Rai Raaya Rai" in 1838 in recognition of his eminent zeal and ability and integrity as Native Assistant to the Chief Commissioner. His son was Dewan Bahadur Raghunatha Rao, afterwards Dewan of Indore.

VIBART, HENRY.—Assistant Collector, Seringapatam, 1804: Writer, 1807: Assistant to the Secretary to the Board of Revenue; Assistant to the Collector of the Zillah of Ganjam. 1811: Register of the Zillah of Rajahmundry, 1822: Register and Assistant Collector of the Zillah of Seringapatam. 1824: Judge and Criminal Judge of the Zillah of Masulipatam. (*Annuitant on the Fund from December* 1832.) *Died, 5th November 1839, in England.*

VISVESVARAYA, SIR MOKSHAGUNDAM K.C.I.E. (1915) C.I.E. (1911) B.A. L.C.E. M.I.C.E.,—Dewan of Mysore, 1912-18; born 1861; educated at Chikballapur and at the Central College, Bangalore; B.A. (Madras) 1881, studied in the College of Science, Poona; won the James Berkley prize; L.C.E. (Bombay) 1883, joined service as Assistant Engineer in Bombay 1884; served in Nasik, Khandesh and Poona; services lent to the Municipality of Sukkur in Sind, 1894; designed and carried out the water werks of that Municipality 1895; Executive Engineer, Surat 1896; Assistant Superintending Engineer Poona, 1897-99. Visited China and Japan 1898; Executive Engineer for Irrigation, Poona, 1899; Sanitary Engineer, Bombay, and Member, Sanitary Board 1901; gave evidence before the Indian Irrigation Commission, 1901; desig·ed and constructed Automatic gates patented by him at Lake Fife storage reservoir; introduced a new system of irrigation known as the Block System 1903; represented the Bombay Government at the Simla Irrigation Commission, 1904,; on special duty 1905; Superintending Engineer 1907. Visited Egypt, Canada, United States of America and Russia 1908; services lent as special Consulting Engineer, Hyderabad, to supervise and carry out Engineering works in connection with the Musi floods 1909; retired from British service 1909; Chief Engineer and Secretary to the Government of Mysore, 1909; Dewan of Mysore 1912-1918; holds K.I.H. Medal. Has visited Japan, Europe and America on four successive occasions. Publications: *Speeches*; *Reconstructing India*, etc.

WATSON, CHARLES CUNINGHAM, I.C.S.—Education at Watson's College, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University and Christ Church, Oxford; appointed after examination of 1897; arrived, 26th November 1898, and served in Bombay as Assistant Collector and Mag.; Assistant to governor's agent in Kathiawar, October, 1902; officiating assistant commissioner in Merwara, May, 1903; officiating assistant to governor-general's agent in Rajputana, March, 1904; confirmed, February 1906; Private Secretary to Governor of Bombay, May, 1909; acting Secretary to the Government from October 1912; C.I.E., June, 1913; Private Secretary to Governor, Bombay, March to October 1914. Officiating Resident in Mysore, March to August 1924.

WEBBE, JOSIAH (1768-1804) M.C.S.;—Resident at Mysore, 1803; called "Sree Webbe," one of the greatest "politicals" Madras ever produced; Writer at Fort St. George, Madras, 1783; Assistant to the Secretary to the Select Committee; Assistant to the Secretary in the Military Department; Mahratta Translator and Deputy Commissary General, 1786; under the Secretary in the Public and Revenue Departments, 1787; Secretary to the Board of Assigned Revenue, 1790; Temporary Member, Board of Assigned Revenue, 1792; Deputy Secretary in the Public, Commercial and Revenue Departments, 1793; Secretary in the Public Commercial Department, Clerk to the Court of Appeal and to the Committee of Treasury. 1797; Secretary to Government, 1800; first Chief Secretary and Mahratta Translator, 12th July 1800; wrote a Minute against the resumption of hostilities against Tipū in 1799, which was highly disapproved by Lord Mornington and the Court of Directors; Mornington, however, dissuaded the Court from recalling him; during the War with Tipū, he worked wholeheartedly with Mornington and won his approbation and good-will; appointed

Resident in Mysore, 1803; transferred in the same capacity to Nagpur, 1804; Resident at Gwalior, 1804; on his journey thither, died at Hossangabad, on the banks of the Nerbada, on 9th November 1804; a fine monument by Flaxeman was, by public subscription, erected to him in St. Mary's Church, Fort St. George; this represents an Officer, a Civil Servant, a Muhammadan and a Hindu, mourning over a portrait Medallion of the deceased, while at the base is a recumbent figure; the inscription on it says :—"His mind by nature, firm, lofty, energetic, was formed by classic study to a tone of independence and patriotism not unworthy of the best days of Greece and Rome." Colonel Arthur Wellesley (Duke of Wellington) included him among his friends and took home an engraving from his portrait (painted by the great artist Hickey), which occupied a prominent place at Strathfieldsaye. Asked whose portrait it was, the Duke is reported, on an occasion, to have mentioned, Mr. Webbe's and said: "He was one of the ablest men I ever knew, and, what is more, one of the most honest." The Marquis of Wellesley wrote to the Court that he "possessed knowledge, talents and virtue never surpassed in India" and that he had "devoted the best years of his valuable life for the honour and benefit of the Company." His epitaph, which Marquis of Wellesley was asked to write but which he had to refuse owing to official reasons, speaks of him as having been cut off "in the prime of life, beloved with fervour by his friends, regretted by his rulers and admired by all." A monument (in the shape of a column) was raised to perpetuate his memory by Dewan Pūrnaiya at French Rocks, near Seringapatam, which is popularly, though wrongly, known as the *Rana Khamba*. The inscription on it says that it was erected as a tribute of veneration and respect for splendid talents, unsullied purity, and eminent public virtue.

WELLESLEY, H., M.C.S.—Superintendent of Ashtagram division. Wrote the *Mysore District Gazetteer*, 1869 and the *Mysore Administration Report for 1872*.

WELLESLEY, RICHARD COLLEY, MARQUESS (1760-1842).—Governor-General: Restored the country to the Ancient Hindu Ruling House in 1799; born June 20, 1760; eldest son of first Earl of Mornington; educated at Trim, Harrow, Eton, Christ Church, Oxford; Student; Latin Verse Prize, 1780; became Earl Mornington, 1781; M. P., 1787-96; Knight of St. Patrick, 1783; Lord of the Treasury, 1786; Member of the Board of Control, 1793; Privy Councillor, 1793; made Baron Wellesley, 1797: accepted Governorship of Madras, 1797; became Governor-General of India, May 18, 1798 to July 30, 1805; met high Indian officers at the Cape, on his voyage outwards: reversed his predecessor's policy of non-interference; induced the Nizam to remove his French officers, and made the Mahrattas neutral; opposed French intrigues; found Tipū seeking help from the French at Mauritius; when negotiations failed, declared war on Tipū; went to Madras; Tipū defeated and killed at Seringapatam, May 4, 1799; Hindu Dynasty restored in Mysore; created a Marquess, December 1799; assumed the administration of Tanjore, maintaining the Raja; annexed the Karnatic, pensioning the Nawab with a fifth of his revenues; made treaty with Saadat Alī, Nawab of Oudh, for cession of territory and for reforms; sent Malcolm (q. v.) to Persia to make treaty against Afghanistan; sent Baird's expedition to Egypt against the French; refused to restore, as ordered, the French possessions in India; resigned his appointment, but requested to remain; made Commander-in-Chief; made treaty of Bassein, December 1802, with the Peshwa; compelled to make war against Mahratta Chiefs, Sindia, Bhonsla, Holkar; defeated them at Assaye, Argaum, Delhi, Laswari, but, in consequence of Monson's disastrous retreat before Holkar, Wellesley was recalled, 1805. He established, in 1800, the College of Fort William for education of civilians; it was only allowed by Court of Directors, on a reduced scale, for Indian languages; ordered the observance in India of Sunday as a day of rest; after retirement, was unsuccessfully attacked in Parliament by Paul and others, for his policy in Oudh; sent to Spain as Ambassador Extraordinary in 1809, in furtherance of Peninsular war; became Foreign Secretary, 1809-12; K. G., 1812; failed to form a Coalition Ministry, 1812: differed in opinion on important subjects from the Duke of Wellington; Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 1821-8 and 1833-4; advocated Catholic emancipation, suppressed disturbances, combated famine; Lord Steward of the Household, 1832-3; Lord Chamberlain, 1835; retired, 1835; granted £20,000 by the E. I. Co.; his Despatches, Minutes, etc., printed, 1836-7; his statues erected in London and Calcutta; died September 26, 1842; he maintained his classical scholarship and studies to the end: he also was called "The Great Pro-consul." The Wellesley Bridge at Seringapatam is named after him.

WELLINGTON, ARTHUR WELLESLEY, FIRST DUKE OF (1769-1852).—Served in the final siege of Seringapatam; Member, Commission for Mysore Affairs, 1799; Governor of Seringapatam, 1799-1805; fourth son of the first Earl of Mornington: born May 1, 1769; educated at Chelsea, Eton and Angers in France; gazetted Ensign in March, 1787, and passing through several regiments, became Major and Lt.-Colonel in the 33rd regiment in 1793: after some campaigning in the Netherlands, 1794-5, he landed with his regiment at Calcutta on February 17, 1797: his brother the Earl of Mornington, assumed office as Governor-General at Calcutta, on May 18, 1798; Wellesley commanded, as far as Penang, the Bengal Division of an expedition to Manilla, but was recalled on account of Tipū Sultān, who had been intriguing with the French to turn the English out of India; in the final war with Tipū, which broke out early in 1799, Wellesley commanded the Nizam's troops, invading Mysore; Tipū's troops were routed at Malavalli, in March, 1799, by a force under him; Tipū was then besieged in Seringapatam by General Harris, Wellesley commanding reserve during the attack, May 4, 1799: on its capture and the death of Tipū, Wellesley was placed in command of Seringapatam, stopped the plundering, and restored order; he was made a Member of the Commission appointed to conclude the Treaty of Mysore, 1799; subsequently administered Seringapatam fortress as Governor, with great ability; hunted down "the freebooter of Mysore," Dhoondia Waugh, in September 1800 and kept his son under his personal control; occupied the Ceded Districts, 1800; commanded Malabar 1800-1801; went to Ceylon, 1800; returned to Mysore, April 1801; Major-General, 27th November 1802; in 1802-03, the Mahratta powers, Sindia, Holkar and the Raja of Berar, formed a confederacy against the English; General Wellesley, with the Madras Army, reached Poona in time and relieved it, April 1803; made Chief Political and Military officer in the Deccan and S. Mahratta country and invested with plenary powers, June 1803; after taking Ahmednagar on August 12, he attacked, on September 23, 1803, with about 8,000 men, including only about 1,500 Europeans, and defeated the whole Mahratta force of 50,000 men, near the village of Assaye; he was equally victorious in the battle of Argaum on November 29, 1803, in which the Mahratta power was broken; he took Gawilghar on December 15, 1803, and made peace by treaties which secured great cessions of territory to the E. I. Co.; returned to Seringapatam, 30th November 1804; presented with an Address before his departure from that place; disbanded the Army of the Deccan; issued his farewell order to the Army, 9th February 1805; at Bombay he was presented with a sword of honour, and before he left Madras for England, in March 1805, was made K. C. B. Declined office of Commander-in-Chief, Bombay. The remainder of his career is included in English and European history. He died in Walmer, September 14, 1852.

WELSH, JAMES (1775-1861).—Commanded the Mysore Division, 1811; Son of John Welsh, W. S. Edinburgh; born March 12, 1775; went to Madras in the E. I. Co.'s European Army, 1791; took part in the siege of Pondicherry, 1793; was present at the capture of Ceylon, 1796; under Arthur Wellesley (q. v.) in the Mahratta War, 1803-04; at Poona, Ahmadnagar, Argaum, Gawilghar, Mankarsir; disarmed his regiment at Palamcotah in the disturbances that followed the Vellore Mutiny, November 1806; tried to precipitate action in the matter, but was honourably acquitted, 1807; stormed successfully the Arambooly lines, Travancore, and was thanked for his "gallant exertions," 1809; held several military commands in Madras; checked a rising at Kolhapur, 1824; Major-General 1837; commanded N. Division, Madras, 1837; retired, 1847; General, 1854; died at Bath, January 24, 1861; wrote *Military Reminiscences of nearly Forty Years' Active Service in the East Indies*, from which the historian of Mysore can get a few glimpses of the men and events of the early years of the reign of Sri Krishnaraja-Wodeyar III.

WILKS, MARK (1760 -1831).—Resident at Mysore and its historian. Born about 1760, a native of the Isle of Man; received a highly classical education with a view of entering the Church; went to Madras in the E. I. Co.'s military service, 1782, when he was 22 years of age; Deputy Secretary to the Military Board, 1786; Secretary to Sir B. Close's Mission to Mysore, 1787; A. D. C. to the Governor, Madras, 1789; A. D. C. and Military Secretary to Colonel James Stuart in the War against Tipū Sultān, 1790-95; Military and Private Secretary to the Governor, Lord Clive (afterwards Earl Powis), and Town-Major of Fort St. George, 1798-1803; Military Secretary to the C.-in-C., General James Stuart, 1803; Resident in Mysore, 1803-08; Lt.-Colonel, 1808; left India, 1808; Governor of St. Helena, 1813-16; he retired from the governorship of that island on the imprisonment of Emperor Napoleon; Lord Roseberry has suggestéd that he would have proved a more successful Governor than Sir Hudson Lowe, if he had been retained there during Napoleon's imprisonment; Brevet-Colonel, 1814; retired from the service, 1818; died September 19, 1831: wrote *Historical Sketches of the South of India in an attempt to trace the History of Mysoor*, 1810-14, which he dedicated to his friend Sir Barry Close; also *A Report on the Government of Mysoor*, 1805; and an analysis of the *Akhlak-i-Naseri*, a philosophical treatise by Nasir-ud-din of Tus, based on Aristotle; F. R. S.; Vice-President of the Asiatic Society. His *History of Mysoor* was reprinted at Madras in 1869 and has been described as "an enduring monument of his fame." It displays "a degree of research, acumen, vigour and elegance, that must render it a work of importance in English literature." He was a great Persian scholar, being as well-read in the literature of Persia as of Greece and England.

WILLIAMS, ALBERT, LL.M., I.C.S.—Officiating Resident in Mysore. Educated at Uppingham, Clifton and Christ's College, Cambridge; appointed after examination of 1884; arrived 8th January 1886, and served in the Punjab as Assistant Commissioner; Under Secretary to Government, April 1890; Political Agent, March, 1894; Under Secretary to Government of India, Foreign Department, May, 1894; Political Agent, Hyderabad, November, 1895; Political Agent, Quetta, May, 1897; Under Secretary to Government of India, Foreign Department, Han., 1899; Deputy Secretary to Government of India, Home Department, April, 1901; Revenue and Judicial Commissioner in Baluchistan, April, 1905; Officiating Resident in Mysore and Chief Commissioner of Coorg, etc., May to November, 1905 and from March to November, 1907; temporary Additional Judge, Chief Court, Punjab, April, 1909; retired October, 1911.

WILLOUGHBY, SIR JOHN POLLARD, BARONET, 1798-1866.—I.C.S. As a Member of the Council of India, opposed in 1865, the annexation of Mysore. Third son of Sir Christopher Willoughby, first Baronet. Entered the Bombay Civil Service, 1817: became Chief Secretary to the Bombay Government, 1835;

Member of Council, Bombay, April 1846 to April 1851 : Director of the E. I. Co. 1854 : Member of the Council of India, 1858-66. Succeeded his brother, Sir Henry, as Baronet in March, 1865 ; died September 15, 1866.

YOUNG, SIR WILLIAM MACKWORTH (1840-1924)—I.C.S. ; Resident at Mysore; son of Captain Sir George Young, R.N. ; educated at Eton and King's College, Cambridge ; entered the Bengal Civil Service, 1863 ; Financial Commissioner of Punjab, 1889 95 ; member of the Governor-General's Legislative Council, 1893 ; Resident in Mysore, 1895-97 ; Lieutenent-Governor of the Punjab, 1897-1902 : as Lieutenant-Govornor opposed the Punjab Land Alienation Bill and the removal of the Frontier districts from the Punjab ; during his tenure, the Punjab Legislative Council was established ; took keen interest in church affairs ; Chairman of the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society ; Vice-President of the C. M. S. ; Chairman of the Church Education Corporation ; and a member of the Central Board of missions ; I.C.S., 1890 ; K.C.S.I., 1897.

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ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

Page	*Line*	*Add*
		CHAPTER XI.
2434	...	Table of Mysore Kings, under Krishna-Raja Wodyer III, for "1792" read "1799"
2436	14	For "work" read "works."
2442	4	After "had been" insert a comma and then add the following words "according to one version."
2442	21–22	After the word "*Vijayanagar*," add:—(For the identification of the names of these persons, see reign of *Srī-Ranga VI*, where the exploits of Dodda-Dēva-Rāja as a feudatory are dealt with).
2444	28	Add at end:—Chikka-Dēva's position as a Vijayanagar feudatory and the part he played in championing the cause of his suzerain Srī-Ranga VI have already been dealt with. (See *ante* under *Vijayanagar*, reign of Srī-Ranga VI).
2450	Last but one line from the bottom	For "Srī-Ranga-Rāja III" read "Srī-Ranga-Rāja VI."
2451	1	For "Srī-Ranga-Rāja III" read "Srī-Ranga-Raja VI."
2451	4–5	For "Srī-Ranga-Rāja III" read "Srī-Ranga-Rāja VI."
2451	5	Insert the following:—(But see pp. 2393—2400, above).
2484	27	Insert a comma after "1032" and another comma after "VIII,"
2484	30	Insert a comma after "XIII."
2485	1	Insert a comma after "IX."
2485	2	Insert a comma after "12–13."
2491	26	For "treaty" read "treat."
2492	28	After "activities," insert a comma.
2516	Marginal note	For "Carnatic" read "Karnātic."
2524	27	For "Congeeveram" read "Conjeeveram."
2547	4 from bottom	For "Genera" read "General".
2586	5	Add at end of the line:—For Tipū Sultān's Embassy to the French Court in 1788, see a paper on the subject by the late Rev. A. M. Tabard in the *Journal of the Mythic Society*, VIII, No. 2, 77-101.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA—*contd.*

Page	*Line*	*Add*
		CHAPTER XI—contd.
2603	8	For "Tippūs" read "Tipū's."
2661	9	For "alleged" read "alleges."
2674	Marginal note	After "Tipū", insert a comma.
2727	Marginal note at bottom of page.	For "deatu" read "death."
2777	Marginal note	For "His" read "Residents",
2798	9	Add at the end :—*Wellesley Bridge*. An inscribed slab on the Bridge (which has been registered as *Seringapatam 27*, dated in 1804, E. C. III. i), records its construction at the instance of H. H. The Mahārāja. The inscription is in Persian. Mr. Rice translates it thus—:"As the heart of the Raja of Mysore, in token of his unending gratitude, was desirous of having the name of that high personage, he ordered Purnaiya, the Prime Minister, to devise some plan having for its object the perpetuation of that name. He (thereupon) constructed a magnificent bridge and named it after him "The Bridge of Marquis Wellesley Bahadur," a name respected by all. The Raja thus strove to gain the object of his desire, and all the people called it, "The Wellesley Bridge." Date of Construction :—In the Christian era there was written on its completion "A new matchless bridge, a passage for all" (1804)."
2817	Marginal note.	Omit "and" between "Bangalore" and "Cantonment."
2859	18	For "Mahidpoor" read "Mahidpore".
2883	Marginal note 8	After the word "duty" add the following:—The methods adopted by the Hon. Mr. Cole were far from satisfactory. He interfered in every detail of the administration of His Highness. Whether it was the appointment of the Dewan of the State or an Amildar in it, he desired to be consulted. He went so far as to induce the people on whom His Highness' choice fell not to accept the posts offered them. Take the case of Bakir Sahib, whom His Highness desired to appoint as Dewan. He was so far under the influence of Mr. Cole that he declined the honour. Mr. Cole himself wrote as follows to the Madras Government on 10th February 1814:—" Not a day has passed in which the Rajah has not secretly pressed upon Bakir Sahib the situation of Prime Minister, but he always declined it, replying, "I shall obey the wishes of the Resident and whatever situation he gives me I will act in

Page	*Line*	*Add*
		CHAPTER XI—contd. it." (Letter No, 3, Bengal Secret Consultations, 18th March 1814). Ten months later, on 8th December, 1814, Mr. Cole reported to the same Government that His Highness' mind had been poisoned to the greatest possible extent against Bakir. (Letter No. 49 Bengal Secret Consultations, 29th December 1814). Mr. Cole was oblivious of the effects of his own methods of action. His usual channel for obtaining information was through spies. Lord Hastings, Governor-General, so far disapproved the mistaken zeal of Mr. Cole as to ask him to definitely desist from the course of conduct he had prescribed for himself. He was directed not to interfere in the interval affairs of the State ; to remember that what might have been done during His Highness' minority cannot be justified during the time he was actually ruling. He was plainly told to desist from encouraging His Highness' subjects "to appeal to the protection and the redress of the Resident;" and not to force on His Highness any Minister of his (Resident's) own choice but leave him free to select one for himself. "Even if Bakir was to be appointed, the proposition must come from the Rajah." (Despatch from the Bengal Government to Madras Government, No. 2, Bengal Secret Consultations, 25th March 1814). Mr. Cole, who chafed under the restrictions sought to be laid on him, heeded them only to the extent he felt compelled. (Cole's letter to Chief Secretary to Government, Madras, dated 22nd June, No 45; 4th August No. 47; and 8th December No. 49, Bengal Secret Consultations, 29th December 1814). The Madras Government desired to reduce His Highness' position to that of the Nawab of the Karnātic, a mere dependent, without any powers whatever. (Cole's letter to Adam, 1st May 1818, *enclosures to Secret letters* from Bengal, accompanying Governor-General's letter to Select Committee, 11th July 1818, Vol. XVIII, *Secret letters from Bengal*). Lord Hastings' view and policy were different. He desired to reciprocate the spirit in which His Highness had assisted in the operations against the Pindaris and was anxious to adopt an enlightened attitude towards him. He also recommended to the Secret Committee that the Mysore Resident should be placed directly under the Supreme Government. (Hastings to the Secret Committee, 11th July 1818, Bengal Secret Letters). This recommendation by itself is sufficiently illustrative of the attitude of the Madras Government of the day towards Mysore

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA—*concld.*

Page	*Line*	*Add*
		CHAPTER XI—contd. and fully justified the protest raised by His Highness in Canning's time against the proposed re-transference of Mysore to Madras. (See above; also as to Lord Hastings' Policy, see M. S. Mehta, *Lord Hastings and the Indian States*, 172-176).
2951	2 from the bottom Marginal note	After "Supporters" insert a colon.
2972	6 from the bottom	Insert "was" after "which."
3007	Marginal note opposite to line 21.	For "Retirements" read "retirement."
3055	Marginal note opposite to line 1.	For "constitution" read "constitutional."
3071	Appendix D	For "1854" read "1832".

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Parasu-Rāma: or Rāma with an axe; so called to distinguish him from Rāma of the Rāmāyana; his vow to destroy the Kshatriyas, 19-21.

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Periya-purānam: a great Tamil work containing the lives of the devotees of Siva, mentioned in connection with the Airāvatēsvara temple at Dārāsuram, 1197.

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Prithivīpati I: brother of Ganga king Mārasimha I, also known as Dindiga, 650.

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Pūndamalli: (modern Poonamalli near Madras); one of the places mentioned in Kulōttunga's inscriptions, where it is described as a city, 1187.

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Pūrna-Kumbha: (vessel filled with water); Ganga-Rāja, the minister of Vishnuvardhana, described as a *Pūrna-Kumbha* for the coronation of Vishnuvardhana.

Pūrnaiya, Dewan: minister of Haidar and Tipū; news of Haidar's death kept secret by his efforts, 2545; arrangement suggested by him to General Harris for the future Government of Mysore after the fall of Seringapatam, 2703; appointed to the post of Dewan under Krishnarāja Wodeyar III, 2710; Pūrnaiya, his administration, 2769; his touring the Country, 2772; his system of administration, 2772; his military administration, 2784; public works carried out by him, 2796; Yelandur Jaghir granted to Pūrnaiya, 2817; his retirement and death, 2824; his early life and career, 2826; an estimate of his work, 2828.

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Rāchamalla Satyavākya II: Ganga king, 977, A.D; attempts at usurpation of the throne; best remembered for his sacred erection at Sravana-belgola, 682-7.

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Rajēndrasinga-Muvēndavelan: one of the eight ministers of Kulōttunga Chōla III, who assisted him in the administration of his kingdom, 1187.

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Rāmarājīyamu: a poem by Venkayya, recording the history of Āravīdu dynāsty of Vijayanagar, 2415.

Rāma-Rāya: a subordinate ruler under Srī-Ranga VII, 2419.

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Randhulla Khān: Commander of Bijāpur forces, his invasion repelled by Kanthīrava-Narasa-Rāja Wodeyar of Mysore, 2439.

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Saigotta: (see under *Sivamāra II*).

Saisunāgas (or Saisunākas dynasty): earliest in *Purānic* history, (*circa* 624 B. C.), 462.

Sala: the progenitor of the Hoysala kings, 1310.

Salābat Khān: Commander-in-chief of Ādil Shāh's forces, 1842-3.

Salaka brothers: brothers-in-law of Achyuta-Dēva-Rāya, who were prominently associated with him; 1998-2006.

Sāligrama: see under *Vahnipushkarani.*

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